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**Mapid** Italian Report



# Migrants' Associations and Philippine Institutions for Development

(First year's activity)

## Italian Report

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*This project is aimed at enhancing the role of Migrants' Associations in Italy and Spain and of Government Institutions in the Philippines to act and co-operate in order to promote development in the Philippines.*

*The first stage of this three-year project consisted of three parallel studies conducted in the Philippines, in Italy and in Spain and geared towards the analysis of the general context where to intervene, the definition of the best practices in the field of co-development, the identification of the stakeholders involved and of the institutions to be mobilised and the detection of the main training needs of the latter two in order to promote their capacity to become agents of development. These studies represent the essential groundwork for the implementation of a training program targeted at leaders and active members of Filipino migrants' associations in Italy and Spain and at policy-makers and key officers involved in migration and development in the Philippines. The above-mentioned activities will be the centrepiece of the subsequent phases of the project.*

*In this volume we will give an account of the study carried out in Italy, and in particular in the areas of Milan and Rome, where the largest Filipino communities are settled. In the Annex we will also provide an overview of the nationwide research carried out in the Philippines by the Scalabrini Migration Center with the cooperation of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas.*

# Summary



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Report 1

Filipinos in Italy



## **I. INTRODUCTION**

### **I.A. Filipinos as Part of the Immigrant Landscape of Italy**<sup>\*</sup>

#### ***a. An Overview of the Immigrant Portrait of Italy***

It is common belief that the threshold of four million foreigners have been surpassed in Italy during 2008 if we add to legal residents the most available estimation of illegal ones (Blangiardo, 2009). As regard the regular foreign population stock in Italy, whose evaluation can be supported by official statistics, the main instruments usually employed – the records of permits to stay, the municipal resident population registers and the Census – give a wide overview of the trends and the main characteristics of migrants involved.

First the Census allows us to follow foreign migration into Italy over the longer period. In fact the 1951 Census recorded 47,177 foreign residents and then 62,780 in the 1961 edition; they reached 121,000 in 1971 and 211,000 in 1981. In 1991, foreign residents numbered 356,000 and in the latest 2001 Census the total was 1.3 million, a figure that had increased fourfold in ten years.

According to data on permits of stay – made available by the Ministry of the Interior – in 1971 some 147,000 permits were recorded, in 1981 there were 272,000 and in 1989 the figure had risen to 645,000. In 1990 the number of permits fell to 490,000 after the Ministry removed expired and duplicate permits from the files, but the number rose again to 781,000 the following year as a result of the 1990 amnesty law.

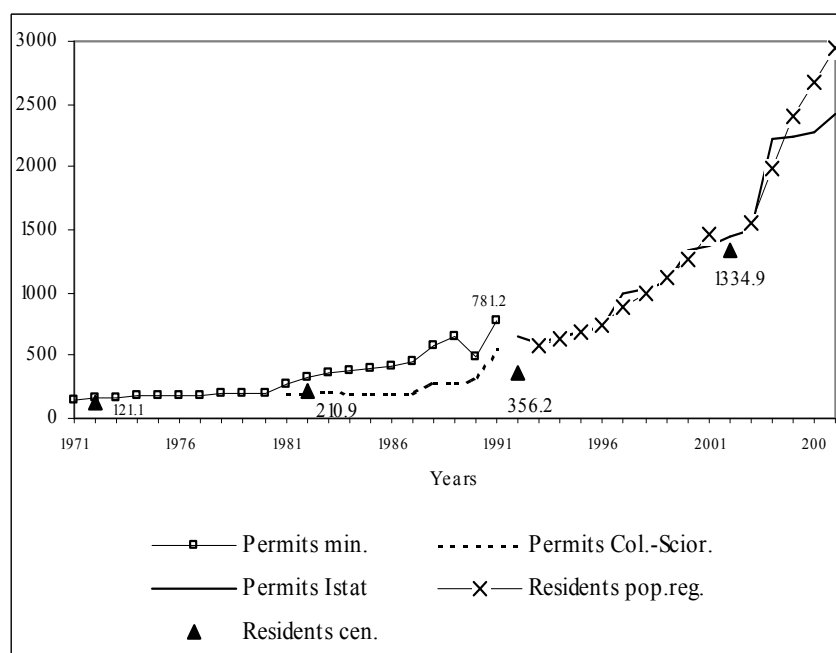
Starting in 1992, the National Statistics Institute (ISTAT) revised the permit data and published a more correct quantification of immigration after compensating for the more obvious shortcomings in the Ministry's records. From 1993, in addition to permit data, the number of resident foreigners according to the municipal population registers was included. The trends in the two data series concur in showing the extraordinary growth of immigration in the last fifteen years: permits have increased 4 times, from 573,000 in 1993 to 2.4 million in 2007, while there are 5.1 times more foreigners on the municipal

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<sup>\*</sup> This chapter was provided by the Statistical Department of the Documentation Center of the Ismu Foundation. The first paragraph was written by Giancarlo Blangiardo, the second paragraph by Livia Ortensi.

population registers, rising from 573,000 to 2.9 million in 2007. According to the latest figures on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2008 there are 3.7 million foreigners legally resident in Italy – of which 3.4 million included into the municipal population register – and nearly 700,000 illegally (Blangiardo, 2009).

**Fig. I.A.1 – Permits to stay and resident foreigners according to different sources, 1971-2007 (beginning of the year), values in thousands**



Source: Ministry of Interior, Colombo and Sciortino (2004) and ISTAT data, from Bonifazi et al. (2009)

**Tab. I.A.1 – Permits to stay, resident foreigners (in the municipal population register), and estimate of the total regular foreign stock (at the beginning of the year), values in thousands**

of the total regular foreign stock (at the beginning of the year), values in thousands					
	Permits to stay	Resident foreigners			Estimate of regular
	Total	Less 18	Total	Less 18	
1993	590	18	573	66	637
1998	1,023	32	991	150	1,141
2003	1,503	62	1,549	353	1,794
2006	2,286	104	2,670	585	3,012
2007	2,415	109	2,938	666	3,633
2008	n.a.	n.a.	3,433	767	3,677

Source: ISTAT data and ISMU Foundation

Permits to stay provide also information on the reasons why foreigners come to Italy. These data only refer to the regular component and, naturally, the reasons given to obtain the permit may not actually be the real reason.

The progressive stabilisation of economic immigration is quite evident if we consider the growth in the percentage share of permits issued for work reasons: the figure was basically constant at around 30 per cent until 1990, but by 1992 it had jumped to 65.3 per cent. After

that, the percentage of permits for work reasons began to fluctuate, increasing at times of regularisations and falling subsequently because of the higher rate of growth in permits issued for family reasons (Bonifazi, 2007). At the start of 2007, work was the reason given for the permit applications of almost 1.5 million people, accounting for 60.6 per cent of the total.

Family reunions were given as the second most common reason for permits to be issued: just under one third of regular immigrants came into this category in 2007. During the 1990s, the progressive stabilisation of numerous foreign communities, by means of family reunions, led to a significant and almost regular growth in the number of these permits. In absolute terms, at the start of 2007, there were almost 764,000 foreigners in Italy for family reasons, 2.3 times the number recorded only seven years previously. The numbers are much lower for other types of permits. Between 1992 and 2007, there was a growth in the trend of permit applications for study reasons but this did not prevent a fall in its relative percentage share. There are even fewer foreigners in the country with permits to stay for elective reasons or for religious reasons. The former now account for 1.9 per cent of all permits and the latter for 1.3 per cent. The numbers of both these types of permit have fallen in recent years following the revision of the ministry archives when permits were cancelled if the holders (especially those from developed countries) were no longer present in Italy (ISTAT 2007). The numbers are even lower for permits issued for asylum and humanitarian reasons which numbered only 29,500 in 2007, accounting for 1.2 per cent of the total.

Data on permits show that in the early seventies more than 40 per cent of legal foreign immigrants came from one of the fifteen countries that formed the European Union before the first 2004 enlargement (UE-15) and the percentage for all developed countries was 75.8 per cent, the remainder being made up of foreigners from Latin America (5.7 per cent), Asia (6.9 per cent), East European countries (7.4 per cent), North Africa (1.6 per cent) and sub-Saharan Africa (1.6 per cent).

In subsequent years, there was a fall in immigration from developed countries: in 2000 it made up 16.9 per cent while by early 2007 it had fallen to around 7.7 per cent. At the same time, there was an extraordinary increase in absolute and relative terms of immigration from East European countries: from 1991 to 2007 their citizens legally present in Italy increased 12.3-fold, totalling more than one million and representing 42.1 per cent of the total. There was also a strong but not so marked increase in

immigration from developing countries, rising from 390,000 in 1992 to 1,213,000 in 2003, representing a reduction from 60.7 to 50.2 per cent of the total.

**Tab.I.A.2 – Permits to stay according to reason, 1980-2007 (values at the beginning of the year)**

<i>Reason</i>	<i>1975</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2007</i>
<i>Absolute values (in thousands)</i>						
Work	58,8	66,8	424,0	827,6	1479,4	1463,1
Family	47,0	46,7	92,1	334,1	545,3	763,7
Study	27,3	31,8	21,1	31,5	37,4	51,6
Tourism (a)	10,5	10,2	8,3	6,6	9,7	-
Residence	20,4	20,2	35,5	53,5	58,5	44,8
Religion	19,8	22,1	39,0	53,6	53,0	32,1
Other	2,8	2,5	28,9	33,7	44,3	59,6
<i>Total</i>	<i>186,7</i>	<i>200,3</i>	<i>648,9</i>	<i>1340,7</i>	<i>2227,6</i>	<i>2415,0</i>
<i>Percentages</i>						
Work	31.5	33.4	65.3	61.7	66.4	60.6
Family	25.2	23.3	14.2	24.9	24.5	31.6
Study	14.6	15.9	3.3	2.4	1.7	2.1
Tourism (a)	5.6	5.1	1.3	0.5	0.4	-
Residence	10.9	10.1	5.5	4.0	2.6	1.9
Religion	10.6	11.0	6.0	4.0	2.4	1.3
Other	1.5	1.2	4.5	2.5	2.0	2.5
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Note: (a) in 2007 included in “Other”

Source: calculations on Ministry of Interior data in Birindelli (1988) and on ISTAT data. From Bonifazi et al. (2009)

The evolution of immigration in terms of area of origin is clear: there was a rise in the size and proportion of immigration from the third world and especially from East European countries, and a corresponding reduction from developed countries despite an increase in absolute terms as a result of growing economic integration between Italy and the other western countries.

From the Nineties, the geography of immigration began to take on an increasingly precise shape. In the present decade there is a clear prevalence of Albanians, Romanians and Moroccans and a gradual stabilization of many other sizeable communities. In the two decades considered, increases in the biggest communities have been very different. There has always been a much higher percentage growth in Romanian immigration, while growth in Albanian immigration, while higher in absolute terms, is now close to the average. Moroccans have always been below the overall growth rate and this explains why Romanians and Albanians have now exceeded them in number, notably the former that have increased of 300,000 units in 2007. Recently, there has been an extraordinary increase in the numbers also for the Ukrainians, up from 6,500 permit

holders in 2000 to 118,500 in 2007, and the Moldovans, who, in the same period increased more than 25-fold, numbering over 50,000. There has been a considerable increase in numbers of Ecuadorians too. The growth rate of Tunisians, Senegalese and Filipinos (especially in the present decade) has been small; the rate for the Chinese has remained basically stable, while in the current decade there has been a resumption of flows from Poland.

**Tab.I.A.3 – Permits to stay by geographical area of citizenship, 1971-2007 (values at the beginning of the year)**

Geographical area	Absolute values (in thousands)					%				
	1971	1980	1992	2000	2007	1971	1980	1992	2000	2007
UE-15	64,3	87,4	100,4	145,9	135,3	43.8	43.6	15.5	10.9	5.6
Other Western Europe (a)	15,1	16,1	20,0	21,1	11,1	10.2	8.0	3.1	1.6	0.5
North America	28,4	35,3	44,2	50,4	29,7	19.3	17.6	6.8	3.8	1.2
Other MDC (b)	3,6	5,5	6,9	9,2	8,9	2.5	2.8	1.1	0.7	0.4
<i>Total</i>	<i>111,5</i>	<i>144,3</i>	<i>171,5</i>	<i>226,5</i>	<i>185,0</i>	<i>75.8</i>	<i>72.0</i>	<i>26.4</i>	<i>16.9</i>	<i>7.7</i>
East Europe (c)	10,9	12,3	82,6	357,0	1017,0	7.4	6.1	12.7	26.6	42.1
Of which new 10 EU	3,8	4,1	27,8	112,0	401,8	2.6	2.0	4.3	8.4	16.6
North Africa	2,4	4,6	148,0	251,3	392,0	1.6	2.3	22.8	18.7	16.2
Other Africa	2,4	8,4	79,6	138,2	178,8	1.6	4.2	12.3	10.3	7.4
Latin America	8,4	12,1	50,1	110,8	217,9	5.7	6.0	7.7	8.3	9.0
Asia (d)	10,2	17,6	116,3	256,1	423,9	6.9	8.8	17.9	19.1	17.6
<i>Total LDC</i>	<i>23,4</i>	<i>42,7</i>	<i>393,9</i>	<i>756,5</i>	<i>1212,7</i>	<i>15.9</i>	<i>21.3</i>	<i>60.7</i>	<i>56.4</i>	<i>50.2</i>
<i>Total (e)</i>	<i>147,0</i>	<i>200,3</i>	<i>648,9</i>	<i>1340,7</i>	<i>2415,0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Notes: (a) including Cyprus and Malta; (b) Japan and Oceania; (c) until 1992 including new Asian states of Former USSR; (d) including Turkey and from 2000 new Asian states of Former USSR, excluding Japan; (e) including stateless

Source: Bonifazi et al. (2009), calculations on Ministry of Interior data in Birindelli (1988) and on ISTAT data

In recent years more and more immigrants have been settling down in Italy, which has also resulted in a greater balance in the demographic composition of the foreign community. In particular, there has been a trend towards normalisation in terms of gender. Compared to 1992, by early 2007 women were closer to representing half the total in almost all communities. The situation appears, however, still highly unbalanced and immigrant communities continue to show great differences in gender characterization, a sign of the many different reasons for emigrating. The percentage of women immigrants according to the major countries of origin ranges from the 13.7 per cent for Senegal, 21.7 per cent for Egypt and 28.8 per cent for Tunisia to the 83.2 per

cent for Ukraine, 71.6 per cent for Poland, 68 per cent for Moldavia and 63.8 per cent for Peru.

**Tab. I.A.4 – Permits to stay by main countries of citizenship, index number and gender structure, beginning 1992, 2000 and 2007, absolute values in thousands**

Country of citizenship	Absolute values			Index number		% female		% permits for work (female)	
	1992	2000	2007	2000 (1992=1)	2007 (2000=1)	1992	2007	1992	2007
Albania	24,9	133,0	282,7	5.3	2.1	14.1	43.5	43.7	18.5
Romania	8,3	61,2	278,6	7.4	4.6	58.0	54.1	24.6	54.1
Morocco	83,3	155,9	258,6	1.9	1.7	9.8	37.0	68.5	25.0
China	15,8	56,7	122,4	3.6	2.2	39.8	47.1	71.5	57.3
Ukraine (a)	0,9	6,5	118,5	7.2	18.2	77.9	83.2	47.4	80.1
Poland	12,1	29,5	78,9	2.4	2.7	55.7	71.6	53.8	65.4
Philippine	36,3	67,4	76,4	1.9	1.1	67.2	61.8	85.7	76.8
Tunisia	41,5	46,8	64,9	1.1	1.4	9.0	28.8	65.9	15.1
India	9,9	27,6	57,1	2.8	2.1	43.0	38.2	14.8	10.4
Serbia and Montenegro (b)	26,7	41,2	55,7	1.5	1.4	37.1	42.5	51.5	26.4
Perù	5,0	29,1	52,1	5.8	1.8	63.7	63.8	64.4	68.5
Moldova	n.d.	1,9	50,3	-	26.5	65.0(c)	68.0	43.0(c)	70.2
Ecuador	1,0	10,5	50,3	10.5	4.8	68.5	63.5	59.6	73.3
Senegal	24,2	40,9	49,8	1.7	1.2	2.9	13.7	80.1	29.9
Egypt	18,5	34,0	49,6	1.8	1.5	14.2	21.7	29.2	11.9
Total	648,9	1340,7	2,415,0	2.1	1.8	39.9	50.4	45.9	43.6

Note: (a) 1992 values refer to 1996; (b) 1992 former Yugoslavia; (c) 2000

Source: ISTAT data

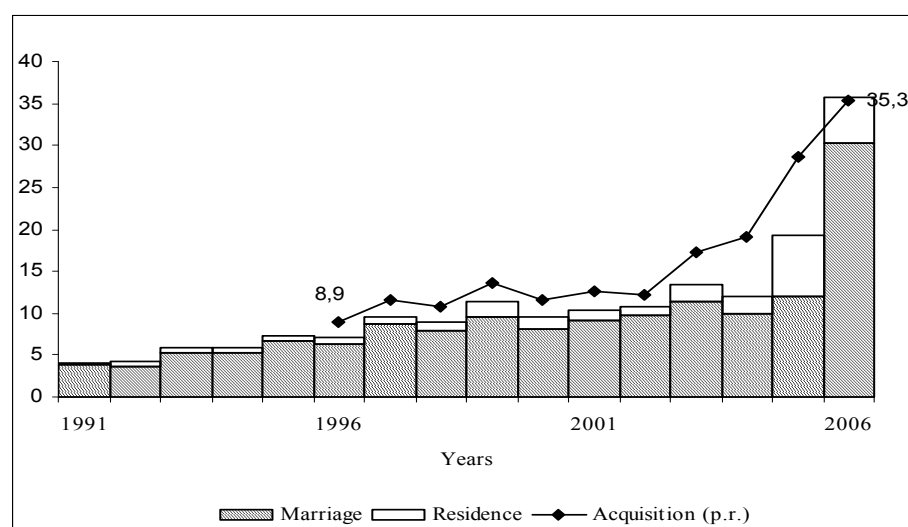
Thus, on the one hand we see prevalently male immigration, with men representing the vanguard to be joined later by the rest of the family. On the other hand, there is the opposite situation, where most immigrants are woman, who are joined in later years by other members of the family nucleus. The proportion of work permits issued to women gives us a good idea of gender differences in immigration patterns. Thus, women are clearly the driving force behind immigration in the 80.1 per cent of work permits issued to women among Ukrainians, the 76.8 per cent among Filipinos and 73.3 per cent among Ecuadorians; on the other hand, the more traditional, family role of women emerges from the 10.4 per cent of work permits issued to women in the Indian community, 11.9 per cent among Egyptians and the 15.1 per cent among Tunisians. The trend was, probably, also set by the first immigrant women belonging to communities with a high male prevalence; this can help explain the significant drop in the number of



work permits issued to women between 1992 and 2007 in some national groups. It is what happened with Moroccan, Albanian, Tunisian, Senegalese and Egyptian women, for which numerical growth and gradual settlement have clearly led to a progressive reduction in the percentage of women who emigrate autonomously compared to those who accompany family members.

Some few consideration must be added as regard naturalization and citizenship trend of foreigners in Italy. Nowadays the legislation on naturalization is particularly restrictive. There are several channels for foreign nationals to acquire Italian citizenship: marriage, residence (ten years for non-EU and four for EU citizens); birth (with the provision of continuous residence in Italy until legal age of 18); children of naturalised citizens. Corresponding data are available from The Ministry of the Interior, for the first two methods of acquiring citizenship, and from ISTAT, for aggregate data on cancellations from population registers due to naturalisations.

**Fig. I.A.2 – Acquisition of citizenship according to Ministry of Interior (marriage and residence, 1991-2006) and to ISTAT (population registers data), absolute values in thousands**



Source: Bonifazi et al. (2009)

Both sources show a big increase in naturalisations. According to Ministry of the Interior data, in 2005 there were 19,300 immigrants who acquired citizenship through marriage and residence, a figure which shot up to 35,800 in 2006. The reason for such a big increase is probably due to greater resources being assigned to offices responsible for dealing with the paperwork, which made it possible to get through almost twice as many applications (Bonifazi et al., 2009). Citizenship is mostly acquired through

marriage, which, after a drop in 2005 to 61.7 per cent of the total, rose in the following year to 84.4 per cent. Data provided by registry offices are 35,330 for 2006 but in 2007 they have increased to 45,485 units.

### ***b. Filipino Immigrants Relative to the Immigrant Population in Italy***

According to the most recent data available from the Ministry of the Interior and revised by the National Statistics Institute (ISTAT), as of January 1, 2007, there were 76,413 immigrants from the Philippines in Italy, representing a 3.2% share in the total of foreigners with a residence permit. Even if their number is more than doubled between 1991 and 2007 their share on the total of immigrant is steadily declining from 1999 and today they represent the 7<sup>th</sup> largest immigrant group in Italy and second among the Asian groups, second only to the Chinese (which represents 5% in the total of foreigners).

The Filipino community is one of the longest established settlements in Italy and has seen its largest expansion in numbers in the early years of the 1990s, in particular between 1991 and 1996, following the various amnesties, which registered annual increments of 19% and 31%, respectively. This longevity is evident in the analysis of Table I.A.5 which shows the percentages of the residence permits by year of arrival: more than half of the Filipino arrivals date back before 1992, a timeline very different from those of the immigrants from countries with strong migratory pressures (smp) or those with the largest composition but a more recent arrival, like the Romanians. It is exactly this new and consistent influx, mainly from Eastern Europe and Latin America, that has rendered the relative weight of the Filipino presence (in the estimate of the residence permits) lose more than one per cent point in 14 years, despite the doubling of the actual number of residents in 1990.

The distribution of Filipino residents in Italian soil is quite peculiar and decidedly metropolitan as the major portion of the community is based in Milan and Rome, and over 60% live in Latium and Lombardy.

The explanation for is that the community has been long distinguished for its first predominantly female migration tides and its orientation towards employment as dependents, principally in domestic work with families, which explains its marked

urban concentration. In fact the Filipinos constitute the community with the highest degree of concentration<sup>1</sup> in specific areas among all foreign groupings in Italy.

**Tab. I.A.5 – Filipino Citizens with Residence Permits as of 1 January and in Relation to the Total Foreign Residents During the Period 1991-2007**

	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>% Filipinos in relation to total foreign residents</i>	<i>Base Index Number 1990</i>
1991	34,328	4.4	100
1992	40,695	4.5	119
1993	44,155	4.8	129
1994	46,332	4.7	135
1995	40,846	4.4	119
1996	43,421	4.4	126
1997	57,071	5.2	166
1998	61,285	4.9	179
1999	55,846	5.4	163
2000	61,004	4.9	178
2001	65,353	4.7	190
2002	64,215	4.7	187
2003	65,257	4.3	190
2004	73,847	3.4	215
2005	75,829	3.4	221
2006	74,987	3.3	218
2007	76,413	3.2	223

*Source:* Statistical Presentation of data from the Ministry of the Interior

From what is evident in table I.A.6 the Philippine presence, although less in actual size than the ones in Milan and Rome, represents a significant portion of the foreigners in some southern regions like Sicily, Sardinia, Campania and Calabria.

Even if their presence in the territory is consolidated the characteristics of the new arrivals have been changing from the first newcomers which were mainly female to the recent flows with a male predominance aimed to create or re-create the families in Italy. The recent prevalence of this type of migrant is an indicator of the increasing trend to settle in the territory.

<sup>1</sup> As confirmed by Istat through the calculation of the index of geographic concentration on census data. On the basis of such index, the Filipino community has the highest degree of area concentration, while the community most uniformly diffused over Italy is that of the Albanians. The index (*Indice ajusté de concentration géographique-ACG*), proposed recently by the OECD (*Geographic Concentration and Territorial Disparity in OECD Countries*, OECD, Paris, 2003) for the comparative analysis of the regional aspects of migration is obtained as the ratio between a measure of the geographic concentration and its maximum. It varies between 0 and 1. The measure of geographic concentration used is the following:  $AGC = GC/GC^{max}$ , with  $GC = m_i \cdot p_i$  where  $m_i$  and  $p_i$  designate respectively that part of the collective total of the foreigners and that of the native population of the region  $I$ , while  $N$  designates the number of the regions in the country under consideration. In this case, the reference unit is the commune (Istat, 2005a).

**Tab. I.A.6 – Filipinos with Residence Permits as of January 1, 2007 by Region, %**

Region	Absolute Numbers			%		% of Filipinos by region	% of total foreigners by region
	Filipinos	Asian	Total	% of the Total	% of Asia		
Piedmont	2,833	15,853	191,026	1.5	17.9	3.7	7.9
Valle d'Aosta	16	207	4,758	0.3	7.7	0.0	0.2
Lombardy	26,134	125,753	584,863	4.5	20.8	34.2	24.2
Trentino Alto Adige	191	5,659	57,372	0.3	3.4	0.2	2.4
Veneto	3,278	46,724	279,594	1.2	7.0	4.3	11.6
Friuli Venezia Giulia	432	6,425	72,513	0.6	6.7	0.6	3.0
Liguria	688	5,887	65,909	1.0	11.7	0.9	2.7
Emilia Romagna	6,234	45,814	266,255	2.3	13.6	8.2	11.0
Tuscany	6,770	46,414	205,445	3.3	14.6	8.9	8.5
Umbria	800	3,904	47,504	1.7	20.5	1.0	2.0
The Marche	837	12,556	78,680	1.1	6.7	1.1	3.3
Latium	20,220	56,418	274,504	7.4	35.8	26.5	11.4
Abruzzo	340	4,521	38,640	0.9	7.5	0.4	1.6
Molise	24	377	4,336	0.6	6.4	0.0	0.2
Campania	2,122	15,024	89,694	2.4	14.1	2.8	3.7
Puglia	647	5,073	42,429	1.5	12.8	0.8	1.8
Basilicata	24	760	5,868	0.4	3.2	0.0	0.2
Calabria	1,354	4,304	27,611	4.9	31.5	1.8	1.1
Sicily	2,846	15,470	62,357	4.6	18.4	3.7	2.6
Sardinia	623	2,821	15,614	4.0	22.1	0.8	0.6
Italy	76,413	419,964	2,414,972	3.2	18.2	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistical presentation by Ismu of National Institute of Statistics (Istat) data

**Tab. I.A.7 – ISTAT. Filipinos with Residence Permits and female proportion, selected years (beginning of the year)**

	1992		1997		2002		2007	
	Males and Fem.	% Females	Males and Fem.	% Females	Males and Fem.	% Females	Males and Fem.	% Females
Filipinos	36,316	67.2	56,209	67.2	67,258	65.3	76,413	61.8
Total	648,935	39.9	986,020	43.8	1,448,392	47.2	2,414,972	50.4

#### *i) Socio-demographic Characteristics*

From the residence permits, it is still possible to define the profile of the community as one with a major female component: Filipino women represent 61.8% of the total Philippine presence in Italy, a much higher percentage compared to total of foreigners which is balanced (50.4%) even with strong gender differences among nationalities.

The process of family reunification is contributing to the ongoing correction in the gender imbalance. The new arrivals are almost always evenly divided as to gender and the effect on the overall Filipino population is a more even balance between the genders. In 1995-1996, around 70% of the group was female, which meant that there were 2.3 women for every man; by 2006, this ratio dropped, although still quite high, to 1,4.

**Tab. I.A.8 – Trends in the Issuance of Residence Permits to Filipinos by Year of Arrival and by Gender, 1996-2006**

	<i>Up to 1996</i>	<i>1997</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1999</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2003</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2005</i>	<i>2006</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Filipinos</i>												
Male	14,441	1,086	1,342	870	1,480	1,402	3,900	1,094	1,331	1,384	895	29,225
Female	28,212	1,818	1,968	986	2,193	1,483	5,314	992	1,183	1,782	1,257	47,188
<i>Total</i>	<i>42,653</i>	<i>2,904</i>	<i>3,310</i>	<i>1,856</i>	<i>3,673</i>	<i>2,885</i>	<i>9,214</i>	<i>2,086</i>	<i>2,514</i>	<i>3,166</i>	<i>2,152</i>	<i>76,413</i>
% Female	66.1	62.6	59.5	53.1	59.7	51.4	57.7	47.6	47.1	56.3	58.4	61.8
% Male	33.9	37.4	40.5	46.9	40.3	48.6	42.3	52.4	52.9	43.7	41.6	38.2
F/M	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.1	1.5	1.1	1.4	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.4	1.6
M/F	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.7	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.6
% F over total Filipino arrivals	59.8	3.9	4.2	2.1	4.6	3.1	11.3	2.1	2.5	3.8	2.7	100.0
%M over total Filipino arrivals	55.8	3.8	4.3	2.4	4.8	3.8	12.1	2.7	3.3	4.1	2.8	100.0
<i>All Foreigners</i>												
Male	379,527	73,941	48,379	31,042	52,854	64,752	299,271	43,511	57,595	68,656	78,924	1,198,452
Female	253,828	46,930	56,034	52,177	72,837	87,925	275,133	72,421	91,493	105,171	102,571	1,216,520
<i>Total</i>	<i>633,355</i>	<i>120,871</i>	<i>104,413</i>	<i>83,219</i>	<i>125,691</i>	<i>152,677</i>	<i>574,404</i>	<i>115,932</i>	<i>149,088</i>	<i>173,827</i>	<i>181,495</i>	<i>2,414,972</i>
% Female	40.1	38.8	53.7	62.7	57.9	57.6	47.9	62.5	61.4	60.5	56.5	50.4
% Male	59.9	61.2	46.3	37.3	42.1	42.4	52.1	37.5	38.6	39.5	43.5	49.6
F/M	0.7	0.6	1.2	1.7	1.4	1.4	0.9	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.3	1.0
M/F	1.5	1.6	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.1	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.8	1.0
% F over total arrivals	20.9	3.9	4.6	4.3	6.0	7.2	22.6	6.0	7.5	8.6	8.4	100.0
%M over total arrivals	26.2	5.0	4.3	3.4	5.2	6.3	23.8	4.8	6.2	7.2	7.5	100.0

Source: Data from the Ministry of the Interior revised by National Institute of Statistics (Istat)

The group objective for its migration is predominantly work: in 2007, 77% of Filipinos were in possession of residence permits for the said purpose. The women comprise 6.3% of total foreign females with residence permits for work, 42.3% of all Asian women. The relative representation of the Filipino men is much lower: they represent only 2.3% of all foreign males with residence permits for work, 12.1% of all Asian.

The men play a more important role where the family residence permits are concerned, comprising 3.1% of the total who entered Italy on this kind of permit, against 1.2% for the women. The predominantly female character of the first migration wave is responsible for this, with more men being petitioned under the family reunification scheme. After work and family reasons, the third motive of the Filipino presence is related to religion.

The age structure of the group is strictly related to its seniority in migration: the Filipino population is, in fact, older with respect to other foreigners taken as a whole and also to the group of only Asians. If the most representative age range for the other foreigners and the Asian group is between 30 and 34 years, among the Filipinos, the most populous age group is that between 35 and 39 years. The minor children like the young people are less represented in contrast to the greater percentage weight of the age groups between 40 and 60 years<sup>2</sup>.

What emerges from these data, therefore, is a community that, by now, is settled and generally not as young as the other foreign groups. The growing presence of minors indicates, however, that the Filipino presence is becoming a proper population demographically speaking, i.e. established and stable.

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<sup>2</sup> It must be pointed out that children of minor age, with a few exceptions, do not hold their own residence permits, but are included in those of their parents. The situation of these minors will, therefore, be analyzed through the data of residents.

**Tab. I.A.9 – Residence Permits as of January 1, 2007 by Motivation and Gender (Actual Value and % Composition by Row)**

	<i>Work</i>	<i>Family</i>	<i>Religion</i>	<i>ElectiveResidence</i>	<i>Studies</i>	<i>Tourism</i>	<i>Asylum</i>	<i>Asylum</i>	<i>Others</i>	Total
<i>Asia</i>										
Males	187,185	30,708	2,374	518	6,077	1,503	987	1,024	1,091	231,467
Females	85,663	85,738	7,313	849	6,477	447	63	155	1,792	188,497
<i>Total</i>	<i>272,848</i>	<i>116,446</i>	<i>9,687</i>	<i>1,367</i>	<i>12,554</i>	<i>1,950</i>	<i>1,050</i>	<i>1,179</i>	<i>2,883</i>	<i>419,964</i>
% Male over total males permits	80.9	13.3	1.0	0.2	2.6	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.5	100.0
% female over total females permits	45.4	45.5	3.9	0.5	3.4	0.2	0.0	0.1	1.0	100.0
% total over total females permits	65.0	27.7	2.3	0.3	3.0	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.7	100.0
<i>Filipinos</i>										
Males	22,651	5,502	504	129	354	-	-	-	85	29,225
Females	36,239	7,080	2,451	533	615	-	-	2	268	47,188
<i>Total</i>	<i>58,890</i>	<i>12,582</i>	<i>2,955</i>	<i>662</i>	<i>969</i>	-	-	2	<i>353</i>	<i>76,413</i>
% Male over total males permits	77.5	18.8	1.7	0.4	1.2	-	-	-	0.3	100.0
% female over total females permits	76.8	15.0	5.2	1.1	1.3	-	-	-	0.6	100.0
% total over total females permits	77.1	16.5	3.9	0.9	1.3	-	-	-	0.5	100.0
<i>All foreigner</i>										
Males	932,596	174,839	12,746	18,471	23,517	6,100	6,438	10,305	13,440	1,198,452
Females	530,462	588,905	19,335	26,376	28,108	2,513	1,028	3,142	16,651	1,216,520
<i>Total</i>	<i>1,463,058</i>	<i>763,744</i>	<i>32,081</i>	<i>44,847</i>	<i>51,625</i>	<i>8,613</i>	<i>7,466</i>	<i>13,447</i>	<i>30,091</i>	<i>2,414,972</i>
% Males over total male permits	77.8	14.6	1.1	1.5	2.0	0.5	0.5	0.9	1.1	100.0
% Females over total females permits	43.6	48.4	1.6	2.2	2.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	1.4	100.0
% Total over total females permits	60.6	31.6	1.3	1.9	2.1	0.4	0.3	0.6	1.2	100.0

Source: Statistical presentation of National Institute of Statistics (Istat) data

## ii) Residents

The use of the civil registry are particularly suitable to analyze the Filipino presence. In fact, even if it's a voluntary registry it's quite complete and particularly suitable to analyze the most stable components of immigration and therefore the Filipino presence. Among the residents as of 31<sup>st</sup> December 2007, the women are in the majority: there are, in fact, 1.4 women for every man. The female percentage is lower (58.5%) than what is registered through the number of residence permits and this datum may be interpreted as an indication of the increased presence of families among the residents, a more stable component in the totality of those who stay. The percentage of female remains higher in the main cities, as they still attract the original typology of female domestic workers that in the beginning migrate without their family.

**Tab. I.A.10 – Filipino residents as of 1<sup>st</sup> January 2008**

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>% of females</i>	<i>% of Filipinos in relation to total foreign residents</i>
<i>Italy</i>					
Filipinos	43,836	61,839	105,675	58.5	3.1
All Foreigners	1,701,817	1,730,834	3,432,651	50.4	100.0
<i>Lombardy</i>					
Filipinos	16,964	21,909	38,873	56.4	4.8
All Foreigners	425,849	389,486	815,335	47.8	100.0
<i>City of Milan</i>					
Filipinos	12,164	15,856	28,020	56.6	15.9
All Foreigners	88,770	87,227	175,997	49.6	100.0
<i>Latium</i>					
Filipinos	10,309	16,330	26,639	61.3	6.8
All Foreigners	180,570	210,423	390,993	53.8	100.0
<i>City of Rome</i>					
Filipinos	9,475	15,046	24,521	61.4	11.2
All Foreigners	97,611	120,815	218,426	55.3	100.0

Fonte: Elaborazioni ISMU su dati ISTAT

## iii) Work

In common manner of speaking, the word “filippina” has by come to be synonymous with *colf* (*collaboratrice familiare* or housekeeper). The term has become so diffused that to “*have the Filippina*” means to employ a foreign domestic helper of whatever nationality.

The deterioration in the meaning of the term “filippina” to come to mean “domestic helper” may have been brought about by the rigid segregation of work along gender lines, which resulted in a high concentration of Filipino women migrating to take on



domestic work, especially in the period from the late 1980s to the early 1990s. Even in 2001 census data, 83% of the Filipinos was in the labor force, with a percentage of females higher than that observed in other foreign groups, and even among Asians. The percentage of unemployed Filipinos was small, lower than 5%, and is even lower for the females<sup>3</sup>, contrary to the trends observed for the foreign groups as a whole, for the Asians, and even for the Italians – a clear sign of the excellent reputation that the Filipinos have earned over the years in the Italian collective thinking.

Among the unemployed, the percentage of Filipino men in search of their first job in Italy exceeds the percentage of Filipino women by 13 points, demonstrating the increased difficulty for the men to find a job. Even the proportion of the unemployed<sup>4</sup> in a strict sense is higher for men, while among the women, the number is high for those other persons in search of a job<sup>5</sup>.

In comparison to other nationalities, the Filipinos have a limited presence in the industrial sector and in business/commerce, and are concentrated in the “other sectors” of employment, mostly in domestic work. The predominance of women in this job sector is very strong and 80% of the women can be found employed in this sector, less for men of which 26% find work in the industrial sector.

More recent data released by Istat in 2009<sup>6</sup> show that in 2006 the situation remained substantially unchanged with a extremely high level of female participation to the labour force (88,3%) and a higher percentage of female in the Filipino labour force. The territorial distribution of workers still have a higher concentration in the northern part of the country where more than 50% of Filipino citizen works.

Their long permanence emerges also in the labour force analysis where over 65% of all workers have a permanence of over 10 years.

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<sup>3</sup> In 2001, the Inail (Istituto Nazionale Assicurazione sul Lavoro or the Italian Workers' Compensation Authority) registered 9,793 cases of employment hiring for Filipino citizens, of which 92% were of a continuing (or open-end) nature. The Filipino hiring in continuing (or open-end) contracts represents 2.7% of all permanent hiring, and 1.5% for the total temporary hiring among the non-Italians. The number of employment hiring was inferior to that of dismissals; there were 1.7 permanent cases of hiring for every case of dismissal. In contrast, in temporary hiring, there were 1.1 terminations of contract for every new contract.

<sup>4</sup> In the 1999 listing of the national employment placement offices, there were 6,340 Filipinos who registered to look for a job, of which 60% were women with 25% concentrated in Latium, 19% in Lombardy, and 11% in Piedmont.

<sup>5</sup> “Other persons looking for a job” is defined as those who declare that they have found one but will be start work at some future time. They claimed to be in some other situation (e.g., students, housewives, retired, etc.) but in follow-up questioning by the interviewer, they declared to be looking for a job and ready to start work immediately.

<sup>6</sup> Istat, *Gli stranieri nel mercato del lavoro*, draft version released on February 9<sup>th</sup> 2009.

**Tab. I.A.11 – Foreign Groups of Asian Origin by Labor Sector in Which Employed, 2001, %**

	<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Commerce</i>	<i>Other Activities</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Men</i>					
Asia	6.8	42.8	22.5	27.9	100.0
East Asia	2.9	37.5	26.6	32.9	100.0
Philippines	4.3	26.1	12.4	57.2	100.0
Total	6.9	57.0	16.2	20.0	100.0
<i>Women</i>					
Asia	3.7	19.6	16.7	60.0	100.0
East Asia	3.5	19.6	17.5	59.5	100.0
Philippines	4.1	9.7	7.2	79.0	100.0
Total	4.2	22.6	19.4	53.8	100.0
<i>Total</i>					
Asia	5.7	34.1	20.3	40.0	100.0
East Asia	3.2	28.0	21.8	47.1	100.0
Philippines	4.2	16.0	9.2	70.6	100.0
Total	5.9	44.7	17.3	32.0	100.0

*Source:* Statistical presentation based on data from the National Institute of Statistics (Istat, 2005a)

The 2006 data still show the segregation in the area of services (75% of all workers) that means domestic services or cleaning services for offices. As a matter of fact nearly 50% of them have low skilled jobs, 25% of them are factory workers and only a very low percentage have a high skilled job.

More detailed data are provided by the Observatory on the domestic workers registered with the Inps (i.e., Istituto Nazionale della Previdenza Sociale or the Italian Social Security System): in 2005, Filipinos made up 12.3% of all female domestic workers registered, and 28,6% of the male. After 2002 the percentage of Filipino domestic workers dropped even if their number was stable. This in the effect of strong new flows to Italy for domestic workers from other geographical areas (mainly Latin America and East Europe).

**Tab. I.A.12 – Data on the domestic workers registered with the Inps (National Welfare Institute) 1999-2005**

	<i>Filipinos</i>			<i>All foreign domestic workers</i>			<i>% Filipino domestic workers in relation to all foreign domestic workers</i>			<i>% Filipino female to total Filipinos d.w.</i>	<i>% female to all domestic workers</i>
	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>% Females</i>	<i>% Females</i>
1999	27,989	10,367	38,356	94,921	29,964	124,885	29.5	34.6	30.7	73.0	76.0
2000	30,457	11,011	41,468	106,641	31,002	137,643	28.6	35.5	30.1	73.4	77.5
2001	30,634	10,799	41,433	109,049	30,456	139,505	28.1	35.5	29.7	73.9	78.2
2002	36,319	13,420	49,739	339,219	70,088	409,307	10.7	19.1	12.2	73.0	82.9
2003	36,538	13,179	49,717	347,599	63,826	411,425	10.5	20.6	12.1	73.5	84.5
2004	36,893	12,790	49,683	321,348	50,482	371,830	11.5	25.3	13.4	74.3	86.4
2005	36,720	12,374	49,094	298,815	43,250	342,065	12.3	28.6	14.4	74.8	87.4

Source: ISMU elaborations on INPS data (Banche Dati Statistiche, Osservatorio sui lavoratori domestici – [www.inps.it](http://www.inps.it))

*iv) Type of Contract and Wages: the Case of Lombardy*

There is available information on the working conditions of Filipino migrants in Lombardy, regardless of their legal or contractual legitimacy, from the Regional Observatory set up by ISMU Foundation. In 2008, 84,9% of the Filipinos were regularly employed, with a high share of part timers and fixed term contract with very few self-employed.

**Tab. I.A.13 – Employed Filipino Citizens by Type of Employment Contract in Lombardy, 2008, %**

Employed regularly on fixed term contract	48.3
Employed regularly, part time	23.5
Employed regularly, open-end contract with regular hours	48.3
Employed irregularly, stable	8.3
Employed irregularly, unstable	2.6
Employed as parasubordinato (i.e., a type of employment midway between dependent employment and self-employment as in work contracts on a project basis)	0.3
Regular self-employment	2.3
Irregular self-employment	0.2
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Source: Osservatorio Regionale for Integration and Multi-ethnicity, Lombardy Region, 2004

Those employed irregularly (i.e., without regularity) comprise more or less 11% of Filipinos working in Lombardy, a condition only partly justified by a similarly irregular legal status: in fact, only 30% of those with irregular employment are also irregular legally, as what happens among the unemployed.

In the Filipinos' working conditions, what stands out is the concentration in the service sector servicing homes, offices, and individuals where 78% of Filipinos are engaged.

The median declared earnings are 850 euros, wages that are not significantly different from those of other foreign workers.

*v) A Look at the Second Generation*

Families and Minors

According to 2001 census data, there are 9,980 Filipinos of minor age residing in Italy. Their number represents 18.5% of the total Filipino community and 20% of minors of Asian origin. By gender, the males outnumber the females at 52.7%. The highest concentration of these Filipino minors (like the entire Filipino community) can be found in Lombardy and Latium, where 39.4% and 23.5% of them live, respectively. The number of Filipino children born in Italy is 7,536 in 2001, equivalent to 5.5% of total births among residents.

**Tab. I.A.14 – Foreigners of Minor Age by Place of Birth, Age Group and Origin in 2001, % and group %**

	<i>Place of Birth</i>		<i>Age Groups</i>			<i>Minors (actual numbers)</i>
	<i>Abroad</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Less than 6 years old</i>	<i>6-13 years old</i>	<i>14-17 years old</i>	
Central and East Europe	63.5	36.5	38.5	43.1	18.4	100,288
Africa	38.6	61.4	51.4	34.5	14.1	98,318
Asia	42.8	57.2	45.3	38.2	16.5	50,074
East Asia	37.0	63.0	42.3	39.8	17.9	25,959
Philippines	24.5	75.5	44.4	41.9	13.7	9,980
Central and South America	68.7	31.3	29.0	46.1	24.9	19,639
Total SMP Countries	51.0	49.0	43.7	39.3	17.0	271,999

*Source:* Statistical Presentation of Data from National Institute of Statistics (Istat, 2005a)

The number of births in Italy is not large, but it is not below what is observed for the other nationalities, with the exception of the Moroccan births. This means that even among the Filipinos, the second generation is beginning to grow: around 7 out of every 10 cases, the children of immigrants are born in Italy, a rather high percentage, superior to that observed for the other longstanding foreign groups like Morocco, Egypt (43.4%) or Tunisia (30.7%).

Filipino minors in over 80% of the cases are less than 14 years old, younger than the minors from other geographical origins, and also in comparison with the Chinese (where over 20% of the minors are above 14 years of age).

## School

The main source of information on minors is without doubt the data from the schools, where the number of students of Filipino origin has increased more than six fold between 1998 and 2008, a notable growth although below the increase registered for other nationalities. The Filipinos actually represent a little less than 3% of foreign students enrolled in Italian schools, a consistent proportion across all levels.

In the nine years covered by the data, the major increase in the presence of Filipino students were in the middle schools where Filipino students in the academic year 2006-2007 were seven times more numerous than what it had been in 1998-1999 and in high schools where their number is multiplied by more than 18 times that in 1998-99.

**Tab. I.A.15 – Filipino Students by Academic Year and Educational Level, in Index Number with 1998-1999 as Base Year**

	<i>Day Nursery</i>	<i>Elementary</i>	<i>Middle School</i>	<i>High School</i>	<i>Total</i>
1998-1999	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1999-2000	123.0	143.6	170.7	166.0	142.4
2000-2001	119.6	180.0	217.7	241.8	169.5
2001-2002	124.8	192.5	253.0	342.5	189.3
2002-2003	137.8	243.7	343.4	485.0	239.9
2003-2004	166.4	297.0	434.6	717.0	303.2
2005-2006	330.6	428.3	641.7	1.515.7	504.0
2006-2007	362.3	477.5	700.8	1.888.2	571.1
2007-2008	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	688.1

*Source:* Statistical presentation of data from the Ministry of Education

**Tab. I.A.16 – Filipino Students in Relation to the Total Number of Foreign Students by Academic Year and Level, Academic Year 1998/99 – 2007/2008, in actual numbers and %**

		<i>Day Nursery</i>	<i>Elementary</i>	<i>Middle School</i>	<i>High School</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>of which Female</i>
1998/99	Philippines	762	946	355	153	2,216	46.4
	% Filipinos in relation to total foreigners	4.2	2.4	1.8	1.7	2.6	
	% Filipinos in relation to non-European Union foreigners	6.2	4.5	3.1	3.2	4.4	
1999/00	Philippines	937	1,358	606	254	3,155	46.5
	% Filipinos in relation to total foreigners	3.9	2.6	2.1	1.9	2.6	
	% Filipinos in relation to non-European Union foreigners	6.1	4.8	3.5	3.4	4.6	
2000/01	Philippines	911	1,703	773	370	3,757	45.9
	% Filipinos in relation to total foreigners	3.0	2.7	2.2	2.0	2.5	
	% Filipinos in relation to non-European Union foreigners	3.0	2.8	2.2	2.1	2.6	
2001/02	Philippines	951	1.821	898	524	4.194	45.5
	% Filipinos in relation to total foreigners	2.6	2.4	2.0	2.2	2.3	
	% Filipinos in relation to non-European Union foreigners	2.6	2.4	2.1	2.3	2.4	

2002/03	Philippines	1,050	2,305	1,219	742	5,316	46.7
	% Filipinos in relation to total foreigners	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.2	2.3	
	% Filipinos in relation to non-European Union foreigners	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.3	2.3	
2003/04	Philippines	1,268	2,810	1,543	1,097	6,718	46.9
	% Filipinos in relation to total foreigners	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.4	
	% Filipinos in relation to non-European Union foreigners	2.4	2.5	2.3	2.5	2.4	
2004/05	Philippines	2,257	3,671	1,973	1,429	9,330	46.7
	% Filipinos in relation to total foreigners	3.1	2.5	2.3	2.4	2.6	
	% Filipinos in relation to non-European Union foreigners	3.2	2.7	2.4	2.5	2.7	
2005/06	Philippines	2,519	4,052	2,278	2,319	11,168	47.0
	% Filipinos in relation to total foreigners	3.1	2.5	2.4	2.8	2.6	
	% Filipinos in relation to non-European Union foreigners	3.2	2.6	2.5	3.0	2.8	
2006/07	Philippines	2,761	4,517	2,488	2,889	12,655	48.0
	% Filipinos in relation to total foreigners	2.9	2.4	2.2	2.8	2.5	
	% Filipinos in relation to non-European Union foreigners	3.5	3.0	2.7	3.5	3.1	
2007/08	Philippines	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>	15,248	<i>n.d.</i>
	% Filipinos in relation to total foreigners	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>	2.7	<i>n.d.</i>
	% Filipinos in relation to non-European Union foreigners	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>	<i>n.d.</i>

Source: Statistical presentation of data from the Ministry of Education

The data from the study *Insieme a scuola 3* (“Together in School 3”) conducted by the Ismu Foundation and the Regional Scholastic Office allow an in-depth look at some crucial aspects regarding the outcomes and the delays (i.e., demoted placement in a class inferior to one’s age group) of the Filipino students in Lombardy.

**Tab. I.A.17 – Foreign Students by Nationality and Academic School Level in the Lombardy Region, Academic Year 2003/2004**

	<i>Filipinos</i>	<i>Other Foreigners</i>	<i>Total</i>
Early Childhood (Nursery and Kindergarten)	29.0	22.9	23.2
Primary	39.5	41.5	41.4
Lower Secondary (Middle) School	20.7	22.9	22.8
Upper Secondary (High) School	10.9	12.7	12.6
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Source: Osservatorio Regionale for Integration and Multi-Ethnicity (2005)

Ninety per cent (90%) of the Filipino students in Lombardy attend a school in the province of Milan, with a number that stands out in comparison with the other foreign students in middle school. The students have an age range between 3 and 22 years, with

a median age of 8 which is one year less than the median age of the other foreign students. Except for the early childhood schools (i.e., nursery and kindergarten classes for 3-5 year olds), the students for the most attend state-run schools.

64% of Filipino students were born in Italy<sup>7</sup> and this number is considerably higher than what is observed for the other foreign students, 70% of which were born abroad. This high percentage is connected to the relative young age of the Filipino children, enrolled prevalently in the lower academic levels where the children of foreign nationals who were born in Italy are concentrated.

**Tab. I.A.18 – Foreign Students by Nationality and Type of Secondary School, Lombardy, Academic Year 2003-2004, %**

	<i>Filipinos</i>	<i>Other Foreigners</i>	<i>Total</i>
Licei classici (Secondary Schools with focus on the humanities)	0.3	1.8	1.7
Licei scientifici ((Secondary Schools with focus on the sciences)	3.6	9.5	9.3
Licei pedagogici (Secondary Schools with focus on teacher training)	2.1	4.1	4.0
Licei linguistico (Secondary Schools with focus on foreign languages)	0.5	0.6	0.6
Licei artistici (Secondary Schools with focus on the arts)	3.1	1.1	1.2
Istituti d'arte (Art Institutes)	1.3	0.4	0.5
Istituti tecnici (Technical Institutes)	41.8	41.3	41.4
Istituti professionali (Vocational Institutes)	47.3	41.2	41.4
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Absolute numbers	385	8,610	8,995

Source: Osservatorio Regionale for Integration and Multi-Ethnicity (2005)

One key factor in future employment is the choice of the secondary school, a step that is not yet of major importance to the Filipino students, given their still very young age. It is quite significant that among the 385 Filipino students of high school age in Lombardy, almost 90% attend technical or vocational institutes, with a percentage higher than what is observed for other foreign groups. It seems evident that the tendency is towards technical formation and employability.

More than 9 out of 10 Filipino students attended school regularly during the scholastic year 2003-2004, and only 8% (equivalent to 178 students) was assessed and placed one schooling year behind, compared to 12% for other foreign students. Half of these students entered the Italian school system for the first time, while more than 30% were enrolled the previous year. These children attend primary school in 45% of the cases, 41% are in middle school (junior high), while the remaining 12% are in high school.

<sup>7</sup> The place of birth is unknown for 5.23% of Filipino students.

Fluency in the Italian language is better among those who were placed in grade levels corresponding to their actual age.

In general, the Filipino students attend school regularly, and only in 2% of the cases were there occasional absences and a withdrawal during the year. One student out of three is a class or so behind his age group, a situation that is not unlike that observed for other nationalities. The median delay is one year. The command of Italian is significantly superior to that of other foreign students in Lombardy, but it is exactly the scant mastery of the language that seems to be the principal reason for failing marks. The majority of the students who fail do not possess a sufficient vocabulary, even if 80% of the cases attended school regularly. The failures, in fact, happen in the higher grade levels. The remaining 20% of repeaters, instead, did not attend school regularly, with 8.9% of them attending classes sporadically and 12.4% started the scholastic year late.

**Tab. I.A.19 – Filipino and Other Foreign Students by Level of command of the Italian Language, Lombardy, Academic Year 2003/2004 (in percentage)**

	<i>Filipinos</i>	<i>Other Foreigners</i>	<i>Total</i>
No knowledge of the Italian language	4.91	7.17	7.08
Knowledge and use of basic functional terms for schooling	18.59	26.13	25.83
Reading and writing competencies at the elementary level	25.54	21.52	21.69
Sufficient competencies in vocabulary, grammar and syntax	30.88	27.55	27.68
Good/excellent competencies in vocabulary, grammar and syntax	20.08	17.62	17.72
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Source: Osservatorio Regionale for Integration and Multi-Ethnicity, 2003

In conclusion, the Filipino community presents a numerical progression similar to those of the other foreign communities of long standing, like the Moroccans and the Tunisians that, although increased in numbers, have diminished their relative presence against the other foreigners, especially after the last amnesty, launched in 2002. The Filipinos are based mainly in the cities of Milan and Rome, and the motivation for this distribution is tied to the particular specialization in domestic work that Filipinos are noted for. The characteristic of having been long-term residents makes the consistent number of the second generation born in Italy begin to assume importance, and though they are still mostly of primary school age, their assimilation into society and the job market will become key factors in the future of the Filipino community in Italy.



## I.B. The MAPID Study in Italy

### ***a. Objectives of the Study***

The research work presented in these reports was carried out within the framework of the project **M**igrants' **A**ssociations and **P**hilippine **I**nstitutions for **D**evelopment (MAPID), supported by the European Commission through the Aeneas Programme and conducted by the Scalabrini Migration Center in Manila (Philippines), the Commission on Filipino Overseas Workers of the Philippine Government (Philippines), the ISMU Foundation in Milan (Italy) and the University of Valencia (Spain).

This project is aimed at enhancing the role of Migrants' Associations in Italy and Spain and of Government Institutions in the Philippines to act and co-operate in order to promote development in the Philippines.

The first stage of this three-year project consisted of three parallel studies conducted in the Philippines, in Italy and in Spain and geared towards the analysis of the general context where to intervene, the definition of the best practices in the field of co-development, the identification of the stakeholders involved and of the institutions to be mobilised and the detection of the main training needs of the latter two in order to promote their capacity to become agents of development. These studies represent the essential groundwork for the implementation of a training program targeted at leaders and active members of Filipino migrants' associations in Italy and Spain and at policy-makers and key officers involved in migration and development in the Philippines. The above-mentioned activities will be the centrepiece of the subsequent phases of the project.

In these pages we will give an account of the study carried out in Italy, and in particular in the areas of Milan and Rome, where the largest Filipino communities are settled.

### ***b. Brief Description of Data Collection***

The fieldwork was conducted between May and November 2008, by a team of

seventeen interviewers and researchers operating in the two areas at issue. Three instruments were used for the data collection:

- A questionnaire addressed to Filipino migrants;
- An in-depth interview addressed to some key informants;
- A questionnaire, combined with some open questions, addressed to officials or active members of Filipino associations or religious communities.

Further details will be provided in Section II.C., *Methodological Notes*.

## I.C. Organization of the Report

### ***a. Report 1, Description of the Sections***

This first report contains an overview of the immigration portrait in Italy and of Filipino immigration in Italy, together with highlights from the review of the literature concerning the history of Filipino migrations addressed to Italy, the characteristics of the Filipino immigrant community in Italy, with special attention devoted to some issues such as employment, lodgings, family, second generation, associational life.

Then attention is focussed on quantitative and qualitative data collected during this research, of the working conditions, family life, behaviour related to money (savings, consumption, and remittances), future plans and strategies for integration into Italian society of Filipino migrants.

In addition, their ties with the Philippines, their relationship with Italian institutions and with the Philippine government, Embassy and Consulate, their proneness to associative life, their habits in this field and their knowledge, experiences and opinions related to co-development, will be taken into account.

### ***b. Brief Statement About Report 2 and Report 3***

Then in the second report, we will present the findings of the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data on the features of Filipino migrants' associations and religious communities, their objectives, their main strengths and weaknesses, their internal structure and their relationship with other Filipino and Italian institutions and organizations and their opinions, interest and previous experiences in the field of co-development.

Finally, in the third report, we will illustrate the training needs of Filipino migrants living in Italy and, mostly, of Filipino members of migrants' associations, and their suggestions for the organization of training programmes capable of fulfilling these

needs so as to empower Filipino migrants as agents of development in the home and in the host country.

In the whole research work, as has been seen, special attention is dedicated to the theme of co-development and associational practices among Filipino migrants and, mostly, to the relationship between these two themes. In the framework of the sociological literature concerning the Filipino community settled in Italy, knowledge about these issues is still quite scarce, and this study is aimed at contributing to filling this gap.

## II. FILIPINO IMMIGRATION IN ITALY

### II.A. Filipino Immigration in Italy: Highlights from the Review of Literature<sup>1</sup>

#### *a. History of Filipino Immigration*

As we have seen in a previous chapter [please refer to Report 1, I.A. *Filipinos as Part of the Immigrant Landscape of Italy*], the Filipino community in Italy is one of the earliest settlements, with the first arrivals having taken place at the beginning of the '70s, at the time when Italy was characterized as prevalently a land of emigration.

The reasons that promoted leaving, although almost always prevalently economic, included facilitating conditions like the regularization of entry into Italy through official channels stipulated between the two governments (Philippine and Italian) and inserted in a specific scheme of “sponsorship and recruitment” program, the familiarity of the Filipinos with the Western culture (a result of the process of Americanization during the first half of the last century, which has acted as a real and proper agent of anticipatory socialization), the Philippines' Catholic religion (introduced by the Spanish colonizers in the 15<sup>th</sup> century), and closely related to the latter, is the intermediation of the ecclesiastical structure in addition to the proliferation of agencies facilitating the expatriation, whether regular or not (Lodigiani, 1995).

Most of the studies and research papers referred to in this literature's review present a three-part chronology of the Filipino migration in Italy, from the '70s to the present, which are likewise proposed in the succeeding pages.

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is primarily based on a previous analysis of literature realized by Laura Bortoluzzi on the occasion of the research *Orgoglio e pregiudizio. Una ricerca tra Filippine e Italia sulla transizione all'età attiva dei figli di emigrati e dei figli di immigrati* (*Pride and Prejudice. A Research Study on the Transition to Adulthood Among Filipino Immigrants' Children and Among Filipino Emigrants' Children*), by Laura Zanfrini and Maruja Asis (2006) updated on the occasion of the present project.

*i) The First Phase*

Between the '70s and the beginning of the '80s, single females or else married women or mothers on their own, arrived without their husbands, sons and daughters (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993).

They entered Italy with tourist visas, or to a lesser degree, with a contract to work as domestic helpers obtained under the direct hiring scheme (Zontini, 2001), or else they remained in the employ of the diplomats, managers, or engineers who had been stationed in the Philippines (in the case of the latter, especially during the construction of the Manila international airport) (Tacoli, 1999), or were employed by some well-to-do families who had spent time in the Philippines for tourism or business reasons and who had decided to return to Italy together with the house helper they had employed during their Philippines stay (Cominelli, 2004).

The absence of a network of other Filipinos during this initial phase of migration led to their scattered dispersion all over the Italian territory.

Many of these women left for Italy without any definitive migratory plans in mind: Italy was seen as a transit point (for North America), a chance to earn and save something to send home, as well as an important experience of autonomous and independent living. The absence of well-defined laws on migration, the frequent amnesties (so called *sanatorie*) to legalize those illegally working and residing in Italy (please refer to Zanfrini, 2008), and the consequent reputation of Italy as being easy to enter and to live in even as an illegal immigrant have all contributed to its desirability as a transit point (Greco, 2004).

Only in the case of married women is it possible to hypothesize the existence of a better-defined migration plan, shared with the husband, and directed towards the support and maintenance of the nuclear family.

During this period, the Filipino women were generally isolated socially, also due in large part to their situation of having to work and live full-time with their employers (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993). Little by little, however, occasions to meet and to congregate began to take place, either spontaneously in the piazzas and streets of the city, but also as a result of the efforts of some Church organisms; thus, these informal networks began to evolve into formal structures of community assistance (Cominelli, 2005; Favaro and Omenetto, 1993; Lodigiani, 1995).

*b) The Second Phase*

By the mid-'80s, the migratory flow became more pronounced (particularly between 1984-87, during a serious economic crisis in the Philippines), and whereas before the networking among co-nationals arose occasionally, now instead family networking began to take hold (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993).

During this second phase, Italy was still seen as a transit point, but at the same time it was beginning to evolve as a place for a long-term settlement (Palidda, 2000). This change, together with the change of the work situation from full time to work by the hour, allowed the construction of independent nuclear households: some of the women were able to have their husbands join them in Italy (in fact, this is a period where a strong male arrival is observed); found them work, through the intercession of their employers who agreed to hire the husbands as additional house help, drivers, guards or gardeners, and also to let them live in the same house together with their spouses (Greco, 2004; Favaro and Omenetto, 1993). In the course of the '80s and the '90s, the men, through the process of family reunification, arrived in consistent numbers. Along with the regulations that govern family reunification, the arrival of the men stimulated a more widespread settlement in the territory, the creation of new nuclear families, and the consequent appearance of the second generation (Zontini, 2002).

Having found migration a productive and economically advantageous strategy, within this decade, a growing number of single women already established in Italy went back to the Philippines, got married, and then returned to Italy to continue helping out their families with their earnings and savings (Palidda, 2000).

This is also the period that saw the rise of clandestine immigration, through "quasi-official" channels or fly-by-night agencies which pretended to organize trips for small groups of "tourists" (Greco, 2004). At times, these self-styled agencies worked in tandem with Italian "contractors" using this scheme: the would-be migrant is provided an airline ticket to a country at the borders of the European community (like Hungary or the former Yugoslavia) as well as the necessary visa for these countries, and the eventual transfer to Italy (Palidda, 2000). At the end of this decade, a marked increase in entry is noted, probably due to the intensified activities of many intermediary agencies in view of the proposed amnesty of 1990, the effects of which continued in the years following (Lodigiani, 1995).

The clandestine Filipino emigrations were abetted by the very same factors that helped legal migration, which is the presence of relatives and friends, who served as a foothold (or bridgehead) for their assimilation (D'Ottavi et al., 1998). It must be said, however, that although Filipino clandestine migrants continued to come into Italy in the years following, this group was never stigmatized for how they arrived in Italy: in the collective mind of the Italian community, the Filipino stereotype was never that of the clandestine immigrant (Palidda, 2000). Even more relevant is the observation that this group was subjected to a more lenient treatment by the authorities and public security organisms, compared to other clandestine migrants of other origins and objects of a very different stigmatization (Cominelli, 2004).

### *c) The Third Phase*

Beginning from the onset of the '90s, the reunification of families recorded a notable increase. Certainly, this increase was made possible by the appropriate legislation in force that allowed family members to join spouse or parent in Italy, but even before this law took effect, there had been neither obstacles nor objections to *de facto* family reunifications (Greco, 2004).

Individual migrations continued (including those of the clandestine type) with the difference that the new arrivals could count on the social network in existence to direct them to more remunerative choices (for example, to hire out oneself for work by the hour instead of a live-in full time position).

Saving one's earnings remain a fixed and essential idea: various researches conducted in Milan, for example, indicate the Filipinos as the migratory group with the highest remittances sent home (Zucchetti, 1995; Palidda, 2000). In fact, although the Filipinos work by the hour for a family, they would spend their free time working at another job to be able to earn more (D'Ottavi, 1998). Their remittances do not only serve to comply with their obligation to support their families in the Philippines economically, but they also assume a symbolic value that keeps alive the migrant Filipinos' ties to the Motherland and also to sustain the social prestige that they enjoy as "the new and real national heroes" (Lodigiani, 1997:35). Thus, in 1999, May 6 was established as "Migrant Workers Day" and the year 2000 was declared as the "Year of the Overseas Worker" (Sampson, 2003).



Towards the end of the '90s, the Filipinos (like immigrants from other countries) tried to set up business enterprises that are mostly geared to service the needs of their compatriots (mainly call centers, freight/cargo forwarders, informal organizations that are not always officially recognized specializing in sending remittances). These autonomous initiatives, however, are not uniformly distributed throughout Italy but tend to concentrate more in the north rather than in the south, and in general, are thinly dispersed. The statistics gathered by the Osservatorio Regionale of Lombardy in the last years reveal that despite the appearance of entrepreneurial activities (mostly initiated by the women), the Filipino community remains the least represented in terms of autonomous work in comparison with other major nationalities (please refer to Zanfrini, various years). In large part, what inhibits the Filipinos to set up their own business is the ease with which they find employment in the domestic service sector, which does not subject them to the risks of prolonged unemployment (Zanfrini, 2006b; Lodigiani, 1995). This limited planning for their future in Italy is what characterizes the first generation. It can, in fact, happen that some immigrants after having tried an autonomous activity return to domestic work, which has become a "refuge sector" (Greco, 2004:75).

As to Italy no longer being perceived as an immigration makeshift solution or transit point (despite the difficulties involved, North America remains a destination of preference for family members reunited with their loved ones in Italy or in newly formed unions, especially for those with relatives and friends already established there), the stay in Italy is considered a functional one because it allows for the accumulation of money that could be reinvested in the Philippines, in preparation for their eventual return, a myth largely adhered to by the first generation. In this connection, the rather rare applications for Italian naturalization from this group despite long years of residence in Italy is supposed by many scholars to be indicative of their migratory plans to return home.

According to some researchers (Palidda, 2000), the arrival or birth of children does not substantially alter their migration plans, at least for the long haul: many couples decide to send back their newly born children to the Philippines, delegating their education to the grandparents for a variety of reasons: either in view of their eventual return, or to maintain their ties to their culture, or because of the fear that their children would encounter too many difficulties to integrate themselves and to be emancipated within Italian society (Liamzon, 2007). In any case, it is true that the enlargement of the family and especially

the presence of children contribute to the changes, to a certain extent, of the style of life and consumption patterns: a certain tendency to follow the Italian model and a poor readiness to accept sacrifices and conditions of hardship have been noted (Greco, 2004). So, as we will see, the second generation issues have become a central question in the most recent studies and researches, contributing to the emergence of this theme in the Italian context and attracting the attention of the scientific community (see for example Valtolina and Marazzi, 2006).

## ***b. Profile and Characteristics of the Filipino Immigrant Community in Italy***

### *i) Gender Composition*

According to Palidda (2000) and other scholars, the migratory chain between the Philippines and Italy took off mostly due to the support of Catholic missionaries or the Filipino religious institutions in contact with Italian parishes who receive requests for domestic helpers, baby sitters, or caregivers to the old and infirm. In undertaking this connection between employment offers and requests for work, the religious institutions operate some sort of pre-selection and to a certain sense, offer themselves as guarantors as to the reliability of these workers, a requirement extremely necessary for certain types of work like those of domestic helpers and more especially for those who will be caring for the elderly and the children (Cominelli, 2004). The Church has provided, especially during the initial stages of the migratory chain, not only substantial material support (access to work and a place to stay) but also places to congregate and to worship together. This style of accessing the job market initially distinguished the Filipino migrants to Italy, compared to migrants from other countries, even if, in the subsequent years, the Ecuadorians, Bolivians and Peruvians have followed the same pattern.

The women have benefited more from this access channel, producing the most significant characteristic of the Filipino immigrant community in Italy: its gender composition, together with the very high percentage of women inserted in the Italian labour market, often as main breadwinners of their families. However, the mediation of Church structures rendered the presence of these women hardly visible, if not totally invisible to Italian society at large, contributing to the positive stereotype that female migration (and Filipino

migration) does not create problems for the host society, especially in terms of public security. Finally, the *ethnicization* (Zanfrini, 2000) and *feminization* of domestic assistance work (the Italian side of a process of international division of reproductive labour: Ehrenreich and Russel Hochschild, 2002; Zanfrini, 2005; Parrenas, various years) – where it does not pose a real competition problem with the indigenous population –, the living arrangements – at the home of the employer – especially at the beginning, and the socialization conducted in connection with the Church have all contributed to the Filipino migrant stereotype of a docile, helpful, precise, and hard worker who does not create problems not only in relation to the family for whom she works but also in relation to Italian society at large (Cominelli, 2005).

So, if in its global picture, Philippine emigration started as a mainly masculine one and it was only in the mid-'90s that the number of Filipino women migrants abroad exceeded half of the total Filipino Overseas workers (Semyonov and Gorodzeisky, 2004), in Italy, on the other hand, as generally in all of southern Europe, Filipino immigration has been characterized from the beginning as a female immigration, and this *genderization* of immigration has given rise to an “informal support network of female immigration” (D'Ottavi et al., 1998:33; Pojmann, 2007). In theory and the politics of migration, there was until recently a tendency to view women as invisible actors or passive subjects, almost exclusively in the wake of their men (Sassen, 1996). Because of this, female migration puts the receiving society in front of an unanticipated challenge, and in the specific case of the Filipino female migrants, the ease of their insertion into the Italian job market, the elevated number of women on their own continually arriving, and the notable mobility between the country of origin and the destination country have given local administrations the mistaken idea that they could be persons without any particular needs or demands that must be met (Zontini, 2001).

If it is true that migration to Italy is dealt with as a family strategy in the Philippines, then, it is legitimate to pose the question as to why, more often than not, it is the women who are the first to leave. It is possible to speak of the phenomenon as some sort of “sacrifice” to which the women are subconsciously constrained to undertake, given that it is widely held that it is easier for them to leave their jobs and their lives in the Philippines – even those in professional jobs – than it would have been for their husbands, fathers or brothers (Basa and De La Rosa, 2004). According to some Italian scholars, the education of women in the

Philippines, in contrast to the majority of Asian countries, not only is widespread but is also given priority over male education because “the women are viewed as the real backbone of society and are considered more responsible and reliable as economic providers for the nuclear family” (Cologna, 2003:45). This, however, is not due to any attributable merit, but firstly, is the result of a strong and widely spread relational ethic, which considers reciprocity and solidarity of primary importance, and secondly, because of “culturally oriented gender asymmetries” (Roncaglia, 2003:207) that heavily influence the behaviour and the freedom in decision making of the women. These practices are not confined to the family nucleus but are just as easily observed in the strategy of an extended family, which includes various degrees of kinship, to embrace even members of one’s community in the widest sense imaginable (Zontini, 2002).

For many, the choice to emigrate may also be the solution to a difficult, if not oppressive family or marital situation: migration as an escape is camouflaged behind socially accepted appearances and tolerable to the children, sisters or wives. From another point of view, the continuing feminine nature of the Filipino migration flows leads to a re-consideration, within the global migratory scheme, of the role as the real breadwinners of the women, who are not always in search of a “western” type of emancipation but rather, of “a redefinition and a renegotiation of the relationships between the sexes and between generations” (Lodigiani, 1995:12).

This gender specific type of migration, moreover, vests a considerable amount of power in the women in controlling the composition of the migratory outflow (Simmons and Garcia, 2008). With their remittances, they can then sponsor other members of the family to emigrate and share with them the burden and the responsibility of contributing to the family’s well-being (Zontini, 2002). The family reunification involving the men, like the other active drawing in of friends and relatives to migrate, has inverted the traditional gender mechanisms of the migratory chain: in the Filipino community, it is not the men, but rather the women, who first leave their country and create abroad the material, logistical, and economic bases for the arrival of other members of the family.

Contradictions are not lacking, however, because despite the socially positive image that Philippine institutions ascribe to the emigrants, the women suffer the consequences of an unchanged attitude towards the real relationship between the sexes, which does not mirror the global economic reality. As Parreñas (2004:45) states: “In the final consideration,

according to the ideology of the dominant sex, the place of the woman is in the home, and the families of the female emigrants represent a challenge to this concept; both government and media publicly condemn the mothers who leave to work abroad and accuse them of being the cause for the break-up of the family, the abandonment of children during childhood, and the crisis of child rearing and care widespread in the country”.

*ii) Family Reunification*

A second characteristic of Filipino immigration in Italy is represented by its familial character. To its credit, Italian legislation recognizes the right of migrants to be reunited with their wives, husbands and minor children, in stark contrast to the other destinations of Philippine migration, specially those in the Asian continent, which do not allow this. In fact, the myth depicting them as the economic redeemers of an entire population, which has perpetrated and abetted the formidable growth in the number of migrating Filipinos, excludes their permanently remaining in their destination countries. The transformation of the migration of labor into a real and actual migration of population (based on the increasing presence of families, children and adolescents) that we now observe in Italy, is a contradiction of the “guest worker” model promoted by both host and origin countries. Contrarily, while the Filipinos are thought of in Italy as the group best suited for integration (according to the expectations and the model of incorporation of the host country), they are also seen as the bridgeheads which can enable a continuous influx of “temporary workers” maintaining strong links to the country of origin. The energetic growth of the second generation in Italy – thanks both to new births and family reunions – represents a migratory model totally different from that of the temporary overseas worker celebrated in the Philippines as the new national hero for his remittances that keep its economy afloat. It is not by chance that it has caught the attention of the Philippine government. At the same time, the processes of familiarisation oblige us to rethink the Filipino integration model in Italy: it would be rather naïve to imagine this convenient (for Italy) situation to continue into eternity, ignoring the possibility that the decades-old presence of the Filipino population in Italy, so far silent, may now claim its right to a substantial integration, increasing, in the first place, its demands for services: “the effect is that of a presence that up to now has filled a gap of the agencies of social reproduction and is now in a situation where it itself feels a need to respond to the call for reproduction,

modifying greatly, at least in perspective, the limits of its participation in our socio-economic system” (Zanfrini, 1998).

### *iii) Transnational Practices*

A third main characteristic of Filipino migration that must be highlighted consists in its transnational character. By applying a transnational perspective to the study of Filipino migration to Italy, we can in fact observe the constant implication of these migrants in economic and social dynamics involving, at the same time, their context of origin and the place where they are currently settled. This is due to the transnational links which, through their emigration, are continuously tied and reproduced between these two areas and which, inevitably, affect their behaviour and actions. The latter, for their part, have an impact not only on the geographical area where they take place, but also on the other “shore of the migratory phenomenon”, i.e. the country of origin (Opiniano, 2002).

The possibility to create transnational spaces where they can communicate and act freely is strongly enhanced by the development of modern communication technology, which has literally revolutionized the means by which the migrants keep their ties with their motherland and with the family they left behind alive and well. Nowadays the widespread use of cellular phones and the Internet allow for the exchange of news and information in real time and for keeping in constant touch with loved ones (Ceschi and Stocchiero, 2006; Zanfrini, 2007). Also significant in this concern is the fact that long distances can nowadays be covered in very short time with relatively sustainable costs, as it allows emigrants to carry out quite frequent visits to their country of origin. To encourage frequent journeys back home by Filipino workers abroad, two laws have been enacted by the Philippine government (RA 6768/1989 and RA 9174/2002) which contain many facilitating measures for the return home that together define a “Balikbayan Program” where “*balikbayan*” signifies “return home” (Palacios, 2005).

Within this context, the Filipino migrants can be observed as members of a household which has a transnational character, in both material and symbolic senses, with family members not only in the country of origin, but very often also dispersed elsewhere. The migratory act of one member of the household, in fact, is often the result of a decision – individual or collective – which is made in the framework of a family strategy of accumulation and of differentiation of the risks. Hence, the migrants’ households keep

working as units of production and reproduction even if their members are geographically dispersed. Nevertheless, the emigration of one or more of the household's members implies the reorganization of the roles and responsibilities within this productive and reproductive unit. For example, the emigration of an adult woman may cause a transfer of gender-based inequalities to other women in the same household, as the role of primary caregiver is usually assigned to the oldest woman of the household who is left behind. According to the Simmons' and Garcia's study (2008), another frequent solution is hiring, thanks to remittances, a local domestic worker, that is, a woman from outside the family, to take care of dependent household members. This behaviour creates some opportunities of employment for the women who didn't emigrate, but it must be considered that this employment is usually poorly paid and of an informal nature, a situation which leads to the creation of social inequalities within the community. On the other hand, the traditional gender roles can be transformed by emigration. Both those men whose wives emigrate and those who themselves go overseas sometimes have to learn how to carry out such tasks as domestic work and child care (Simmons and Garcia, 2008). Established power relations within the household can also be transformed by emigration. The parents who emigrate have to give up some of their control over daily decisions about the family economy and the children's education. Moreover, an interesting phenomenon is the increased power of women or of unmarried adult migrants after their emigration. Whereas, before emigration, their role in the decision making process was usually secondary, after emigration, through their financial contribution in the form of remittances, they acquire a more central position and their power within the household becomes decidedly stronger (Simmons and Garcia, 2008).

The relationships between parents and children left behind also became transnational through emigration. For example Zanfrini (2007) points out that the regular contacts between parents and children left behind, as well as the circularity of the movements of both parents and children between the country of origin and that of destination, have the effect of creating in the left behind children a transnational identity, that is, a twofold sense of belonging, as well as the habit of making constant reference to a place elsewhere. The phenomenon allows us to refer to the left behind children as a transnational second generation. The issues linked to the relationship between emigrated Filipino parents and

left behind children will be analyzed in detail in the next paragraph [please refer to II.A.c, *Main Issues concerning the Filipino Immigrant Community in Italy*, point d].

At this point, we would like to briefly take account of the intensity of the ties that bind the children of Filipino migrants living in Italy with their country of origin, which obliges us to redefine the concept of integration itself, without necessarily expecting the cessation of ties with the society of origin (Ceschi and Stocchiero, 2006). One significant means which contributes to consolidating these links, as has previously been mentioned, is the frequency of visits to the Philippines, which gives the parents an extraordinary opportunity to transmit their own culture to their children and the children can acquire enough familiarity and knowledge to be able to operate in different cultural universes and to construct a composite identity. This signifies that to be born in Italy into a family that is generally fairly well integrated does not imply a loosening of the ties with the Motherland where part of the extended family remains. Hence, in this case too, we can talk about a transnational second generation. Transnationalism is not only an efficient concept for the literature but is a dynamic reality being lived out by these children of immigration who, for the most part, feel Filipino and hardly ever Italian (Zanfrini and Asis, 2006). All this carry some implications, still to be studied, for the second generation who maintain ties with the country of origin of their parents and with their extended family in a way that was unimaginable before. From this point of view their experience, is therefore, profoundly different from the experience of the children of European migrants who grew up in the United States of America in the '50s and '60s. Keeping typical elements from the earlier affiliations may be the natural consequence of this state of things, beyond the dichotomy of elective choice and reaction, in view of the host society's discrimination (Zanfrini, 2007).

Another important and tangible transnational link between the country of origin and of destination is represented by remittances. Zucchetti (1997) highlights the twofold significance of this phenomenon, which has both material and relational implications, as it constitutes a means for meeting the needs of the family left behind or to make investments, but is also an instrument for preserving the cohesion of the transnational household and, as has previously been mentioned, for reorganizing the power relations within this unit. One of the most powerful motivations which contribute to prolonging migratory projects and which affect the professional choices of Filipino emigrants is the need to send regular, irregular or random remittances to their nuclear or extended family or, in some cases, to



their community of origin. This aspect is deeply analysed by Simmons and Garcia (2008), who also underline the importance of observing the phenomenon of remittances from a gender-sensitive point of view. In fact, Filipino women and men seem to have a different behaviour with respect to the sending, receipt and administration of remittances. Very synthetically, Filipino women living in Italy or left behind seem to send and consume remittances mostly for the well-being of future generations, whereas men seem to use them mainly for the carrying out of personal interests. From a transnational standpoint, it is in any case interesting to analyse the way in which the recipients of remittances consume and invest this money. Firstly, regular remittances are used in order to cover the basic household needs in terms of clothing, electricity and ordinary health care needs, especially of the elderly parents, as well as the costs linked to the hiring of nannies or domestic workers to fill the absence of the emigrated care giver. Even if remittances are primarily used to cover the daily consumption of the household, there are some kinds of investment which are quite important in structuring the migratory projects of many migrants living in Italy: first of all, investment in the education of the children left behind; secondly, in the purchase of lands, for the construction of residences or the establishment of small business, usually agricultural; or, thirdly, in health care or pension plans. Moreover, irregular remittances are usually used to finance extraordinary expenses due to circumstances such as a debt, illness or accident, natural disasters or periods of low profits. Finally, random remittances, which are usually sent through religious organizations or donated to local communities' councils, are generally used to cover the costs of collective celebrations or of the fulfilment of infrastructural needs on a local level, such as the renovation of public buildings or the construction of schools.

Concerning the impact of remittances on the migrants' context of origin, as well as the effect, in general, of the migrants' contribution to the social and economic development of their home country, the opinions of scholars are controversial (Ceschi and Stocchiero, 2006; Opiniano, 2002; Simmons and Garcia, 2008). What is generally agreed, however, is the fact that detailed analysis must be carried out in this concern, in order to have a deeper knowledge of how the actions of migrants can benefit the social and economic situation of their country of origin and to create a solid basis for some policies to be implemented to this end, both in the country of origin and in the host country. In particular, "Remittance-based development in the Philippines cannot be left solely to emigrants and their

households. It is the shared responsibility of numerous stakeholders and, therefore, the involvement of all types of protagonists in any remittance-based development initiative in these provinces is imperative in order to reach the goal of establishing positive relationships between emigration and development. These protagonists include international agencies, Filipino and Italian policy-makers and government offices, financial institutions, immigrant associations and non-governmental organizations, as well as individual immigrants and their families” (Simmons and Garcia, 2008: 39). Moreover, a continuous support of Filipino migrants’ associations must be considered as one of the most important areas for enhancing the role of migrants in the positive transformation of the social and economic situation of their country of origin.

### ***c. Main Issues concerning the Filipino Immigrant Community in Italy***

#### ***i) Employment***

Historically, the Filipino immigrants in Italy have never had problems of finding work and, in general, have experienced only brief periods of unemployment. They rarely engage in seasonal or occasional work and often, they work for more than one employer contemporaneously (Bonifazi et al., 2003). In Lombardy, for example, according to the data collected by the Osservatorio Regionale per l’Integrazione e la Multietnicità, the number of Filipinos (men and women) regularly employed in the year just passed (2008) constituted 79% of the total (Zanfrini, 2009); the unemployed are only 1.1%, and only 3.7% of Filipino women referred to themselves as housewives. And within the sample of migrants interviewed on the occasion of this project, only 1.3% of males and 4.4% of females are looking for a job [please refer to Report 1, III.A. *Profile of Respondents*].

The ease with which they can find employment in Italy is due in large part to the efficiency of the religious and lay organizational structures and to their own network of co-nationals as well as to a persisting but unfounded prejudice of the Filipino’s professional vocation as domestic workers and to the positive stereotype of the Filipino as honest, precise and exemplary workers.

It is important, however, to keep in mind that this reputation and image is a double-bladed sword: on the one hand, the Filipinos have benefited and used it to advantage in finding

work, but on the other hand, it has also created a prison of sorts severely limiting employment options within the domestic work sector where the Filipino's docile and servile character seem to be the only qualifications he can show (Basa and De La Rosa, 2004; Lodigiani, 1995). The demand for domestic helpers has continued to grow over time, also because, at a certain point in time, the *colf* (i.e. *collaboratore familiare*, as domestic help is referred to in Italy) has become a status symbol and employing one was no longer exclusive to the people in high places or social classes, but also accessible to the middle class, specially those with heavy caring responsibilities. "From a highly urban occurrence, it is spreading like an oil stain all over the territory, in answer to a need that is becoming more widespread and unstoppable" (Zanfrini, 2004b:74-75).

Certainly, for many men and above all for many women, to come to Italy and work as domestic helpers or as janitorial staff must have been traumatic, especially coming from another lifestyle (that is, having been part of the middle class, many were promising students, teachers, nurses, if not managers) in their own country (Bonifazi et al., 2003). On the demand side, the age-old problem of legally recognizing the educational qualifications of the Filipino migrants (many have high school diplomas or university degrees) has contributed to making the Filipinos address themselves towards the domestic labour market as a consequence of informal discriminatory practices or forms of statistical discrimination (Greco, 2004; Tacoli, 1999).

It has been mentioned that practically all the Filipino workers engaged in the domestic work sector have passed, after a certain period of time, from being employed full time to working part-time (Zontini, 2001; Tacoli, 1999), benefiting in large part the new arrivals (D'Ottavi et al., 1998). This is the only employment mobility documented for this group, even if, looking closely, the part-time work is really a full time job because it involves 8 to 10 hours of work daily. It is only called part time to differentiate it from the work that includes sleeping in at the home of the employer.

It must be emphasized that the length of residence has no bearing whatsoever on the work situation, even though it is better (in terms of unemployment rates, permanence of employment, etc) compared to those of other nationalities because even the new arrivals among the Filipinos are treated the same. Filipino immigration conserves a strong ethnic connotation in its assimilation in the job market for its heavy concentration in what is considered women's work (i.e., domestic work and assistance), notwithstanding the

constant change to which the reality of ethnic work specialization is subjected to based on the changing composition and structure of new migrations. The concentration in specific sectors or labour categories is a phenomenon that affects women mostly. In fact, the 2009 Report of the Osservatorio Regionale of Lombardy (Zanfrini, 2009) states that the majority of Filipino women are employed as domestic workers, fixed (14.4%) or by the hour (38.3%) or as home caregivers (11.1%). Although the Eastern European (Ukrainians, Romanians, Albanians) and the Latin American (Ecuadorians, Peruvians) migrant women have also been employed in this sector, the Filipino women maintain their dominance in domestic work. The men, on the other hand, while continuing to be the largest presence of males employed by Italian families (17.4% in domestic work and 8.4% in home-care services) no longer register the extreme figures of previous years (at the beginning of the decade) when they were rightfully segregated occupationally in the domestic sector. Nowadays (2008), the majority of Filipino men are employed as: industrial workers (23.5%); service workers (13.3%); janitorial workers (15.7%); restoration workers (12%). At the same time, Filipino migrants continue not to be involved in the independent sector (compared with migrants of different origin) and in the building sector (where the majority of European and North-African male migrants are employed).

## *ii) Lodgings*

Many employers hire full time domestic helpers who live with them at home, and while these workers have their own rooms, their privacy is rather limited because they have to adjust their individual schedules around those of the family.

The shift to employment by the hour implies an improvement in one's level of living as far as privacy is concerned but imposes for many Filipinos the problem of where to find lodgings. The first step in finding a place to stay is to share an apartment with other women where one can spend one's day off and holidays, and where one can get together with friends (D'Ottavi, 1998). Although their stipend can easily allow them to pay the rent or even the mortgage of an apartment, many apartment owners and real estate agents hesitate to deal with Filipinos because domestic work is considered unstable and therefore, insufficient guaranty towards signing a contract. Often, part of the effective earnings is undeclared. Because Filipino domestic workers work full time and earn a regular salary, they are also excluded from the possibility of getting public housing and from any social

welfare assistance. The same difficulty may be experienced by somebody employed regularly as a factory labourer: the real estate agencies may accept him as a client but there is no assurance that the apartment owner will be willing to hand over his property to a foreigner – even if the Filipinos enjoy a good reputation with respect to other foreign nationalities, and the Church is not always able to do anything to ease the situation as many believe (Zontini, 2001).

Moreover, even though the Filipinos may congregate in specific quarters or zones, they do not have the tendency to render their space ethnically Filipino, which makes them invisible to the collective Italian eye (D'Ottavi et al., 1998). In addition, they do not tend to live on the outskirts of cities as many would generally hypothesize is where foreign immigrants would tend to settle, but as in Milan, the Filipinos tend to live in the city centers, in the homes of the families that employ them (Lodigiani, 1995).

### *iii) Family*

The migration process has contributed to the diffusion of certain relationship dynamics between couples that are regarded as unusual and at times, not well accepted by those who are older and more conservative. Many solitary women migrants remain single and form single parent nuclear families (when they have the possibility of family reunification for one or more children) or else marry non-Filipino men (definitely more usual than Filipino men marrying non-Filipino women).

Even those with a companion or a husband do not always live together in the same house, mostly for economic reasons. To live by oneself is to be able to save more money to send home to the Philippines (D'Ottavi, 1998).

Leaving a husband behind in the Philippines is, instead, generally viewed as a common practice and is acceptable because it is clearly for the good of the family, even though there are different expectations from the women in terms of marital fidelity, lifestyle, and behaviour.

The separation of the married couple has become a way of life in Philippine society, so that at times the reunification of families is condemned by the elders as the desire to break the ties with one's origins, given that the move of the family to another country may be interpreted as a betrayal of one's country (Palidda, 2000). From another point of view,

given that divorce is illegal in the Philippines, migration may be the only solution for running away from an unhappy union (Tacoli, 1999).

The arrival of a husband into a country where the wife has first settled can create problems within the couple, with respect to their role definition (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993). At the beginning, women are at work more often than the men who remain at home to attend to domestic necessities and to care for their children, thereby, feeling at times dislodged as the main family breadwinner (Zontini, 2002). Despite this and the fact that the burden for the maintenance of the family left behind in the country of origin is left for the most part to the woman, there is a tendency to replicate in the migratory context the situation of gender asymmetries typical of Philippine culture (Tacoli, 1999).

One of the more serious problems can be the rearing of children in Italy. This problem affects women who are here by themselves, because despite the wide range of friends, relatives, and acquaintances, these people cannot occupy themselves with looking after the child because like the mother, they, too are busy full time at work.

Therefore, the choice of many is to send their children home, even the newborn, to be brought up by the grandparents. On one hand, this arrangement may be reassuring, but on the other, it evidently poses serious considerations in terms of affection and relationships not only when apart but also when the time comes for reunification (Liamzon, 2007). The long periods of separation to which the mother and child are constrained to suffer weaken the parent's authority and the affective character of her figure for her child.

#### *iv) Second Generation*

As we have seen, the presence of minors within the Filipino community is registering an increasing tendency, and therefore, it is of great interest to observe how the children of the first generation of migrants relate to Italian culture and the Filipino one. Filipino children have the opportunity to come into contact with the language and the culture of their country of origin, or that of their parents (depending if they were born in the Philippines or in Italy), not only within the family environment but also within the festivities during special occasions and the get-togethers promoted by the community associations (Greco, 2004). The Filipino community tends to be closed and hardly projected to the outside and the children can suffer from this situation as a consequence, not only because they are in

major contact (generally more than their parents) with Italian society but also because they participate in the cultural models of their Italian age peers.

Many in the first generation, despite long years of residence in Italy, still find it difficult to express themselves in Italian, not only for lack of interest to acculturate themselves with Italian culture (given their fixation to eventually return to the Philippines), but also because in a concrete way, the occasion for social encounters is rather rare for them – domestic work certainly does not afford them the chance to practice speaking the language or to establish human relationships beyond the superficial. The children and the young, instead, go to school, attend after-school facilities, play sports and therefore, have more possibilities of passing the time with their Italian age peers; this, in some sense, brings them away from their own culture although a real and actual breakaway would be difficult to imagine.

The surveys conducted in Milan in this regard are very revealing, given that the Filipino community is the most numerous foreign presence in the city and one of the earliest to settle there. There are several youth groups that came about on the initiative of adult leaders connected with the Catholic Church and coordinated by the Milan Filipino Youth Group Council of Advisers. What is interesting is that these associations, which dedicate themselves to sports, dance and other social activities of every kind, deal mostly with Filipino youth who are newly arrived, born and raised in the Philippines, and consequently they reproduce the kinds of social structures that in the Philippines expressed their group dynamics (Roncaglia, 2003). The leaders of some of these associations, interpreting the preoccupation of many parents, and indirectly also of the Philippine government, try to promote more attractive initiatives for the young which combine typical Filipino culture with the prevailing codes of youth culture, or else they try not to be exclusionary (and open up to the Italian community or to those of other nationalities) in their events, all in the effort to prevent a general and definitive turning away from the traditional culture. The Pentecostals and the Iglesia ni Kristo (the Church founded by Felix Manalo at the start of the 1900s is characterized by a strong nationalistic identity and hostility towards the Philippine Catholic Church) among all these institutions, are distinct in their rigorous and severe rules which exercise a strong social control through their sport, cultural and social networks which are carefully monitored and supervised by the Church elders (Palidda, 2000).

According to many scholars, these efforts directed at the young Filipino migrants, beyond the obvious patriotism rhetoric, hide the end utilitarian motives of the government in Manila: by reinforcing the Filipino identity (presented as a safe haven against the perpetually closed doors of Italian society) in the minds of these young people, keeping alive the idea of the emigrant as the new hero, and reminding them insistently of the values of solidarity and reciprocity (which is deeply embedded in Philippine culture), the government tries to guarantee that these young Filipinos continue, in their time, the practice of sustaining the Philippine economy through their remittances. This kind of orientation, however, ignores the fact that the daily experiences of these young people, the problems they are confronted with, and the issues closest to their hearts are lived out here in Italy, and not in the Philippines, and this carries the “risk of contributing to the perpetration of a double dynamics of exclusion” (Roncaglia, 2003:209).

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

The children of migrants are the focus of the research conducted in 2005 by Fondazione ISMU and Scalabrini Migration Center, whose cooperation allowed a parallel study to be realized, both in the sending and the receiving area, assuming a transnational perspective (Zanfrini and Asis, 2006). In the Philippines, an inquiry was addressed to adolescents and young people who are children of overseas workers based in Italy and who are on the verge of reaching the age of majority (that is the limit age to rejoin their parents in Italy using the procedure of family reunification). In Italy, a research study was carried out on the



condition and perspectives of those children who had joined their parents ore were, in fact, born in Italy, as they reach adulthood as the second generation. This parallel study revealed a situation that on the surface seems less devastated – than supposed by previous analysis – by the effects of the break-up of families generated by migration. In particular, the study dealt with a series of indicators (beginning with scholastic performance) that allowed an evaluation of whether parental migration creates repercussions on the lives of the children, concluding that, in general terms, the performance of children left behind is better than that of sons and daughters who had rejoined their parents in Italy. As to psychological effects, the testimonies of the Filipino children revealed that maternal separation is felt more acutely than paternal separation. When asked which parent should work abroad, the great majority of children left behind referred to the father (but the reunited children think in the majority that, in case of need, all the family members must go abroad together). The stories of the young people who are probably erroneously, but suggestively referred to as “orphans of emigration” must be reinterpreted from a transnational perspective due to certain factors that bind them indissolubly to both countries of destination and origin. One of the most important findings of the research conducted in the Philippines was to demonstrate that the children were not really “left behind”; on the contrary, migration is part of their lives, and they have some familiarity with the place where one or both parents live: some of them were, in fact, born in Italy and then sent home to be raised by relatives, others spend their vacations in Italy, and still others are waiting for their petitions to join their family in Italy to come up. Besides this, the costs of migration can be evaluated also by looking at the experiences of those, who, at a certain point in time, joined their parents abroad. If these children had enjoyed a better standard of living and a privileged relationship with other family members (in particular their grandparents) when they were still living in the country of origin, they must now re-invent a totally new existence in their new environment, probably different from what they had imagined, but also to assume a heavy load of responsibilities. In the testimonies collected for the study, the element of intergenerational conflict that is a recurring theme in existing literature on the families of immigrants was missing . What happens here is the contrary: aware of the enormous sacrifices and effort of their parents, the filial respect towards them that they are expected to observe, and a modesty that prevents them from expressing themselves about their future propel these young people to accept passively or come to accept whatever plans the parents have in

mind for them. The work ethic that allowed their parents to acquire an economic stake in Italy now pushes them to assume far too many responsibilities for their age. Gratitude towards their parents for giving them the opportunity (otherwise closed off to many of their peers) to migrate orients these young people to put the family and its economic and organizational needs in first place, ahead of their personal aspirations. To be reunited with their parents, they left behind their friends, interrupted their schooling, set aside their dreams to migrate to the United States, resumed schooling with downgraded status in grades/levels below what they had attended back home.

In the Philippines, the aspiration to emulate those who have emigrated, within a context where family pressures and the official rhetoric seem allied to promoting this possibility in the young, strongly distorts their schooling and professional choices. The young people prefer career choices that, rightly or wrongly, they perceive to be more marketable in the global job market. They plan their schooling ahead, using, for example, existing immigration legislation in their destination country as a criterion for their choice. This explains, for example, the present boom in nursing school enrolment, which however, does not satisfy local demand as more than 70% of those who complete their nursing training in the Philippines leave. On the other side, school careers of young Filipinos in Italy can be summarised as follows: the drop out situation in the compulsory schooling phase is rather contained; among those enrolled in secondary schools, the percentage enrolled in a technical institute or a vocational institute is higher in comparison with the Italian population, but lower than that of other migrant groups, highly concentrated in the less prestigious sector of the educational system; they have a higher risk of interrupting schooling compared with Italian pupils; 2/3 of the interviewees declared they had parents who encouraged them to stay in school as long as possible (without any distinction between male or female children), apart from having advised and guided them in their scholastic choices; there is not much parental involvement in helping them study or complete their homework, and parents are not willing to pay for private lessons or repetition classes; in deciding what to do after compulsory schooling, the advice and wishes of the parents have played a very important role, even if, considering their responses, it was their own wishes and preferences that counted in the decisions; the majority think that the primary function of the school is to improve the chances of finding a good job; the level of satisfaction in the relationship with the teachers is very much

higher than what had been observed in Italian students, and the same is true regarding the level of trust towards them. In brief, data collected do not support the idea that the Filipino community in Italy does not value the education of their children, even if the “spurious” second generation is the most problematic. In fact, the respondents who arrived after 18 years of age are more highly schooled, there being a good number of college graduates and a considerable number of high school graduates. Even for those who have been in Italy since birth, the schooling prospects appear positive: almost 60% attend high school, 11.6% left school after getting their high school diploma, and a quarter made the transition to university (which a number has already completed). Only 7% dropped out during high school; however, all interviewees who have been here since birth enrolled in high school. The picture changes for the interviewees who arrived in Italy during their early childhood or during their adolescence: the number of school leavers after compulsory education increases, the number of high school drop-outs doubles, and the number of university students is drastically reduced. The age group in the middle is the one most likely to risk not attaining a high level of education: having emigrated between the ages of 14 and 17, they are “too old” to be inserted successfully in school, especially if there had not been adequate language preparation in Italian prior to arrival in Italy, but at the same time “too young” to have completed their studies that would qualify them to work.

Interviewed in their country of origin, the children of international migrants have aspirations that are moderately higher than their peers. They have the possibility of attending better and more prestigious schools that in turn open bigger opportunities. They look at their future with almost total optimism and at the prospects of emigrating themselves, also because many parents voluntarily omit to inform their children of the difficulties they had to contend with. Once these children reach Italy, especially if they are no longer of a young age, they end up accepting a way of life that is not only decisively harder than that of their Italian peers but also paradoxically, than what they had in their country. They then manifest a certain reticence in expressing their future expectations. In substance, the right to live alongside their parents is repaid by a difficult adjustment to the new environment and a temporary setting aside of their own desires for the future. Education itself plays a contradictory role: the parents’ emigration allows them to invest substantially in the quality education of their children, but it is also the schools themselves that diffuse the culture of migration within the Philippine society.

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

#### *v) Associational Life*

The Filipino associations were born primarily in the Catholic Church environment due to the latter’s central role in promoting and assisting the migratory flows. The Catholic groups prevailed at the beginning also because they were the only ones with access to permanent places to congregate, compared to regional groupings that did not have the same access to a meeting place.

Certain changes have occurred over time, due to the increased numbers of migrant Filipinos and the consolidation of networks based on kinship: protestant groups have emerged and so have lay socio-cultural associations organized according to regional groupings, informal ties, and friendships, which provoked rifts within the existing Catholic groups.

Clearly, the rise of associations have experienced a different evolution in every city but in general, what started out as associations devoted mainly to assisting the Filipino migrant, nowadays, are associations that concentrate more in organizing social events and activities for the community since there are other service channels that can assist in accessing the housing and job markets and services (Palidda, 2000).

It remains true, however, that the Filipino aggregation is based on religion and it is significant that the points of congregation are almost always the Churches or parish youth/social centers with the main events centred on religious holidays or national feasts and, during which celebration, some type of symbolism consolidates the collective identity (Palidda, 2000; Greco, 2004).

The Church, in its important work of support and sustenance of the migrant, has always found fertile ground in the Filipino community for promoting the Catholic identity, and has offered its support for initiatives within the community, rather than in promoting encounters and interaction with the indigenous culture (Cominelli, 2004).

Maybe for this reason, the role of the Church became reduced beginning in the '90s when the presence of the community became increasingly consolidated and autonomous. Although, the Filipino community recognizes the role that the Church organisms had and continue to have in legitimizing their stay in Italy (Palidda, 2000), there were those who felt that these were in some way instruments of “latent and informal controls on Philippine immigration” (Cominelli, 2004: 279). Today, some form of distancing from the local Church is evident: sporadic attendance in the parish, increased reliance on Filipino priests, and a greater opportunism in the relationship between ecclesiastical institutions and the community associations (Cominelli, 2004).

The fact that the associations are well-rooted in Italy and constitute a relevant part in the life of the Filipino community may be interpreted in two ways: on the one hand, it attests to the growing well-being of the immigrants, and on the other, it gives an idea of how closed the community is. Contact with the Italian institutions and associations are, in fact,

rather sporadic – the only services that the Filipinos access for the most part are those that pertain specifically to jobs in the domestic sector and the protection of the labour unions, where Filipino cultural mediators are now working (Ambrosini, 2004).

Reference has already been made a few times to the social invisibility of the Filipinos. There is the invisibility as perceived by the Italians (both the institutions and the common people), and the invisibility to which Filipinos adapt themselves. On one hand, Filipinos keep a certain diffidence towards institutions and have the tendency to remain closed from within; on the other hand, the Italian institutions have not really made the effort to attend to the needs and requirements of this group, exploiting to its advantage the group's social invisibility: "the closure of a minority community is almost always the speculative effect of the refusal or the oversight of the majority group" (D'Ottavi et al., 1998:71). However, that closure (or keeping to themselves) can also be explained as the desire to conserve the positive image they enjoy and to conceal from view deviant behaviour that may damage it (Cominelli, 2004).

It would seem that the efficient mobilization that the community is capable of setting up to assist its members does not extend to the search for new options in other sectors and new job alternatives, but is applied in the search for social spaces and recreational outlets (Lodigiani, 1995). Similar to the findings of studies in the '90s (Zanfrini, 1998:151): "A separation exists between settling in economically and work-wise and socio-cultural integration, which brings into question the hypothesis of a linear relation between the two. Looking at the question in another light, the integration of the migrant involves processing and multi-dimensional characteristics, including an interaction with the host society. It seems paradoxical that the cultivation of strong community ties and the symbolic identity reference to the country of origin help in the acceptance of subordinate work roles. It is to the migrant's interest to continue to live with his own original identity, as this allows him the sensation to have undertaken a socially upgrading journey, and he is now in a position to realize which models of behaviour would permit him to keep the ties that bind him to his origin and at the same time to enjoy the social prestige that comes with it".

The self-referential (i.e., referring only to oneself) and impenetrability of the Filipino associations – emphasized by the social control imposed on the members, especially the younger ones – are symptomatic of an internal exclusivity made more so by the segmentation and isolation of the networks within and the prominence and social control

exercised by some of the leaders, and accentuate the implied importance of belonging, even formally, on religious, territorial provenance, or other basis (Palidda, 2000).





## II.B. Locating the MAPID Study and its Expected Contributions

Most of the scientific contributions in the field of sociology concerning Filipino migrations to Italy and Filipino communities living in Italy date back to the beginning of the Nineties, when the first volumes and articles were published, based on works of research carried out mainly by Italian academic or independent research institutions (ICEI, ISMU Foundation), and usually financed on a local level or, in some cases, on a national level.

This is an exploratory phase, when the field of migrations and of the incorporation of the ethnic communities into Italian society, still little known, is starting to be probed in different directions, in order to detect its most salient phenomena, in their entirety and interweaving, without investigating in depth, though, neither a specific matter nor a single ethnic community.

Concerning Filipino migrations to Italy, the interest of scholars is focused on the processes of insertion into the labour market, on the importance of the ethnic social networks and on the associative informal or institutionalised life for the integration into Italian society, on relational dynamics between Filipino migrants and natives, on the problems experienced by migrants' split up families and on the profound changes which follow their reunification.

Research works are conducted mostly on Filipino communities living in Rome and Milan, but Filipinos are not the only ethnic group taken into account since the investigation is a comparative analysis of different communities living in the same urban context.

This methodological framework implies a limitation in the possibility to penetrate the specific cultural aspects of every single group and to analyze how these anthropological features affect the integration processes of each community.

Most of these pieces of research adopt a qualitative approach, and the attempt of researchers is to disclose, through their work, the voice, perspectives and life experience of migrants. This is the reason why, from a methodological standpoint, this research has frequent recourse to qualitative interviews or to the biographical method.

Given one of the specifics of the Filipino migration to Italy, namely its high level of

feminisation, particularly marked in the initial phase of these migratory flows, a feature of some of these research works is their gender sensitive perspective. Besides, the interest of scholars is entirely addressed to the first generation of Filipino migrants, as the process of familiarisation of the Filipino migration to Italy has just started in this period, and the size of the second generation cannot yet attract the attention of the scientific community.

Given the quite small base for data gathering and the focus on plurality in every research work, the analysis, even though it is able to detect many and significant social dynamics characterising the Filipino community, is quite limited as to its depth.

These research works concern mostly the host country and those dynamics triggered by the presence of the ethnic group that involve the receiving society. Even if, in some cases, some hints in this direction can be found, little attention is paid to the country of origin and to pre-migratory experiences and the interest in the processes that, through migration, keep the country of origin and the host country in continuous connection is nearly absent.

In the scientific scene of the sociological production of the '90s on Filipino migrations to Italy, the work promoted by Ismu, *Il risparmio e le rimesse degli immigrati (The Immigrants' Savings and Remittances)*, (Zucchetti, edited by, 1997), constitutes, in a sense, an exception, because it focuses specifically on the theme of remittances. This work, however, although analysing with a certain depth many aspects concerning the transnational phenomenon of remittances, still clings to the context of the host country, which represents the field of the research work, as the impact of remittances on the migrants' country of origin is analysed only through the words and the perceptions of the migrants interviewed in the emigration context.

The attention of researchers, moreover, is not focused on a single national group, but on several ethnic communities investigated at the same time, according to a methodological choice that is common to many different works produced in this period.

In the second half of the '90s and in the first half of this decade, the quite marked interest of the past years in the possibility to explore the still mostly unknown reality of Filipino migration to Italy tends to decline. But some research works do appear, characterized by a more marked attention on the cultural peculiarities of the Filipino community and on the way they affect its members' integration processes. Besides, some monographic studies (please refer in particular to Bettetini et al., 2000; Roncaglia,

2003) have been published on some specific aspects of the Filipino community living in Italy, such as its media consumption, its relationship with its traditional curative practices and with the Italian health care system, the structure and functions of its associative life and the peculiarities of its second generation, an aspect which is starting to be of some interest for the scholars only in the first years of this century.

We are still dealing mostly with works that analyse, comparatively, several ethnic communities at the same time. The most frequently adopted approach is the qualitative one, based on in-depth interviews and on participant observation. Mostly local institutions finance the research works that are conducted by Italian research centres (Sinergia, Istituto di Ricerca sulla Comunicazione Gemelli and Musatti).

In the second half of this decade, a renewed interest for the scholars in the Filipino community settled in Italy can be observed. Most of the financing for these works comes from international institutions such as the European Union or the UN, or from national institutions such as the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Development and International Co-operation Department), or from ISMU. The researchers' teams who usually carry out these works of research are affiliated to independent research institutions (i.e. the ISMU Foundation in Milan, the Scalabrini Migration Center in Manila or the Psychoanalytic Institute for Social Research in Rome), to international research institutions (i.e. the International Training and Research Institute for the Advancement of Women), or to Filipino migrant associations (i.e. the Filipino Women's Council, Pilipinas OFSPES).

These pieces of research are based on a qualitative methodology combined with some instruments of quantitative analysis and, in some cases, are conceived as action researches, aimed at intervening directly on the observed object. These works are geared towards the analysis of some specific aspects of the Filipino community living in Italy (in particular, once again, in the urban areas of Rome and Milan), which is, in many cases, the only ethnic group investigated during the research process. The main issues examined are the structure and functions of the associative life; the social and life conditions of the women employed in domestic work; the phenomenon of remittances and their impact on the society of origin; the second generation, its insertion in the school, its transition to professional life and its tendencies in making plans for the future.

In this period, the sociologists' proneness to observe Filipino migrations from a

transnational perspective, capable of detecting the combination of dynamics generated by migrations, which connect indissolubly the host country and the country of origin, is increasing. The level of depth reached by some of these analyses is quite high. In particular we will mention two publications based on a multi-situated research, that is a research methodology which implies the simultaneous action of researchers both here and there, and which is thus capable of observing, from a privileged perspective, the circular transnational dynamics concerning Filipino migrations to Italy.

The first publication is the volume *Orgoglio e Pregiudizio. Una ricerca tra Filippine e Italia sulla transizione all'età attiva dei figli di emigrati e dei figli di immigrati* (*Pride and Prejudice. A Research Study on the Transition to Adulthood Among Filipino Immigrants' Children and Among Filipino Emigrants' Children*), by Laura Zanfrini and Maruja Asis (2006), based on a research work carried out by the ISMU Foundation in Milan and by the Scalabrini Migration Center in Manila, working in partnership, and geared towards investigating many different facets of the situations experienced, in Italy and in the Philippines, by the emigrants' and the immigrants' children at school, in the family, in society and in the labour market.

The second work we will mention is *Gender, Remittances and Local Rural Development: The Case of Filipino Migration to Italy* (2008), by Victoria Simmons and Mar García, a research conducted by the International Training and Research Institute for the Advancement of Women in collaboration with the Filipino Women's Council, an association of Filipino migrant women operating in Rome. This research aims to analyse the phenomenon of the remittances flowing from Italy to the Philippines from a transnational standpoint and with a gender sensitive perspective, and is geared towards investigating the impact of these remittances on the society of origin and, in particular, on agricultural production and on food security.

These analysis of migrations between Italy and the Philippines from a transnational perspective appear to be very fruitful and the possibilities for further exploration suggested by the works of research mentioned above are several and challenging. We hope, therefore, in an increasing interest of scholars for the features of the transnational place created by the migration between Italy and the Philippines, for the transnational practices put into effect by the Diaspora and for the consequences of these practices on the two shores of the migratory phenomenon. Besides, given the increasingly marked interest, at an international level, in the relationship linking migrations and the

development of the country of origin and in the initiatives of co/development implemented by migrants and based on the potential of the transnational social capital accumulated by them thanks to the migratory experience, we think it advisable to note a lack in the scene of Italian sociological literature on Filipino migrations, that is the shortcoming of works analysing in depth the interventions of co-development, if any, put into effect by these migrants or by the associations they founded.

To complete these considerations we must mention to the fact that the Italian production of socio-anthropological literature on transnationalism is quite recent, as the first works date back to the '90s. In these years, the first works of research appeared, focusing on the relationships between the migrants' context of origin and of destination. These studies, which are usually referred to a specific national group of immigrants (mostly Chinese, Senegalese, Egyptians and Moroccans), analyze the migrants' integration routes in Italian society by taking into constant account the phenomena involving their context of origin and their consequences on the migratory projects and on individual strategies of insertion and adjustment. Special attention is dedicated to the circumstances – on a macro and micro level –, and to the push and pull factors which usually motivate and are the framework of the migratory choice (Campani, 1994; Tarchedi, 1994; Marchetti 1994; Ambrosini and Schellenbaum, 1994; Dal Lago, 1994). Besides, some of these works of research adopt the network analysis approach and observe, among other things, the way in which the social networks that structure the migratory phenomena also have feedback effects on the migrants' society of origin (Schmidt di Friedberg, 1996). The positive and negative ways in which migrations affect the context of origin, with special attention to the impact of migrants' remittances, are the object of some other studies dating back to the second half of the '90s (Casarosa, 1996; Farina et al., 1997).

The Italian production of literature concerning the transnational aspects of migrations, however, is not very flourishing, compared mostly to that of other countries, such as the United States, even if, for the last few years, interest in this issue has also been increasing exponentially in our country.

It is meaningful, in this regard, that in the second edition of the handbook *Sociologia delle Migrazioni (Sociology of Migration)*, by Laura Zanfrini, published in 2007, a whole chapter is dedicated to the theoretical treatise of the issue of transnationalism, of

its possible applications to the study of migrations, of the relationship between migration and development and of the emerging reality of co-development initiatives. In this respect, we will mention another important contribution by the same Author, who, in her essay *Cittadinanze. Appartenenza e diritti nella società dell'immigrazione* (*Citizenships. Membership and Rights in the Immigration Society* (2007), broaches the theme of the rethinking of the institution of citizenship from a transnational perspective. Another interesting contribution we would like to remind here is *Un'altra globalizzazione. La sfida delle migrazioni transnazionali* (*Another Globalization. The Challenge of Transnational Migrations*, by Maurizio Ambrosini (2008). This study observes migrants as agents of globalization, exploring the complex interweavement of linkages which cross the national borders, influencing and transforming the migrants' identity processes and their contexts of origin and of destination.

Most of the articles and volumes of Italian sociologists and anthropologists who use some conceptual instruments taken from the theoretical framework of transnationalism appear in international journals such as *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* and *Global Networks*. An Italian journal, which frequently takes account of this theme, is *Afriche e Orienti*.

Academic or independent research institutions usually carry out the sociological and anthropological works that adopt a transnational perspective. We will indicate, amongst the latter, a research centre which is particularly prolific in this field, that is CESPi (Centre for Studies on International Politics), which deals mostly with the theme of co-development, and in particular with its relationship with the migrants' associative life and with the local and national politics in the receiving and sending countries (Castagnone et al., 2008; Mezzetti and Ferro, 2008; Rhi Sausi and Zupi, 2005; Mazzali et al., 2002). Besides CESPi, also the ISMU Foundation promoted the realization of some research works based on a transnational perspective (Caselli, 2008), among which some studies about the phenomenon of remittances and, in particular, recently, also on the possible use of remittances for the implementation of co-development initiatives (Fondazione ISMU, Rial Red Italia America Latina, 2008; Davì, unpublished).

The research works on transnationalism and particularly those on co-development, increasingly numerous since the second half of this decade, are usually financed at an international level (International Organization for Migrations – UN, European Commission), or at a national level (Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs – Department

of Development and International Co-operation). These works usually adopt a qualitative approach. The methodology of multi-situated research is not very widespread, given the organisational difficulty and the high costs it implies. Nevertheless, some really interesting works have been published which adopt this methodology, such as *Relazioni transnazionali e co-sviluppo. associazioni e imprenditori senegalesi tra Italia e luoghi d'origine* (Transnational Relationships and Co-Development. Senegalese Associations and Entrepreneurs Between Italy and Places of Origin), by Andrea Stocchiero and Sebastiano Ceschi (2006), a volume which analyses the issues of entrepreneurship amongst migrants, of associations and co-development between Italy and Senegal.

Another significant study which is the produce of a multi-situated research is *Réintégration et enjeux de développement* (Reintegration and Potentials of Development) edited by Jean Pierre Cassarino (2007). This is the report of a field work which was conducted, at the same time in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, aimed at analysing all those multiple factors of the migratory routes which shape the reintegration strategies of those immigrants who returned to their country of origin, as well as the possibilities of the latter to contribute to the development of their homeland. The works of research geared towards investigating the theme of co-development, such as the above mentioned one, are usually integrated into the framework of larger projects which envisage, after a first research phase, a second stage dedicated to concrete intervention on the preliminarily explored reality.

The research works promoted in the Italian context on the issue of transnationalism tend to be based on data that are gathered in the context of some recurrent ethnic groups. Various studies have been carried out, for example, on the transnational practices put into effect by the immigrants coming from Western Africa (Senegal and Ghana) (Ceschi, Stocchiero, 2006; Riccio, 2007; Stocchiero, 2008), or from the Mediterranean area (Morocco) (Sali, 2002). It would be of great interest to try to probe and investigate the transnational spaces created by some other ethnic groups, also in order to make comparisons with the results of the previous research.

In the light of previous considerations and of the literature's review presented in the previous chapter [please refer to Report 1, IIA. *Filipino Immigration in Italy: Highlights from the Review of the Literature*], the expected contribution of the MAPID study is:

- To realize a quantitative study in order to evaluate the possibility to generalize the indications provided by the qualitative analysis about Filipino immigration in Italy, particularly with reference to the transnational configuration of Filipino migrants' family, the problem of left behind children, the migrants' ties and linkages with the Philippines, the associational life, their future plans and, in particular, their orientation to stay in Italy for a long time or to return to the Philippines at some point;
- To explore the professional mobility prospects of the Filipino migrants living in Italy, their perception of the available opportunities, their strategies and, in particular, the opportunities of insertion concerning the second generations born in Italy or arrived in the country at an early age;
- To provide information about the Filipino migrants attitude toward citizenship (Filipino citizenship, Italian citizenship, dual citizenship) and toward absentee voting;
- To offer a comprehensive picture of the Filipino associations, their organizational features, their aims, their strengths and weakness, their internal structure, their role in supporting Filipino migrants' integration in the Italian society, their involvement in the field of development of the country of origin;
- To grasp the relationship between migrations and sending countries development, collecting information about migrants' attitude to send remittances for various purposes, to contribute to fund raising campaign, to invest money in business initiatives;
- To collect suggestions for the organization of the training program, concerning both the contents and the organizational aspects.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the Filipino community is one of the largest immigrant groups in Italy (actually the biggest in Milan), and is also among the earliest. Over time, it has assumed a settled (i.e., permanently based) and familial (i.e., having families) character, becoming an integral part of the population of two urban centers – Milan and Rome – where the Italian study took place. As chapter 1.3 illustrates, what had once been a predominantly female group ten years ago has now been transformed into a more equitably represented group, gender and age-wise, with a considerable second generation. It is also characterized by a high propensity to save money and send remittances, a very flourishing associational life, a powerful system of ties and linkages



with the sending country, a clear interest by the latter to mobilize the Diaspora. All these characteristics make the Filipino community in Italy an excellent case to which address this kind of study.



## II.C. Methodological Notes

### ***a. Organization of the Research Team***

The research work was conducted between May and November 2008 by a team of seventeen interviewers and researchers operating both in Milan and in Rome, the two urban areas explored by this research, where the largest Filipino communities in Italy are located. These researchers were selected by the country coordinator (professor Laura Zanfrini) based on their competence in interviewing and on their proficiency in the English language. Some of them, furthermore, were chosen because of their previous experience of research on the Filipino community living in Italy.

This team of interviewers attended a three days preliminary seminar (10-12 May 2008) which provided them with some information about the Filipino culture and the Philippine institutions, mainly those involved in migration and development, about the objectives and methodology of the research and about how to deal with the instruments for data collection. Interviews were conducted by: Charito Basa, Raffaella Bianchi, Patrizia Brogna, Clara Camerino, Gisella Desiderato, Andrea Gelpi, Valentina Giacobini, Fabio Introini, Alessio Testani, Tiziana Traldi.

### ***b. Data Collection Period and Data Collected***

The research was based on a mixed methodology, which combined quantitative and qualitative analysis and used three different instruments:

- A questionnaire addressed to Filipino migrants in general,
- An in-depth interview addressed to some key informants
- A questionnaire, which also included some open questions, addressed to Filipinos who are members of Filipino migrants' associations or religious communities.

Each instrument was aimed at collecting different kinds of data and exploring different

facets of the Filipino migratory situation.

*i) Survey of Migrants*

The questionnaire addressed to Filipino migrants was geared towards the collection of quantitative data about the general life conditions of the Filipino migrants living in Milan and in Rome: their work, family life, earnings, behaviour related to money such as savings, consumption and remittances, membership in Filipino migrants' organizations or in other kinds of organizations, ties with the Philippines, knowledge, opinions and interest related to co-development, experiences in dealing with Philippine government institutions, participation in the life of the host society, experiences in dealing with institutions in Italy and plans for the future.

Two groups of five researchers worked simultaneously in the urban areas of Rome and Milan and filled in two hundred questionnaires, one hundred in each area: the questionnaire, which was anonymous, was read in English to the interviewee, whose answers were noted by the researcher. The interviewers also noted, in a specially provided space, all the additional information necessary in order to better interpret the collected data.

Respondents were chosen among the people who met three conditions:

- To be a Filipino migrant or the child of a Filipino migrant (including those born in Italy)
- To be at least eighteen years old
- To have resided in Italy for at least three years.

They were contacted directly by the interviewers, who got in touch with them through some of their acquaintances, by contacting some Filipino migrants' associations operating in Rome and in Milan, already known by some of the interviewers thanks to their previous research experience with the Filipino community; by going regularly to places frequented by Filipino migrants, such as Catholic churches, Philippine banks or remittance centres, the entrance of the Philippine Embassy and Consulate; or by participating in some of their celebrations such as the religious and recreational events organized in Milan and Rome during Independence Day. Some contact details of possible interviewees were indicated by other migrants, or by the key informants or Filipino migrants' association leaders contacted within the framework of the research activities, other than the survey, that we will describe

below. The fact of using a wide range of channels for the recruitment of respondents ensured certain heterogeneity of the sample.

The profile of respondents is illustrated in the following table:

**Tab. II.C.1 – Survey of migrants, Profile of respondents**

**II.C.1a – Respondent's gender**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	Female	118	59.0	59.0	59.0
	Male	82	41.0	41.0	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	

**II.C.1b – Respondent's age**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	18-29 years old	39	19.5	19.7	19.7
	30-49 years old	121	60.5	61.1	80.8
	50 and up years old	38	19.0	19.2	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>198</i>	<i>99.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
<i>Missing</i>		2	1.0		
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

**II.C.1c – Respondent's birth place**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	Philippines	174	87.0	87.9	87.9
	Italy	24	12.0	12.1	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>198</i>	<i>99.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
<i>Missing</i>		2	1.0		
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

**II.C.1d – Respondent's civil status**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	Never married	75	37.0	37.2	37.2
	Married or widowed	114	56.5	56.8	94.0
	Separated-divorced	11	5.5	5.5	99.5
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

**II.C.1e – Number of children**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	0	52	26.0	28.1	28.1
	1	40	20.0	21.6	49.7
	2	44	22.0	23.8	73.5
	3	27	13.5	14.6	88.1
	4	18	9.0	9.7	97.8
	5	4	2.0	2.2	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>185</i>	<i>92.5</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
	<i>Missing</i>	15	7.5		
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

**II.C.1f – Respondent's religion**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	Roman Catholic	169	84.5	84.9	84.9
	Protestant	18	9.0	9.0	94.0
	Iglesia ni Cristo	7	3.5	3.5	97.5
	Other	5	2.5	2.5	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>199</i>	<i>99.5</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
<i>Missing</i>		1	.5		
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

**II.C.1g – Respondent's educational attainment**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	Without high school degree	26	13.0	13.4	13.4
	Completed high school	47	23.5	24.2	37.6
	Some college-university or completed college-university	121	60.5	62.4	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>194</i>	<i>97.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
<i>Missing</i>		6	3.0		
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

**II.C.1h – Country where respondent completed college/university**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	Philippines (recognized in Italy)	17	8.5	10.1	10.1
	Philippines (not recognized in Italy)	84	42.0	49.7	59.8
	Italy	6	3.0	3.6	63.3
	Not applicable	62	31.0	36.7	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>169</i>	<i>84.5</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
<i>Missing</i>		31	15.5		
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

Despite the probably culturally determined courteous attitude noticed by all the interviewers in their interlocutors, a certain unwillingness to be interviewed constituted quite a significant difficulty for the survey data collection. The length of the questionnaire, which lasted about an hour and a half, combined with the respondents' scarcity of spare time, made it difficult for the researchers to find available interviewees or, in some cases, compelled them to fill in the questionnaire in uncomfortable conditions such as while moving from one of the interviewee's working places to another. Nevertheless, by resorting to the help of a tape recorder, these questionnaires could also be filled in with a fair amount of precision.

Another reason cited by the respondents to account for their unwillingness to be interviewed was the fact that, in these last few years, Filipinos feel they have become one of the targets of the scientific community's attention, but that, at the same time, they can't

see any real change in their life conditions and hence a concrete recompense for the precious time they have dedicated to fulfilling the researchers' requests.

What helped the interviewers to overcome these obstacles was, first of all, their decision to concentrate the largest number of questionnaires during the Filipinos' recreation time, such as Sundays or Thursday afternoons or working day evenings.

Considerable attention, furthermore, was dedicated to the first contact, which should create a certain amount of trust in the interlocutor. Detailed, written information about the objectives of the research, about the project where it was inserted, and about the institutions working on it was provided during this initial approach.

The fact of being involved in a project promoted by the Scalabrini Migration Center reassured a lot of Filipino people, probably because of their relationship of trust with some Scalabrinian missionaries working in the Philippines or in Rome and Milan close to the Filipino community.

Another factor which facilitated data collection was the previous research experiences of some of the interviewers with the Filipino community: these researchers became a sort of landmark for the rest of the team, providing information about how to deal with Filipino migrants and acting as intermediaries between their colleagues and some members of the Filipino community with whom they already had an amicable relationship.

Considering the phase of the project which would follow the study, every interviewer was asked to inform the interviewees about the capacity-building training programme that would be organized in 2009 and to invite them to indicate their names and contact details if they were interested in participating in it. The respondents were also asked to provide the contact details of other potential participants. In fact, very few names and contact details were gathered in this way.

## *ii) Key Informants Interviews*

The second instrument used for the data collection for this study, the in-depth interview with key informants, was aimed at gathering qualitative data capable of deepening the investigation into the Filipino communities living in Rome and Milan.

The directions in which this interview was intended to delve were several:

- Firstly, the perceptions about the dimension and future trends of the Filipino migration to Italy, the main emerging concerns of the Filipino community settled in Italy, its relationship with the Philippine Embassy or Consulate and with Italian institutions and its ties with the country of origin were probed;
- Besides, the features, objectives and activities of the Filipino migrants' associations, their relationship with the Philippine government, with Italian institutions and with the Consulate or Embassy, their capacity to become agents of change in relation to the home and to the host country, their interest, knowledge, opinions and previous experiences linked to co-development, the support they receive from the Embassy or Consulate or from the Philippine government in this field were explored;
- Of interest to the qualitative analysis were also the existing training programmes aimed at strengthening the capacity of migrants' associations in Italy. This kind of input was useful in order to gather suggestions and recommendations and to explore the opportunities for creating possible partnerships for the organization of a capacity-building training programme addressed to Filipino migrants' associations and religious communities.

Twenty-five interviews were conducted, ten in Milan and fifteen in Rome – where the previous sociological literature on the Filipino community is less abundant – by two groups of researchers.

The in-depth interviews were addressed to people who could observe the situation of the Filipino community from a particular and privileged standpoint. In particular, three categories were the target of these interviews:

- Philippine Government Officials in Italy;
- Members of the Filipino migrant community with a special profile or life experience (pioneers, religious leaders of different church, professionals and artists, youth leaders);
- Filipino or non-Filipino representatives of Italian institutions working in connection with the Filipino community.

Different strategies were adopted in order to trace these key informants. Before the



beginning of the research activities, a delegation of the various institutions working on the MAPID project had a preliminary official meeting with the Philippine Consul General in Milan and with the Philippine Ambassador in Rome, along with their closest collaborators. On this occasion the project's objectives and different activities were presented. The officials of the Philippine government, both in Rome and in Milan, assured their collaboration with the development of the project at all its phases and agreed to indicate some people to be interviewed as key informants. Some people working for the Consulate or for the Embassy were thus contacted directly, and some more names of people having a particular role within the Filipino community were provided during this meeting, as well as a list of Filipino organizations operating in Rome and in Milan.

Besides, further contact details were found thanks to a directory of Filipino associations and religious communities based in Rome that can be consulted on the website "[www.uninstraw.org](http://www.uninstraw.org)".

The acquaintances of some of the researchers were also invaluable in identifying some possible key informants.

All these people selected as eligible interviewees were firstly contacted by email or by letter, in which a complete presentation of the project and of the objectives of the research activities was provided. The person was subsequently contacted on the phone, asked about his or her willingness to be interviewed and, in the case of consent, the meeting was arranged.

Probably also due to the gradual approach strategy adopted, which was effective in creating in the potential key informant a well disposed frame of mind, there were few refusals. On the contrary, the interviewers reported that a lot of interviewees were happy to have the opportunity to express their opinions, concerns and hopes for the future of the Filipino community in Italy. Moreover, most of them asked, after the interview, to be informed about the outcome of the research.

Also in this case, considering the subsequent phase of the project, every interviewer was asked to inform the interviewees about the capacity-building training programme that would be organized in 2009 and to invite them to indicate their names and contact details if they were interested in participating in it or in contributing to its organization. Most of them declared themselves very willing to collaborate in the preparation of the training

programme; some were interested in participating in it or indicated the names of potential participants.

The two main obstacles to the conducting of these interviews were the lack of free time, which the respondents complained about, and the suspicion expressed by some of them regarding the involvement in the project of the Philippine government, which was not fully trusted by them.

These in-depth interviews were conducted either in English or in Italian, according to the preference of the interviewee; they were tape recorded, integrally transcribed and, if in Italian, translated into English. Each interview lasted about two hours.

Every interviewer noted, in a specially provided space, any additional information that could be useful for the interpretation of the collected data.

In order to guarantee the anonymousness of our respondents their names indicated beside interviews exerts were replaced by the symbol “XXX”.

### *iii) Survey of Filipino Migrants' Associations*

The third instrument used for the data collection in this study, a questionnaire combined with some open, qualitative questions, was aimed at digging deeper into the reality of Filipino associations and religious communities operating in Italy, and in particular in Rome and Milan, where the largest Filipino communities are located.

The goal of this observation instrument was, first of all, to create a directory of religious communities and associations containing some basic information about them and, furthermore, to define the features of these organizations, their objectives, their main strengths and weaknesses, their internal structure and their relationship with other Filipino and Italian institutions and organizations and to analyse their opinions, interest and previous experiences in the field of co-development. Besides, some information was gathered about the existing training programmes addressed to migrants' organizations or to migrants in general and some suggestions for the organization of the MAPID training programme were requested.

The target of this interview were the leaders or active members of Filipino migrants' associations or religious communities working in Milan and Rome, who were traced thanks to the contact details provided by the Philippine Consulate and Embassy and, concerning

Rome, through the Filipino associations and religious communities directory available on the website “www.un-instraw.org”.

Some more associations and religious community leaders and active members were contacted through the snowball method, that is, thanks to the intermediation of other respondents.

The variety of strategies put into effect for contacting interviewees itself implied certain heterogeneity of the group of respondents. All the same, special attention was paid by the researcher to select both lay associations and religious communities, and, among the latter, organizations belonging to different Christian denominations. The attempt to contact some Muslim Filipino migrants by addressing the mosque in Rome wasn't successful, as, apparently, there are very few Filipinos frequenting this place of worship. No Muslim Filipino organization was found in the directories consulted and no acquaintance of our Christian interviewees belonged to the Muslim community.

Forty interviews were carried out, twenty in Rome, and twenty in Milan.

Here below, we will provide a table summarizing some basic information about the respondents to these interviews.

**Tab. II.C.2 – Survey of Filipino migrants associations, Profile of respondents**

***II.C.2a – Respondent's gender***

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	Male	21	52.5	52.5	52.5
	Female	19	47.5	47.5	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	

***II.C.2b – Respondent's number of years in Italy***

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	3 - 10	6	15.0	15.0	15.0
	11 - 15	7	17.5	17.5	32.5
	16 - 20	19	47.5	47.5	80.0
	21 - 36	8	20.0	20.0	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	

**II.C.2c – Respondent is Member of organization since:**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	1987 - 1993	7	17.5	17.5	17.5
	1994 - 1998	7	17.5	17.5	35.0
	1999 - 2003	8	20.0	20.0	55.0
	2004 - 2008	18	45.0	45.0	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	

As the national coordinator's assistant operating in Milan carried out the interviews, the respondents living in the area of Milan were met personally; those living in the area of Rome were interviewed on the phone. The interview was conducted either in English or in Italian, according to the preference of the interviewee. It was tape recorded, transcribed and, if in Italian, translated into English. Each interview lasted about an hour and a half.

One difficulty encountered by the researcher was related to the observation instrument itself. For some logistical reasons linked to the overall organization of the project's activities, the data collection instrument chosen for this survey on Filipino organizations was a set of closed and open questions previously arranged and used by the Philippine government for aims that were different from the objectives of research. This is why mostly closed questions were not always totally pertinent to the reality at issue and didn't always allow for a good level of accuracy in the data collection.

This obstacle was sidestepped by inviting the respondents to give, if necessary, different answers from those scheduled as optional replies, and by noting in the specially provided space many remarks and explanations, in order to improve the precision of the analysis.

Concerning the identification of respondents, this operation didn't cause many problems: most of the people who were contacted declared themselves interested in the project and willing to contribute to it. Many of them appeared happy and proud to describe the activities of the organization they belonged to and seemed to interpret the interview as a first step towards a future collaboration with an Italian institution, which could become a source of empowerment for their organization. Most of the respondents declared to be interested in participating in or collaborating with the training programme that will take place in 2009, and asked to be informed about the outcome of the research work.

The only three obstacles to the recruitment of respondents were the not always updated

listing provided by the Embassy, the respondents' lack of free time and the mistrust shown by some of the interviewees, sometimes clearly caused by the fact that the Philippine government was one of the partners in the project.

Considering the subsequent phases of the project, the respondents were asked to fill in two forms, providing the names and contact details of potential participants in the training programme, and authorizing the insertion of some information about their organization in the directory that will be published on the Scalabrini Migration Center's website. Most of the respondents asked to fill in the two forms after consulting the other officials of their organization, and were invited to send the completed documents later on. Only a few forms, though, have been filled in and returned up to now.

Finally, in order to augment the information provided by our respondents and to gather some data about some Filipino associations and religious communities based in different areas from Rome and Milan, the researcher involved in this analysis, which was specifically focused on Filipino organizations, carried out a secondary operation. That is, additional information was collected through the reading of some documents provided by the interviewees and produced by the organization at issue or through an exploration of the data available on the Internet. This operation, though, wasn't really fruitful, as the documents provided by the interviewees didn't give much more information than that already provided by word of mouth; besides, few organizations had a website and most of them were based in Milan and Rome and thus contacted for an interview. Apart from some exceptions, moreover, most of the websites explored weren't very explanatory, and were incomplete and not updated.

In order to guarantee the anonymousness of our respondents their names indicated beside interviews excerpts were replaced by the symbol "XXX".

### ***c. Overall Assessment of the Quality of Data Collected***

On the basis of the previous observations and of the verifications carried out also on the level of the information analysis, a quite positive overall judgment on the quality of the data

collected can be given. In particular we think it advisable to highlight that the data related to the main information source, that is the survey, even if not the produce of a strictly random sample, totally ensuring a statistical representativeness, have been gathered with a procedure which allows without any problem the reproduction of the variance of the population at issue.

### III. FINDINGS FROM MAPID

#### III.A. Profile of Respondents

##### *a. Socio-demographic Profile of Respondents*

The structured questionnaire was carried out on a sample, based on the indications which the interviewers had been provided with [please refer to Report 1, II.C. *Methodological Notes*], and, finally, resulted to be composed of 118 women (59%) and 82 men (41%), in accordance with the gender composition of the Filipino immigrant community in Italy [please refer to Report 1, II.A.b, *Profile and Characteristics of the Filipino Immigrant Community in Italy*] and, in particular, in Rome and in Milan (in both the urban areas the same gender composition was, in fact, reproduced).

The largest part of the interviews (32.5%) was carried out at the respondent's home (or home of an associate), but a significant percentage was conducted in a church or place of worship (22.3%) or in other outdoor meeting places (18.3%). The number of the interviews which were carried out at the respondent's workplace, in recreation places or within ethnic shops was much less significant. Let's now illustrate the other characteristics of respondents, synthesized in Table III.A.1.

**Tab. III.A.1 – Profile of Respondents**

##### *III.A.1a – Respondent's gender*

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	Female	118	59.0	59.0	59.0
	Male	82	41.0	41.0	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	200	100.0	100.0	

**III.A.1b – Respondent's age**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	18-29 years old	39	19.5	19.7	19.7
	30-49 years old	121	60.5	61.1	80.8
	50 and over years old	38	19.0	19.2	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>198</i>	<i>99.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
<i>Missing</i>		2	1.0		
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

**III.A.1c – Respondent's birth place**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	Philippines	174	87.0	87.9	87.9
	Italy	24	12.0	12.1	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>198</i>	<i>99.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
<i>Missing</i>		2	1.0		
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

**III.A.1d – Respondent's civil status**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	Never married	75	37.0	37.2	37.2
	Married or widowed	114	56.5	56.8	94.0
	Separated-divorced	11	5.5	5.5	99.5
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

**III.A.1e – Number of children**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum. Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	0	52	26.0	28.1	28.1
	1	40	20.0	21.6	49.7
	2	44	22.0	23.8	73.5
	3	27	13.5	14.6	88.1
	4	18	9.0	9.7	97.8
	5	4	2.0	2.2	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>185</i>	<i>92.5</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
<i>Missing</i>		15	7.5		
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

**III.A.1f – Respondent's Religion**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	Roman Catholic	169	84.5	84.9	84.9
	Protestant	18	9.0	9.0	94.0
	Iglesia ni Cristo	7	3.5	3.5	97.5
	Other	5	2.5	2.5	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>199</i>	<i>99.5</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
<i>Missing</i>		1	0.5		
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		



**III.A.1g – Respondent’s educational attainment**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	Without high school diploma	26	13.0	13.4	13,4
	Completed high school	47	23.5	24.2	37,6
	Some college-university or completed college-university	121	60.5	62.4	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>194</i>	<i>97.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
<i>Missing</i>		6	3.0		
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

**III.A.1h – Country where respondent completed college/university**

		<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cum Percent</i>
<i>Valid</i>	Philippines (recognized in Italy)	17	8.5	10.1	10,1
	Philippines (not recognized in Italy)	84	42.0	49.7	59,8
	Italy	6	3.0	3.6	63,3
	Not applicable	62	31.0	36.7	100.0
	<i>Total</i>	<i>169</i>	<i>84.5</i>	<i>100.0</i>	
<i>Missing</i>		31	15.5		
<i>Total</i>		<i>200</i>	<i>100.0</i>		

The age of the respondents varies from 18 to 72 years, with a concentration in the age bracket of the people who were born in the ‘60s, who are nearly 30% of the sample. The mean age – 40.42 years, 41.42 for women and 38.97 for men – is quite high, but it mirrors the situation of the Filipino community living in Italy, whose migration is less recent than that of most of the ethnic groups immigrated in this country [please refer to Report 1, I.A.b, *Filipino Immigrants Relative to the Immigrant Populations in Italy*]. Anyway, if we take into account the aims of our project, we are dealing with a suitable age, when the milestones of the transition to adulthood (for example that of giving birth to children) have already been passed and plans for future life and work have already been consolidated<sup>1</sup>.

The sample in Rome presents an over-representation of young people from 18 to 29 years of age (23.5% compared to 16% in Milan) and of people from 30 to 49 years of age (64.3% compared to 58% in Milan); in Milan, instead, people who are more than 49 years old are more numerous (26% in comparison with 12.2% in Rome). The people who were born in Italy are all concentrated in the youngest age bracket and none of

<sup>1</sup> This is even more true for the Filipino society where, as is well known, the various stages of the life cycle are anticipated with respect to the Italian standards. In our previous research *Orgoglio e pregiudizio* (Zanfrini and Asis, 2006) we asked the Filipino children living in Italy what is the “right” age in Italy and in the Philippines to do a series of things, for the males and for the females. Three fundamental things signal the passage to adulthood: the start of work which permits one to contribute to the economic well-being of the family, the formation of one’s family of election, and becoming parents. With regard to the last two, the gap between the “right” age in Italy and in the Philippines is particularly consistent, for both males and females (equal to or even more than 4 years).

them have married yet; similarly, the youngest age bracket is nearly totally composed of people who were born in Italy. The mean age of the people who were born in Italy – those who, from now on, we will refer to as the second generation in the narrow sense – is 21.19 years; that of those who are born in the Philippines (including both those who emigrated alone and those who emigrated to rejoin their parents) is 43.07 years.

In the subgroup of women we observe a higher presence of people of a mature age (23.1% of women are more than 50 years old, and only 13.6% of men), and this is the effect of a migration history, as has been mentioned, where women had the role of pioneers and where only recently the arrival of male migrants has become more frequent [please refer to Report 1, II.A.a, *History of Filipino Immigration*]. As a consequence of the peculiar history of Filipino migration to Italy, male Filipinos who were born in Italy are proportionately more numerous than women, while the latter are definitely more numerous among those who arrived in Italy after 18 years of age (61.3% women and 38.7% men).

Even if the percentage of people who emigrated autonomously to Italy, that is, of people who were born in the Philippines, is largely prevalent (87.9%), the percentage (12.1%) of the second generation, that is, of the people who were born in Italy, cannot be disregarded. This is an indication of the good level of rootedness in Italy of the Filipino community. This rootedness, nevertheless, does not imply a break of the ties with the homeland, given that only 10.6% declared not to have any home town in the Philippines, whereas 88.5% (a percentage which, among women, reaches 91.5%) have no hesitation in indicating his or her home town, making out a list of the most well-known places of origin of Filipinos living in Italy. The first ten provinces concern more than a half of the sample: Batangas (21.5%), Manila (8.5%), Laguna (8%), Ilocos (4.5%), Mindoro (4%), Davao (3%), Albay (2%), Pampanga (2%), Bulacan (1.5%), Quezon (1.5%). It is meaningful that nearly all those who arrived in Italy between 6 and 18 years of age had no hesitation in indicating their Philippine home town.

The second generation strictly speaking, composed of those who were born in Italy, is much more numerous in the Rome sample, where it reaches 21.4% (In Milan it is only 3%). In Milan, on the contrary, the number of those who arrived in Italy between 6 and 18 years of age is higher.

Concerning marital status, although a slight majority are married (56.8%), but the percentage of unmarried people is still quite high (37.2%) whereas the number of divorced or widowed people is much less, unlike that which occurs within other ethnic groups, which often include a significant number of divorced people (this datum, nevertheless, has to be interpreted taking into account the fact that divorce is not an option provided for in Philippine law on the family). The number of unmarried women (42.4%) is decidedly higher than that of unmarried men, a datum which is not motivated by the age distribution (on the contrary, as has been seen, men are on average younger than the women interviewed) but, once again, by the peculiar migration history of this group, where many men arrived through family reunification, while a large number of women were assigned, by their families of origin, the role of breadwinners, and, through force of circumstance, many of them had to drop the plan of creating their elective family. Among those who arrived in Italy in their adulthood – after 18 years of age – nearly a quarter, in fact, never got married. As has been mentioned above, the people who were born in Italy are all unmarried, a datum attesting the trend towards an assimilation of the Italian behaviour models, which envisage a higher marital age compared to the prevailing one in the Philippines [refer to footnote 1].

It is also interesting to notice the high level of endogamy, expressed by 95.2% of the respondents who have a partner coming from the same country. The few mixed marriages, as could be expected, are all concerning Filipino women and Italian men (9% of the women interviewed have an Italian husband), and are mostly concentrated in Milan, where they are 7.4% (compared to 2.6% in Rome). Endogamy definitely prevails – in about 8 cases out of 10 – also among the people who were born in Italy, a datum which indicates that this trend won't change in the future, also considering that almost none of the people who arrived in Italy after 6 years of age and before 18 chose an Italian partner. This tendency to endogamy emerged also during our previous study *Orgoglio e Pregiudizio* (Zanfrini and Asis, 2006), addressed to a sample of Filipino migrant children living in Italy, who in an overwhelming majority of cases (88%), had a Filipino or Filipino-origin partner. Moreover, during the focus groups conducted on the occasion of the same research, various elements emerged which may help explain this tendency to intermarry within the ethnic group. One element is the preoccupation of preserving the original culture, particularly those values which concern the relationship between parents and children. The transmission of these values is already in danger

within the context of immigration and runs an even higher risk in a mixed marriage. The second reason put forward by most of the male participants to the focus groups refers to their aspirations to have a dependable partner, preferably virgin, but, most of all, someone they can spend time with and who will accept them for what they are. In other words, they do not think that an Italian woman, with all the options at her disposal, would choose to marry an “immigrant” man, who is not in a position to offer her a comfortable life. The exaltation of certain feminine qualities including a higher sense of modesty which would disqualify most Italian girls may just be a means of avoiding to come face-to-face with their own sense of inadequacy and inferiority. Among the girls, the greatest concern is not to be respected by their Italian partner. In conclusion, the prospects of sharing the same culture, the ways of behaving and feeling, and the same migration experience with someone of the same ethnic group largely outweigh the aspiration of climbing the social ladder by means of marrying a local partner.

Going back to the description of the profile of the respondents, only 33.5% of these do not have any children, a number which has to be related both to the age distribution of the sample, and, mostly, to the distribution of the marital status. Comparing the two data it can be inferred that a meaningful number, 16%, of unmarried people, has some children and, in all the cases, we are dealing with children who were born in Italy.

Among men, it is more frequent to have children who were born in Italy (because a large number of men immigrated for family reunification). Considering all the respondents – men and women – who have some children, 32% of them (and even 36.2% of the people who were born in the Philippines) have some children who were born in Italy, a datum which speaks for itself about the level of stabilization of this community.

Among those who have some children, the modal (mean) number is 2 (in a third of the cases), but the incidence of the parents who have an only child is still considerable (30.1%). In the other cases, the number of children is 3 (20.3%), 4 (13.5%) or 5 (3.0%). Even if we take into account that many of the respondents with children are still of a reproductive age it can be affirmed that the procreative behaviour shows a tendency to adjust to the Italian models. Nonetheless, the mean number of children which was found within our sample (1.5) is higher than the mean number of children per woman in Italy which, after descending to an all time low of 1.25 in 2001, is now, according to the

latest available data (2006), of 1.35<sup>2</sup>.

If, as a whole, the respondents have 301 children (for an average of 2.26 children per parent, thus excluding the respondents who don't have any children), the number of children living in the Philippines is 136, that is 45%. In other words, nearly one migrant's child out of two is living divided, at least, by one of his/her parents. Even if we take into account that our computation also includes the children who, by now, are adult people, this datum is sufficient to indicate the dramatic dimension of the problem of the "orphan of migration". Moreover, if we take into account that about 60% of the children were born in the Philippines the conclusion can be drawn that only about two children out of ten – among those who were born in the Philippines – were reunited in Italy<sup>3</sup>.

This is the sign of a migratory culture which, evidently, is by now legitimizing the model of the family divided by migration, also as a consequence of the migration to those countries – such as Asiatic countries – which do not recognize the right to the family reunification.

The most widespread religion is the Catholic one, which concerns 85% of the respondents (with a relevant gender gap: 88% of women, but only 80.5% of men). Apart from this, besides the adherents to the *Iglesia ni Cristo* (3.5%) a considerable – and unexpected – number of Protestants was found (9%). Among the people who were born in Italy, one out of four declared themselves to be non catholic.

The distribution according to education level shows a good endowment of Filipino migrants in terms of education, considering that, apart from a very small proportion of respondents who interrupted their education in their early age, 21.7% completed the high school, 18.7% started university studies without completing them, whereas the remaining part (37.9%) got the college/university diploma or continued their postgraduate studies (4.5%). For some reasons which, once again, are linked to the migratory history of this community, women are, on average, more educated than men.

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<sup>2</sup> Obviously, the comparison between the two data is totally approximate and is not statistically significant.

<sup>3</sup> We are dealing with an approssimative calculation which doesn't take into account, for example, those children who were born in Italy and then sent to the Philippines to be grown up by other relatives.

Among women, in fact, 67%, at least, started university studies (compared with 55.7% of men), while, at the same time, 17.7% of men don't have any diploma (compared with 10.4% of women). As a matter of fact, as emerged from the fieldwork in the Philippines, migration can also be an outlet with regard to the problem of school failures, more likely more for men than for women. The Filipino population interviewed in Milan appears to be more educated, as many as 71.7% started some college/university courses or completed college/university studies. In Milan, 16.3% of the interviewees declared they had a diploma obtained in the Philippines and recognized also in Italy. The collected data – but we are dealing with an indication that should be verified with larger, more statistically representative samples – suggest that the conditions of the second generation are disadvantaged compared to those of the first, or, to be more precise, that there has been a reduction in the number of people who reached a higher level of education, that is 70.7% of those who arrived in Italy in their adulthood, but only 27.5% of those who were born here or who arrived before 18 years of age (a reduction that is still significant even considering their age distribution).

Among those who have a high school or university diploma, only a small part (4.3%) obtained it in Italy, while only 12.3% have a diploma which is recognized in Italy. All the others – the large majority – have some diplomas obtained in the Philippines and for which they didn't obtain (or require) any legal recognition (a problem which, of course, doesn't exist among the members of the second generation in a narrow sense). It is thus explained why the problem of "brain wasting" has been frequently mentioned during the interviews with the key informants, and is perceived as a significant price to pay for the professional incorporation opportunities of Filipino migrants living in Italy, also because of the complicated bureaucratic procedures they have to undergo in order to obtain the legal recognition of educational qualifications.

Young people, like me, we want to have a good job, not domestic work... we would like to be equally seen as the Italian young people. Most Filipinos are "domestica" [domestic worker] and so Italians see Filipinos just as domestici [domestic workers]... it's hard to get rid of this stereotype... this makes it harder to be properly employed in companies

*Do Filipinos actually try to be employed in companies for different jobs?*

...mm... not much, because we know that it is very difficult and we feel afraid to be under valued, it is embarrassing... there is a language problem too. Those I know who tried had very bad experiences

*Such as?*

Well, for example, they had to take extra exams for our qualification to be "recognized" here... and then, they did not make it anyway (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

As the following words of one of our key informants highlight, the “dequalification” (involving acceptance of a job below one’s qualifications) process is in Italy so marked that it becomes a distinguishing trait of the Italian case. Even if this feature is certainly counterbalanced by some different aspects which contribute to the attractive power which Italy has on migrants, it is so widespread that, as a matter of fact, it is taken into account even before migrating:

*And you mentioned that you were a teacher in your country? Did you ever try to teach here?*

Well, here I cannot teach English here, I am still a domestic worker as I was when I arrived. Here my degree is not recognised and the same happen to everybody who has a high education certificate from the Philippines. Our universities are good, we are taught in American universities, they are also expensive... but then when you come here... even if you have studied for 20 years you are the equivalent of... elementary qui (primary school here)... it’s quite embarrassing to be honest. So, immigrants don’t even try to do other jobs, they go straight to be domestic workers.

You can also try to do an exam to be recognised by the Italian system, many try and fail because of the language, so... Questo è un grosso limite per noi Filippini qui (this is a great limitation for us Filipinos here)... this is just in Italy as far as I am concerned. For example, in the US, if they need teachers or nurses, they take Filipinos, ah yeas, we work a lot as professionals also in the UK. Some people I know are in these countries because they recognise our education and they work really well...

*Will this phenomenon impact the future of migration to this country?*

I don’t know. For many Filipinos doing domestic work is just ok, even if 80% of us have a degree, you know... I am ok doing it. As long as we do an honest job, treated well, like one of the family. As I said before, there is an historical reason why people come here, also because Italy is apparently... *più accogliente di altri paesi europei* [more welcoming than other European countries], this is a very religious country and an open country. Everywhere you experience a bit of racism, here a little bit, less than other countries. Also, religion is always important for us, here values are closer to ours than in other countries of Europe. The church is at the end rather open, apart from problems you can find everywhere, we can easily establish communities, so... it’s hard to say what it will be more influential if having a good job or having a good religious community (Interview with XXX, 15<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Finally, more than one third of interviewees (36.7%) have a legal status which guarantees a permanent stay in Italy. An irregular status concerns only 9% of interviewees<sup>4</sup> who declared to be without or waiting for their residence permit, with a modest over representation of male migrants compared to female migrants (11.3% compared to 7.7%) and an over representation of the respondents with children left behind, whose well being, as we know, is often the reason why parents emigrated, even if illegally: nearly 40% of the respondents without a residence permit have left behind children who are less than six years of age.

The irregular status is also associated with a shorter period spent in Italy, even if this period is not always very short. Among the holders of a limited residence permit, subordinate work is one of the most frequent reasons (42.7% of the sample) while,

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<sup>4</sup> It must be considered, anyway, that the criteria for selecting the respondents implied that the interviews had to concentrate on regular migrants.

family reunification is a less widespread reason (8.5%). The reasons linked to studies or to independent work are totally non relevant. For a very rooted community such as the Filipino community in Italy, the presence of family networks should make it possible to follow the way of regular migration, thanks to the opportunity to use sponsoring systems (family reunification procedure), reducing, little by little, the incidence of irregular migration and taking advantage, more than in the past, of the “call from abroad” within the framework of the annual law on the quotas of migrants who are allowed to enter the country.

### ***b. Occupational Background of Respondents***

The prevailing model of incorporation of Filipino migrants in the Italian labour market is still characterized by:

- a very high rate of activity and of employment, both for men and for women, which are more limited only among the members of the second generations in a narrow sense (among the people who were born in Italy, 83.3 declared to belong to the category of non active people, with, evidently, a prevailing component of students);
- a concentration of subordinate workers employed as domestic helpers, old people’s assistants or baby sitters by Italian families. As can be easily inferred from Table III.A.2, the families are the employers not only of nearly six women out of ten, but also of little under a quarter of men, despite the feminine type-casting associated with this kind of job). Even in this case, nevertheless, the difference between the first and the second generation seems to be considerable, given that none of the members of the latter is currently employed in this field. Among the few who are working – considering that the prevailing part is composed of students – the most frequent jobs are those of a manual kind [please refer to Tab. III.A.3], which, nevertheless, indicate a will to distance themselves from their parents’ status, that is from the domestic work which so strongly stigmatized the image of Filipino migrants in Italy, becoming, as this key informant brilliantly remarks, a very powerful instrument for facilitating access to work for Filipino migrants.



I tell our country men here that we are the only people who is allowed by the Italians to go inside their house, to look after their children, their parents, to clean houses and to live with them, to stay in their house when they are not there, they are given the key of the house. What more trust could you have? Of course we want to protect the image of the Filipinos here (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

- A process of brain wasting which, as has already been mentioned, involves a large part of the migrants with a high education level (which, as has been seen, are the majority of the Filipino migrants). This process is attested by the data illustrated in Table III.A.4, from which it can be inferred that only one respondent out of ten, among those who have some college or university education, could accede, at least, to an occupation of a clerical kind (besides a proportion of 9.7% which is included in the heterogeneous group of “other professions”). The most educated component – that is the prevailing one – of the Filipino community in Italy is concentrated in the field of domestic work (59.3%) and of manual work (18.6%), with an overwhelming presence of the domestic worker, which is a sort of fate for Filipino migrants (and mostly for women) who have arrived in Italy in the last thirty years, regardless of their level of education.

**Tab. III.A.2 – What is your main job/main source of income in Italy at present? By gender and interview area (%)**

	<i>Milan</i>		<i>Rome</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Not working: Homemaker, retired, student	5.1	7.1	21.6	19.3	13.2	13.3
Not working: looking for a job	--	5.4	2.7	3.5	1.3	4.4
<b>Not working</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>12.5</b>	<b>24.3</b>	<b>22.8</b>	<b>14.5</b>	<b>17.7</b>
Full time domestic worker	10.3	12.5	5.4	43.9	7.9	28.3
Part time domestic worker	5.1	16.1	8.1	17.5	6.6	16.8
Domiciliary carer	--	8.9	16.2	5.3	7.9	7.1
Baby sitter	--	10.7	--	1.8	0.0	6.2
<b>Employed by families</b>	<b>15.4</b>	<b>48.2</b>	<b>29.7</b>	<b>68.4</b>	<b>22.4</b>	<b>58.4</b>
Unskilled worker in industry	12.8	10.7	--	--	6.6	5.3
General worker in the tertiary sector	--	--	5.4	--	2.6	0.0
Concierge attendant	2.6	--	--	--	1.3	0.0
Skilled worker	--	1.8	--	--	0.0	0.9
Building worker	5.1	--	--	--	2.6	0.0
Bricklayer	2.6	--	--	--	1.3	0.0
Gardener nursery gardener	--	--	8.1	--	3.9	0.0
Cleaning attendant	5.1	7.1	--	--	2.6	3.5
Petrol pump attendant	--	--	2.7	--	1.3	0.0
<b>Manual industrial and tertiary workers</b>	<b>28.2</b>	<b>19.6</b>	<b>16.2</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>22.4</b>	<b>9.7</b>
People in charge of sales and services	--	--	--	1.8	0.0	0.9
Shop assistant	--	--	--	3.5	0.0	1.8

Cook	--	--	2.7	--	1.3	0.0
Waiter	5.1	--	13.5	--	9.2	0.0
Barman	--	--	5.4	--	2.6	0.0
Dishwasher	--	--	--	1.8	0.0	0.9
Person working in canteens fast food	2.6	1.8	--	--	1.3	0.9
<b>Trade and restoration workers</b>	<b>7.7</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>21.6</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>14.5</b>	<b>4.4</b>
Executive responsibility employees	--	1.8	--	--	0.0	0.9
Clerk	5.1	5.4	--	--	2.6	2.7
Secretary	--	1.8	--	--	0.0	0.9
Journalist	2.6	--	--	--	1.3	0.0
Storekeeper	5.1	--	2.7	--	3.9	0.0
Entrepreneur, self-employed	--5.1	--	5.4	--	5.3	0.0
Nurse	--	--	--	1.8	0.0	0.9
Physicians and paramedical personnel	2.6	--	--	--	1.3	0.0
<b>White-collar, intellectual, health, self-employed personnel</b>	<b>20,5</b>	<b>9.0</b>	<b>8.1</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>14.5</b>	<b>5.3</b>
Other professions	23.1	8.9	--	--	11.8	4.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Tab. III.A.3 – What is your main job/main source of income in Italy at present? By age at the arrival in Italy (%)**

	<i>Born in Italy or arrived before 6 years old</i>	<i>Arrived at 6-18 years old</i>	<i>Arrived after 18 years old</i>
Not working	87.0	16.7	4.8
Employed by families	0.0	16.7	54.5
Manual industrial and tertiary workers	0.0	6.7	16.6
Trade and restoration workers	8.7	27.8	6.2
White-collar, intellectual, health, self-employed personnel	4.3	11.1	9.7
Other professions	0.0	11.1	8.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Tab. III.A.4 – What is your main job/main source of income in Italy at present? By highest educational attainment (%)**

	<i>Without high school degree</i>	<i>Completed high school</i>	<i>Some college-university or completed college-university</i>
Not working	8.7	31.9	10.6
Employed by families	47.8	31.9	48.7
Manual industrial and tertiary workers	13.0	8.5	18.6
Trade and restoration workers	30.4	14.9	1.8
White-collar, intellectual, health, self-employed personnel	0.0	8.5	10.6
Other professions	0.0	4.3	9.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Concerning the distribution according to work, it is interesting to observe that, even if time is going on and if some first, faint signs of occupational dispersion are now visible, [please refer to Report 1, II.A.b, *Profile and Characteristics of the Filipino Immigrant Community in Italy*], a full time domestic work is still the modal employment both for women (28.2%), and for men, as has already been mentioned.

In Milan, though, we find a more marked occupational dispersion and, in particular, a meaningful portion of manual industrial workers (24.2% of active people) and of the heterogeneous group where we gathered white-collar, intellectual, health, self-employed personnel (31.7 % of active people); in Rome, on the contrary, we find a larger portion of non active women (23.4%) and an even more marked concentration in domestic work and family assistance (53.2% of the sample, and 70% of active people); this datum concerning Rome is even more striking if we take into account that, in the sample, the members of the second generation are included, none of whom is employed in the domestic field.

Independent and entrepreneurial work is definitely not widespread, at least if we relate it with the long period which this ethnic group spent in Italy and to the good reputation assigned to it in Italian society (which certainly is an aspect favouring its members' access to credit and to customers). Only 5.3% of men, and none of the women interviewed is employed in this kind of work. Those who have an entrepreneurial activity manage small enterprises: usually two subordinate workers, only in two cases do we observe the presence of five subordinate workers.

As a matter of fact, as has emerged many times from the key informants' interviews, the fact of setting up a business seems to be restrained, rather than by structural obstacles, by a mindset tending to avoid the risks and responsibilities implied by independent work, restricting, at the same time, any professional aspiration.

*How do you assess the collaboration of the Italian government with respect to the fulfilment of your objectives? Do you have any support?*

An obstacle can be represented by Filipinos themselves... as they are not very interested in becoming entrepreneurs... They don't try to put up shops... You can see them around. What do they do? Domestic works, do you know why? It is not because they can't find anything else, it is because it is the simplest thing, they have something safe, a second family treating them right, and they are all right, they do not easily run the risk of putting up a business... Filipino people are quiet, they are not looking for God knows what, they don't think too much to the future... Of course there is someone who is different, but it really is a cultural feature... who wants to put up a business does not come here... (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Besides, even the initiatives of people who set up a business, even if they are a sign of the desire for change with respect to the traditional models of inclusion in Italian society, have the aim of reinforcing the ties with the culture of origin, and mostly to create new places where they can cultivate the relationships between Filipinos. Concerning this point, these are the words of one of the very few Filipino women running a restaurant:

(...) with our people clearly we eat here, I know everybody, they know me...you know something this place is better than a community, it is a place where people can have their food, not expensive... Then some children come here to wait for their parents who are arriving, and I keep them here, they drink some coke...

*And with regard to Italian people?*

I also have some Italian people who come eating here, and so they get to know some Filipinos who are not only domestic workers...You know, they don't know a lot about Filipinos, apart from the fact that they are good at cleaning the house, for example nobody knows our food... I also make some food, to order, for some parties or this sort of events... Because food is important... (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

The most interesting aspect emerging from the research in this respect, concerns, as has already been seen, the fact that nobody among those who were born in Italy, is employed by families. The majority are students (87.5% is enlarging the category of inactive people, where only 6.1% of those who were born in the Philippines are located) confirming the high proneness of Filipino migrants of both genders to put themselves on the labour market), whereas the very few workers who were born in Italy are employed in different fields, and not necessarily in manual work. Similarly, even among those who arrived in Italy when they were between 6 and 18 years of age (the so called improper second generations) only a few are employed in the same field as their parents, acceding, as can be seen in Table III.A.3 to several fields. This phenomenon, to a certain extent, is a silent one, but it has the potential to change in the future, the model that, until now, has been the most widespread model of incorporation of Filipino migrants in Italy. This is, in fact, the expectation largely shared by our respondents, as will be observed in detail in one of the following chapters [please refer to Report 1, III.C, *Life in Italy*].

To conclude this analysis of the occupational background of respondents we think it advisable to notice that the overwhelming number declare that they have a full time contract (62%), whereas 38% have a part time employment. In accordance with the tradition, part time work is more widespread among women (45.4% of the women interviewed) than among men (27.3%), but, in any case, with a higher incidence than the one that can be found in the Italian population (where it doesn't even reach 14% of employed people). Part time work is definitely more frequent in Milan, where it reaches 49.4% (over 24.3% in Rome) and concerns not only those who are working in the domestic field, as family collaborators, assistants to old people or baby sitters (apart

from white collar and unskilled workers). To be more precise, 36.6% of the immigrants who are employed by families declare that they work part time, together with 18.3% of the trade and restoration workers, 46.2% of white collars and intellectual workers and – unexpectedly – 42.9% of manual industrial workers.

Again in accordance with what our respondents affirmed, 88.8% of the interviewees are working regularly, while irregular employment seems to involve only 6.9% of the sample, and 4.4% are partly regular and partly irregular. The differences between the genders are very limited, as they consist only of a scant over-representation of men among the irregular workers (7.8 over 6.3%) and of women among the people who are partly regularly and partly irregularly employed (5.2 over 3.1%). We are dealing with some data which have to be interpreted by taking into account the criteria for selecting the interviewees, which, as we have previously mentioned, envisaged a presence in Italy of at least three years: the irregular condition – concerning the conditions of stay in Italy but also professional conditions – is, mostly, typical of the newcomers. But we are also dealing with some data which have to be interpreted by taking into account the likely reticence to admit to working, at least partly, in irregular conditions, a phenomenon which, as everybody knows, involves, in Italy, a significant proportion of workers, mostly those who are employed by families.

We can observe, finally, that the most settled component of the Filipino migration – which is composed of those who have a permanent residence permit or who have acquired Italian citizenship – includes a large portion of housekeepers (29.6%, over 3% among the holders of a limited residence permit), but the latter is the only significant difference; in other words, the reinforcement of legal status doesn't seem to be followed, to a statistically relevant extent, by a professional progression, which however occurs in the case of many other migrants' groups in Italy. Even if its weight is reduced, domestic work is still the main field of employment, also for the holders of a permanent residence permit, apart from being the main outlet for those who are still waiting to be legalized.

### ***c. Immigration Background of Respondents***

Concerning legal status – remembering that the criteria for selection was to focus on regular migrants – the sample is composed, as has been mentioned, of 9.1% people without a permit or waiting for a permit; of 53.8% people with a temporary permit, and of 37.1% people naturalized Italian or with an unlimited residence permit (*carta di soggiorno*), a group which, in Milan, is larger than 40%. A very different migratory model from that typical of intra-Asiatic migration (based on the concept of migrants as “guest workers” carried to the most extreme consequences) is taking shape; a model where the opportunity of reaching the status of permanent resident and to carry out the family reunification are the most important elements structuring the migratory plans, together with the life plans of people and families. In accordance with this distribution, 87.6% of people are registered with the local government registers (*anagrafe*), and this percentage reaches 100% in the case of the people who are born in Italy, who are all regular migrants and, in a very large part (91.3%) in possession of an indefinite residence permit or Italian citizenship. Among those who arrived in Italy after 6 years of age, a significant portion – about 3 respondents out of ten – could have a limited residence permit from the beginning.

One of the crucial issues of our discussion is that of the attitude and opinions of Filipino migrants about the possibility to acquire Italian citizenship. What do the data collected reveal in this respect?

Firstly we can observe that 13.5% of interviewees acquired Italian citizenship (in about 3 cases out of 10, renouncing, at the same time, their Philippine citizenship: the incidence of holders of dual citizenship is, in fact, 3% of our sample). At present, the naturalized people are concentrated in Rome, where they reach 22.2% of the sample (whereas in Milan they are only 5%), mainly due to the strong presence, in Rome, of people who were born in Italy. Among the latter, only a minority (12.5%) doesn't have Italian citizenship, but, anyway, has requested it. This datum itself is sufficient to contradict the stereotype according to which Filipino migrants are quite loathe to acquire Italian citizenship; certainly this attitude doesn't apply to the members of the second generation and, concerning the members of the first generation, as we will see further on, the opportunity to keep the citizenship of origin – which was not provided

for, in the past, by Philippine law – seems to have totally dispelled every resistance, even by diplomatic authorities:

I think that many of them don't want to go back any more, because if you look at the statistics we register about 1000 Filipino children born in Italy every year, this means three babies a day, now we have been encouraging the Filipinos who are qualified to become Italian citizens, anyway we have allowed dual citizenship. And step by step, if they do not become Italians, they would be at the low... because EU has already taken in Romania and Bulgaria, and the Filipinos are not members of the EU, so we tell them: "You have to become EU citizen, so that automatically you will become competitive over these people". And of course the children that are born here, to make them Italian citizens, they study here, they don't even speak Filipino any more, so we just tell them "be good Filipino and you will be good Italian" (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Citizenship acquisitions, by our respondents, have usually occurred in recent years, with a concentration between 2003 and 2006. Moreover, 28.7% of those who are not yet naturalized think they will do so in the near future, once the conditions to do it have been acquired, and a smaller percentage (26.9%) doesn't exclude this possibility. Women are slightly more represented among those who are naturalized, but men are definitely more numerous among those who, even if they are not yet Italian, have the intention to become so. Among those who were born in Italy, the incidence of Italian people is very high, nearly 87%, while only one among the respondents who arrived in Italy between 6 and 18 years of age acquired dual citizenship. In fact, only 44.4% of the people who are not naturalized (or, in other words, 38% of the whole sample) declared that they were not interested in becoming Italian citizens, a percentage which definitely contradicts the hypothesis of a certain unwillingness of Filipino migrants to make this essential step towards integration into Italian society.

But now, with dual citizenship, there are more frequent requests, but the procedures are so long that people are not motivated. For sure, having citizenship makes things easier. For example, I've lived in Italy for thirty years, but I'm still under the law that will come and all the time I spent here doesn't count. If I lose my job, after a while I must go away. It is not like in other countries, where you are a permanent resident, and this is why it is useful to have the citizenship, because it becomes a security. If you have the residence permit, you have nearly the same rights that an Italian citizen has, but you're obstructed in your freedom to move, but also this law is always changing. Before the unlimited residence permit (*carta di soggiorno*) was valid for ten years, now for five years. For a while also for six years. That's it: with the unlimited residence permit your rights and status are changing all the time, with the changes in the law, instead, if you have the citizenship, you are safe, but the time which is needed to acquire it is so long that it is discouraging. Another thing which you don't have without the citizenship is the right to vote, which I consider a very important thing, because, without this right, we always feel a bit excluded. I consider it the most important benefit and, certainly, it is something which really contributes to strengthen the relationship with Italy, because as long as you can't choose who is leading the country, you'll always feel an immigrant. This would really contribute to our integration. Concerning our relationship with the Philippines, having a citizenship won't weaken our affective ties, as who is Filipino in his heart will always be so (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

We think it is advisable to add that, if the majority of our respondents is aware of their opportunity to have dual citizenship (that is, of acquiring Italian citizenship without having to renounce that of origin), there is a sizeable 34.5% who are not informed about this possibility, and this could lead us to expect a further increase in the group of the future naturalized people. Nevertheless, reading the interviews with the key informants, we can observe a considerable lack of clearness in this matter, attested by the fact that even those who should be the people in charge of spreading the information in this concern show not to have a precise knowledge of the necessary prerequisites, or, sometimes, even not to clearly understand the difference between the status of a naturalized person and of a holder of an unlimited residence permit.

Many people want it... it is now easier, now it takes only 5 years. Filipinos want a place to come back to, but not for good (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

*Related to this, is there an increase in Filipinos acquiring Italian citizenship?*

Yes, most are applying for “carta di soggiorno” [unlimited residence permits], most in our group have it already and when we go to the Philippines we will stay two months but it seems so long. We miss here, we better go back because there we are just spending money and we are nothing. So we better come back and have money (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Those who are willing to acquire Italian citizenship, but who haven’t applied for it yet, are concerned about the rights which they and, mostly, their children, could benefit from it (*For me and for my son. There are many advantages, I’m waiting for papers; It could be good for my daughter; To prepare a good opportunity to my children for the future; For the future of my children*) and about the wish that, thanks to the citizenship, the arrival of some other members of the families can be sponsored (*To bring my daughters in Italy even if they are already in major age; I like to help my brothers to come to Italy*).

Those who are not sure, yet, whether to apply for it or not, try to analyse the costs and benefits of the issue (*Depends on the benefits I can have. Still under study; Depends on bureaucracy; May be better in terms of benefits and rights*).

Finally, among those who haven’t taken steps or planned to apply for Italian citizenship in the next five years, the most recurrent reasons are related to the existence of a more or less realistic plan of return to the Philippines (as a key informant synthesized, *I want to go back to the Philippines; I don’t want to be stranger in my country, the Philippines*) or, anyway, to the desire of keeping their identity link with the homeland as tight as possible (*I want to remain Filipino*), the lack of the necessary prerequisites and/or



information (*I want to apply but I still don't have everything right to do it*), to a certain reluctance motivated by the knowledge of the complicated procedures and long times required (*It's complicated*) and, last but not least, to the impression of not needing it (*If I find it convenient I will apply; If I need to do it I will; I'm fine with my permit*).

As far as Italian citizenship is concerned I would say there is not a great demand for it, mainly because for many, the plan is still not to stay here for so long. Probably those who might consider applying for it are younger families who see their stay here longer, but the majority is still willing to go back at some point (Interview with XXX, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008).

The issue of citizenship and of its conceptions among Filipino migrants will be analyzed further on [please refer to Report 1, III.C, *Life in Italy*]. What we would like to highlight now is the fact that, within the framework of the scenarios depicted by the transnational theory, the logic of national citizenship appears, nowadays, to be outdated, whereas the belonging to a nation and to its system of rights and opportunities is usually considered, by the migrant families – apart from its symbolic meaning – as a contingent element, as these statements express in an effective way:

Yes, yes... almost the older people, the first generation, because they have become Italian citizens by virtue of their marriage to Italians or by virtue of their long stay, but these are the people who have properties back in the Philippines, and if you are not a Filipino, then you don't have a right to own a property, so they re-acquire the Philippine citizenship.

We average maybe three to four every week who are taking their... as Filipino again, dual citizens (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

We were so surprised, we talked to so many husbands of Filipino women who are looking forward to going to live in the Philippines. To go and retire in the Philippines. So we helped them with the documents. And some of them ask for Filipino citizenship (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

### III.B. Immigration to Italy<sup>1</sup>

#### ***a. Further Information about the Immigration Background of Respondents***

The second section of the questionnaire pertained to the respondents' immigration experience from the Philippines to Italy.

Before migrating, nearly one third of the interviewees were non active (housekeeper, student, retired). Those who, instead, were employed in some kind of occupation were usually employed in autonomous and entrepreneurial businesses (15.4%), work of an intellectual nature and of a clerical kind. Manual work, in industry and services, has, on the contrary, a modest weight, especially if we compare it with the current distribution of the professional profile. Besides, if we exclude the people who were born in Italy, 15.7% of respondents have a past experience of work in another country than Italy, a datum which attests the permeability of the international labour market for Filipino migrants.

The undeniable down-grading process which sealed the fate of many Filipinos [please refer to Report 1, III.A.2. *Occupational Background of Respondents*] doesn't imply that, for many of them, migration didn't represent an improvement in their and their families' general conditions of life. When asked to "*compare their (personal) overall situation and their family's overall situation before they came to Italy to their – and their family's – present situation...*" 86.7% and 82.5%, respectively, had no hesitation to answer that it is better than before (without any relevant differences between genders). For the others, the situation is usually the same as before, considering that only a little more than 1% indicated a worsening.

But what are the reasons which lead our respondents to migrate? When asked about this, our respondents prevalently chose those answers which concerned their responsibilities towards their family: helping their family (43.2% of the first answers) and ensure a better future for their children (22.2%). By adding up these two items, we have 2/3 of the sample, with a definitely stronger weight in comparison with the reason of searching

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<sup>1</sup> If not otherwise specified, those who were born in Italy didn't answer the questions of this section.

for a job (which represents only 13.1% of the answers, attesting a migratory strategy geared more towards an emancipation and an improvement of the life conditions than towards survival strictly speaking) and that of searching for a higher income (10.8%). Even weaker the role of reasons related to family reunification (6.3%) or to the desire to experience a new culture.

**Tab. III.B.1 – What was the main reason why you came to Italy?, Up to three responses ordered by importance (%)**

	<i>1<sup>st</sup> choice</i>	<i>2<sup>nd</sup> choice</i>	<i>3<sup>rd</sup> choice</i>
To help the family	43.2	17.7	17.9
To provide better future for the children	22.2	26.2	15.9
To earn higher wages	10.8	30.5	27.8
To have a job	13.1	14.0	13.9
To be with family	6.3	3.0	7.3
To experience another culture/adventure	4.0	7.9	17.2
Other	0.6	0.6	0.0

In contrast with the traditional gender stereotypes, women are those who assign a greater relevance to the reason of helping the family (45.2% and 40.8%), and men to that of providing a better future for their children (26.8% and 19.2%); in accordance with the expectations, instead, women give more importance to the reason of experiencing another culture-adventure (5.8% over 1.4%). The desire to help the family reaches 50% of the answers among the interviewees in Rome, whereas in Milan the desire to be with the family is higher (10.3%) – with respect to the average of the sample –. The latter desire acquires an even weightier significance – but not to the extent which was expected – also among those who arrived in Italy before coming of age (33.3%).

What emerges very clearly from this data is that – in general and even more with respect to the Filipino experience – the migratory choices and strategies can be understood only by taking account of the economy of the family, of its framework of reciprocal obligations and of its strategies of accumulation and risks differentiation, according to what the migration studies highlighted.

Nevertheless, in the description made by our respondents, even if migration is conceived as a family brief, it is primarily the effect of an individual intention, if we consider that 62.6% of the sample declared that this decision was taken mostly by the respondents themselves. Instead, in 22.2% of the cases, we are dealing with a decision

made jointly by the respondent and their relatives. It is meaningful to observe that there are more women than men who made this choice individually (66.7% over 56.5%).

With respect to the length of stay – a variable which, according to our experience in the field of research, we consider as crucial in the analysis of the routes of integration and of the individual migratory histories, as well as of their choices, attitudes and opinions in many different fields – our sample is composed as follows: excluding those who were born in Italy, 26.2% immigrated between 1972 and 1990; the largely prevailing portion (more than 50%) between 1991 and 2000 (with an intensification of the arrivals in the second half of the decade), that is, in that crucial decade for the migrations from the Philippines to Italy [please refer to Report 1, II.A.a, *History of Filipino Immigration*]; 22.7% from 2001 up to now (nevertheless, it has to be taken into account that the interviewers had been required to select the interviewees excluding those who had just arrived). The mean length of stay is 14 years (definitely a longer time than that required by the Italian law for applying for Italian citizenship), slightly longer in Rome (14.8) than in Milan (13.2). A very large proportion, that is, two thirds, of those who immigrated between six and eighteen years of age arrived in Italy from 1996 on.

The holders of a limited residence permit themselves have, on average, a sufficient length of stay in order to be naturalized (the mean length of stay is 11.67years)<sup>2</sup>.

Subsequently, taking account also of those who were born in Italy, about a quarter of the sample have been living in Italy since the '70s-'80s; about a quarter since the first half of the '90s; little more than a quarter since the second half of the decade; the remaining part since even more recent times. A distribution which confirms the high length of stay of this group – compared to many other ethnic groups which compose the migratory population in Italy: in fact, about a quarter of the sample (which becomes 29% in the sample of Rome also thanks to the higher presence of the second generation) have been living in Italy for more than twenty years – and, at the same time, the persistence of a migratory flow which, even if it is decreasing over time – again compared to some others – doesn't seem to be on the point of stopping, making the Filipino migrants a constant presence in all the phases of the Italian history of migrations. Among women, the percentage of the arrivals before 1986 is 13.6%, while for men 4.2%, confirming what we have already repeatedly asserted, concerning the

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<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it has to be taken into account that the law lays down ten years of regular permanence, whereas many immigrants spent a certain time in irregular conditions and only later they could regularize their situation.

gender composition of the flows coming from the Philippines [please refer again to Report 1, II.A.b, *Profile and Characteristics of the Filipino Immigrant Community in Italy*].

This peculiar distribution for age and for length of stay [please refer to Table III.B.2] is in accordance, as we will illustrate, with the ideas and plans for the future, which include a large proportion of people planning to go back to the Philippines as soon as they retire (even if, as we will analyse in detail further on, the problem of transferring the pensions to the Philippines is still unsolved).

**III.B.2 – Distribution by age on arrival in Italy, By age of respondents and years living in Italy (%)**

	<i>Age</i>	<i>Years living in Italy</i>
Born in Italy or arrived before 6 years of age	20.91	20.22
Arrived in Italy from 6-18 years of age	26.50	10.94
Arrived in Italy after 18 years of age	45.01	13.36
<i>Total</i>	<i>40.48</i>	<i>13.93</i>

Attesting a spontaneous migratory process, which is taking place autonomously, regardless of any legal procedure, more than 11.5% of the respondents entered Italy without having any permit, 60.3% used a tourist visa (a percentage which reaches 65.8% in the Rome group), with a much higher weight than that of the situations where the migrant had a permit for reasons linked to work (16.1%), to family (9.8%) or to study (2.3%). and, even though – or maybe actually due to this – 52.3% already had one member of their family who was living in Italy, and even 73.6% other relatives.

It was the province of Rome which became a sort of catalyst for migration (as it attracted 48.9% of the newcomers just after their arrival), Milan was the second main destination (42.5%). Among the respondents in Milan (also including those who were born in Italy who interpreted their native town as their landing province), 19.2% indicated Rome as their landing province, a datum which points out a process of internal mobility which was crucial in the biography of many migrants. More than 92%, finally, arrived in the current province of residence before 2000.

Shared by both the genders, as has been seen, the use of the tourist visa for entering Italy reaches a peak value in the female group (62.9%), whereas among men those who benefit from the procedure of family reunification are more numerous (12.7% over 7.6% of women), and this is one more peculiarity of the Filipino migration with respect to the wider migratory population in Italy (in which entrance for family reunification has a much stronger weight, especially for women). Actually, prior to their arrival in

Italy, 70.4% of men could rely on the presence in Italy of some immediate family members, over only 48.3% of women.

The existence of well consolidated migratory chains is attested, moreover, by the fact that 82% of the interviewees declared that, at the time of their migration from the Philippines to Italy, it was fairly (44.1%) or very common (37.6%) for people from their province to migrate to Italy. This point clearly emerged also from the in-depth interviews with the key informants.

I don't know the number. I don't have a figure but in our chapter there is the father, the mother... I have 3 nephews here because in the Philippines the poverty is very high and it's difficult to survive, so the tendency is that if I am a "regular" I will get my husband and the husband will get the children and the children will get their children (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

The opportunity to migrate to Italy, by using the devices envisaged by the law – or the interstitial aspects of the law – is very rooted in the migration culture of the Philippines. The fact that Italy had become a country of emigration and the directions taken over time by the law, created, actually, a new migratory model, which, compared to the models related to other destinations of the Filipino migration (in particular to Asian countries), offers a wider frame of opportunities:

Here the workers have good benefits, they have minimum wages, the laws are very strict and pro labour. So I noticed that when employers fail to pay the salary of the workers, the labour unions will intervene. Workers even in households, have benefits: they have "*ferie*" [holiday], they have Thursday and Sunday free, they have the "*ricongiungimento familiare*" [family reunification] which is very helpful for them. So, I think Italian government is very supportive not only of Filipino workers but in general and this is something I have not found in other countries I have been to (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The opportunity to carry out the family reunification, provided for by the Italian law, doesn't only have the effect of reinforcing the self-propulsive nature of migrations, as has already been mentioned, but also of affecting the development of the individual's or family's migratory plan, breaking away from the logic of the overseas worker, which is always followed by a persistent myth of return. But it also arouses some new questions about the future of the Filipino migrants' children in Italy.

When they come to Italy, after being brought up by other people for years – for example their grandparents, uncles and aunts, etc. – yes, they can recognize their Mum, but not as an authority and not even, really, in terms of affection. Affection is felt for who brought you up, who really was with you... So the situation becomes dramatic, the children show that they really don't care for the people who are,

actually, their real parents... We see these boys and girls, torn from their loved ones, those left behind in the Philippines, then they start rebelling, they start excluding themselves...

This is happening because the law is wrong: there is an age limitation for coming to Italy... thus all the parents do not want their children to miss this opportunity and they do all they can to let them come here... Then, when they are here, they don't have any friends, they don't know the language... (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Young people are not interested in living here... When they are 17 years old, what do you think they care about their professional future? They are interested in socializing, in going out with friends, in meeting some girls... (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Then there are our children, who were born in the Philippines, who we brought here a short while ago and who are newcomers, so they can't yet accept, they have the difficulty of the language, the difficulty to accept that they are far away from their peers and that they have to stay here with their parents (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2008).

Although the Italian government has established the "ricongiungimento familiare" [family reunification] which allows families to join together, which does not happen elsewhere, there is an emotional lack as parents cannot look after their children because they work all the time. In the last years we have figures that the delinquency rate has increased as young people tend to form gangs to stick together not perceiving they belong to a family context. We call these gangs in the Philippines, "barcadas", as they do not have the interest to go home, for example after school, because no one is there waiting for them and they develop such strong relationships with their friends that the gang becomes the new home for them. The problem, obviously, arises when these groups are misguided. These are the things we are worried about (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Children are in a new world, their Mum works all day long, she often goes home to sleep only one night per week, besides they can't adjust to a school context which is so different from their own, they have too many difficulties, and they prefer to go back to the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 11<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

### ***b. A First Balance of the Migratory Choice***

Currently, the balance of the migratory choice is surely positive, if we consider the data illustrated by table III.B.3. When asked to compare the condition of Filipino migrants in Italy to Italian people, to other immigrants in Italy and to Filipinos in the Philippines, the interviewees have no hesitation to declare that their situation is comparatively better than that of other migrants (or sometimes the same, whereas only a few people consider it to be worse off). We think it advisable to remark that – as was expected – this evaluation strongly depends on the legal status of the respondents, as the most settled people and, mostly, the holders of the Italian citizenship are definitely more prone to judge their situation as better.

Compared to Italians, the relative majority declared that Filipinos have the same conditions of life, a significant portion refers to a more disadvantaged situation, but there is also a relevant portion (16.7%) of respondents who, surprisingly, declared that Filipinos have better conditions than Italian people!

Finally, in the comparison with Filipinos in the Philippines, most of the sample has no hesitation to affirm that the condition of Filipinos in Italy is better. In these cases – that is, in the comparison with Italian people and with Filipinos living in the Philippines –, the legal status of the interviewees doesn't affect the evaluations.

**Tab. III.B.3 – Please, tell me whether you think Filipinos in Italy are generally better off, the same, or worse off compared with other immigrants, Italians, Filipinos in the Philippines, %**

	<i>Better off</i>	<i>The same</i>	<i>Worse off</i>
Other immigrants	63.5	33.0	3.6
Italians	16.7	45.8	37.5
Filipinos in the Philippines	68.4	25.5	93.9

In the comparison with both other migrants and Italian people, women who consider their situation as worse are slightly more numerous, which could be a confirmation of the fact that migrant women often have fewer opportunities than their male counterparts; on the contrary, compared to Filipinos in the Philippines, the women who perceive an improvement are even more numerous than men, a datum which attests the fact that migration represents a unique opportunity for emancipation.

Concerning the differences between the two contexts, the data of Rome and of Milan are similar with respect to the comparison between Filipinos in Italy and other immigrants or between Filipinos in Italy and Filipinos in the Philippines, while, in comparison with Italians, the Filipinos living in Milan who declared that their situation is better than that of Italians are much more numerous than those living in Rome and having this opinion (29.2% over 4.2% in Rome), a datum which is persuasive about the good level of integration reached by Filipinos in Milan.

The differences between the first and the second generation are numerous: we found a sort of polarization of the opinions. Nearly all the people who were born in Italy are convinced that the condition of Filipinos living in Italy is better than that of other migrants (but this large consensus becomes more reduced if we consider the answers of those who arrived in Italy between 6 and 18 years of age, that is, at quite a problematic age, which doesn't always favour integration in the host society), but nobody thinks that they are better off than Italians. In the comparison with the latter an evaluation of equivalence prevails, whereas, in the comparison with Filipinos in the Philippines, the respondents born in Italy are nearly unanimously (83.3%) convinced that the condition of Filipinos in Italy is better.



It is necessary to add that, currently, the opportunities available for Filipinos in Italy have progressively decreased, mostly due to the exponential growth in the number of migrants living in this country [please refer to Report 1, I.A.a, *An Overview of the Immigrant Landscape of Italy*] which increased the competition in the labour market and the problems and conflicts in interethnic society.

This aspect has been repeatedly mentioned by the key informants, together with the concern for the future of the Filipino community in Italy, and to the possibility to limit the inflow of migrants, in order not to encourage an involution in the integration route of migrants in Italy. In the words of the key informants, these concerns are accompanied by those related to the reforms in the legal framework in the field of migration, which have been introduced from time to time, and to an atmosphere which has become – according to them –, on the whole, more hostile to immigrants, who are often considered as undesirable guests and who are prisoners of a short sighted bureaucracy:

Yes, I believe that migration to Italy is by now stabilized, but those who apply for the Italian citizenship are few. The reason is that many Filipinos hope to go back to the Philippines and to live in peace. They feel as if they were guests in this country. One could feel Italian if Italy gave him something, but Italy gives nothing, so applying for citizenship is not an interesting possibility. For the moment it is only a constraint. If before we dreamed to acquire the Italian citizenship now the dream has vanished.

It is difficult to hope that the situation will change, the atmosphere in Italy now is very hostile. Italian politics itself is hostile. This situation is perceived by everybody; it is likely that the number of Filipinos who will go back to their country will increase. (...).

After so many years in Italy we have no rights, how could we have a normal life? Our social life is destroyed, it doesn't exist (Interview with XXX, 1<sup>st</sup> June 2008).

The laws now might discourage future migration compared to the past, and also, life here, since the introduction of the “Euro”, has become much more expensive which also discourages migration and many complain about it (Interview with XXX, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008).

We are so concerned about being regular, but for our residence permit we have to wait for a year, even two years, it is a big problem for us. All these problems are always linked to the lack of a model in the politics of migration (Interview with XXX, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2008).

The problem is that Italian politics is not stable, the governments are always changing, it is difficult to make some predictions, but we are more and more worried and discouraged, it is clear that the current government is against migration. But I hope that one day we will have the opportunity to show our capabilities, that people will stop considering us only as domestic workers (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

What is feared, in particular, is that the up to now existing opportunity to regularize the irregular situations, linked to irregular or illegal entrance, or to find a job even if not disposing of the prerequisites required by the Italian law will no longer exist:

The main concern of the Filipino community right now is the new law on migration. As I mentioned earlier, there are several immigrants here without documents and their main concern is to become regular, to have all the papers to work properly here (Interview with XXX, 15<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

*Which are the problems which are recently emerging, if any?*

Undocumented migrants. Unluckily they are many. Now that the Italian Act on Security<sup>3</sup> came out, also Filipinos, who are the most accepted community, who have less problems, they feel in danger. Nobody talks about amnesties any more, and regularizing one's working conditions, for one who would need it, is impossible. Another problem is the work: no employer wants to hire you if you don't have your documents (Interview with XXX, 11<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Finally, the issue of political participation is still unsolved. The law on migration, approved by the Italian parliament in 1998, even if it structures quite a wide framework of protections and civil and social rights for foreign people staying in Italy, didn't solve the issue of the right to vote, initially provided for by the bill, but removed during the process for the approval of the law. Subsequently, the immigrants who don't come from some members of the European Union have a very weak kind of right to participate, consisting of the possibility to enter the local government units, taking part in some bodies with only a consultative power towards the body who make decisions, and usually only concerning the sphere of the migrants' and ethnic minorities' integration:

The "Consigliere Aggiunto" (Associate city counsellor) has only the right to speak, and not to vote, during the resolutions. We are the same as serie B players, forced to behave in a certain way by the current majority, to whom it is said: "You must do this like this...", "In front of your migrants, and I think that this is not fair, because even if I was elected by 2,500 migrants it is due to their hopes to have the possibility, in the future, to express their opinions and wishes. The opposite is not fair, that politicians come to me and tell me to go to the migrants and to tell them... We are elected by the people, we are not intercultural mediators, as we are doing now. This is the limitation I see, in our role as associate City Counsellor (Interview with XXX, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2008).

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<sup>3</sup> The so called "Pacchetto Sicurezza" [Act on Security], approved by the Council of Ministers on the 21<sup>st</sup> May 2008, is composed by a law decree, a bill and three legislative decrees. The first one provides for urgent measures concerning public security and contains three norms against clandestine migration. The bill on security is aimed at strengthening the state's action of prevention and of fight against the various forms of criminality, through the introduction of some norms which sanction more severely some cases in point of already existing offences or the addition of some new normative provisions. The three legislative decrees are dedicated to the family reunifications of foreign citizens, to the recognition and revocation of the refugee status and to the free circulation of EU citizens. Besides, the Act is followed by a declaration of emergency status which allows to rapidly face a situation of extreme criticality which has come about in Campania, in Lombardy and in Latium because of the presence of many irregular non EU and nomad citizens settled in certain areas. Finally, the Council of Ministers approved a further bill concerning cross-border cooperation in order to fight against terrorism, cross-border criminality and illegal migration, with which Italy adheres to the treaty of Prüm, which sets up the national database of the Dna.



### III.C. Life in Italy

#### ***a. Migrants' Household and Family***

Let's now turn to various aspects of the respondents' work and life experience in Italy.

The most striking fact is that almost a quarter of those interviewed live in their own houses, in Milan a full third of the sample. It is true that this is still lower than the general average, considering that around 80% of Italians live in their own houses; however, it is at the same time a percentage modestly higher than that of the immigrant population as a whole in Italy. This confirms the self-promotion of the Filipino community – one of the oldest established and best settled [please refer to Report 1, I.A.b. *Filipino Immigrants Relative to the Immigrant Populations in Italy*] – in the increasingly important process of strengthening of their position in the housing market that scholars see as one of the most unmistakable signs of a tendency to settle permanently (although we must not underrate the difficulties and burdensome costs of rents, which spur many immigrants to buy their own houses).

In any case, most of those interviewed live in rented accommodation, alone or with relatives, usually with a proper contract (29%), although a high number do not have a contract (12%), a sign of a phenomenon that is alarmingly and unfortunately still widespread. Cohabitation with the employer, a solution that was very common at the start of the settling in process – when the stereotype was a domestic help working full time for the same family and living in [please refer to Report 1, II.A.a, *History of Filipino Immigration*] – is nowadays much less frequent, involving “only” 11.5% of the sample, witnessing a process of emancipation that has concerned most of the Filipino immigration. Of less significance although not to be overlooked is the incidence of those solutions – rented accommodation, with or without a contract, in cohabitation with non-family members – that are typical of subjects without a family in tow, interested above all in cutting costs so as to be able to save as much money as possible to send home.

Considering the working conditions, industrial workers and those without employment (students and housewives) are those most likely to own their own houses, which shows

that these working conditions are indicative of a good start in the process of stabilisation in Italy (compared with the typical conditions of new comers who find themselves in a cleaning job living with their employers or with others of their own nationality).

**Tab. III.C.1 – What is your housing arrangement, By gender (%)**

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
Lives in employer's house (no rent)	6.1	15.3	11.5
Owens house ("casa di proprietà", alone or with some relatives)	31.7	19.5	24.5
Rents house (alone or with some relatives), with a contract	25.6	31.4	29.0
Rents house (alone or with some relatives), without a contract	15.9	9.3	12.0
Rents house (shared with non-relatives), with a contract	8.5	13.6	11.5
Rents house (shared with non-relatives), without a contract	8.5	7.6	8.0
Other	3.7	3.4	3.5
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

The model situation is of 5 people residing in the same house, where the model household (meaning a group of people, which includes family members as well as non-relatives, who usually share earnings and expenses) involves the presence of 4 people, which goes down to 3 if we count only the immediate family members (parents, siblings, spouses and children). In a more analytical way, only 4.7% of the sample consist of one-person households (whereas in the Italian population, according to the data from the last general population census of 2001, the one-person units are a full 25%, and even higher in big cities such as Rome or Milan); 14% are households with two people, 16.1% are of three people, 32.1% of four and 33.2% of five people or more. Rome has a higher incidence of larger families, reaching 18.6% of respondents. The presence of non-relatives in the household is more frequent for women, who are more likely to be living with their employers, and it is decidedly more frequent among those interviewed who do not have a residence permit.

The second generations in the strict sense (that is, those born in Italy) almost all live in households of 3-5 members, and there are no situations recorded in which non-relatives are present. Cohabitation with relatives not belonging to the close family nucleus is, similarly to that with non-relatives, decidedly more frequent among those who came to Italy as adults.

Finally, the mathematical mean of people living together in a house is equal to 4.36, and that of the household members to 4.35.

Regarding the composition of households in Italy, the situation is as summarised in Table III.C.1.

**Tab. III.C.1 – How many people are members of your household here in Italy? (%)**

	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3 or more</i>	<i>Total</i>
Parents	4.5	16.5	--	21.0
Siblings	11.5	8.0	1.5	21.0
Spouse	44.0	--	--	44.0
Children 0-5 years old	15.0	0.5	--	15.5
Children 6-10 years old	15.0	1.5	0.5	17.0
Children 11-14 years old	11.5	0.5	--	12.0
Children 15-17 years old	6.5	0.5	--	7.0
Children 18 years old and up	7.5	2.0	1.5	11.0
Other relatives	10.4	7.3	7.9	15.6
Non relatives	6.3	9.2	14.9	30.4

Families separated by migration – in other words, transnational families – represent the norm in the context of the Filipino community. Only 20.4% of those interviewed claim not to have any original household member remaining in the Philippines, whereas in general the number of family members remaining in their country of origin ranges between 1 and 5, with a mathematical mean of 3.8<sup>1</sup>. 2/3 of those interviewed also have at least one family member – the mathematical mean is equal to 1.12 – in another foreign country, a fact that points to the extent and widespread nature of the Filipino Diaspora. Also those born in Italy state themselves as belonging to a transnational family, on a level with those who came here at a young age: both, as can be seen from Table III.C.2, are well aware of belonging to communities and families of a Diaspora.

**Tab. III.C.2 – Aside from your household in Italy, how many members of your origin household remain in the Philippines?, By age at the arrival in Italy (%)**

	<i>Born in Italy or arrived before 6 years old</i>	<i>Arrived at 6-18 years old</i>	<i>Arrived after 18 years old</i>
No one	13.6	44.4	18.9
1 or 2	13.6	22.2	25.7
From 3 to 6	72.7	27.8	42.6
More than 6	0.0	5.6	12.8
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

<sup>1</sup> The mean, referring only to respondents in Milan, equal to 4.9, is, however, very high compared to that of Rome, which is equal to 2.8, which is perhaps indicative of the fact that the Filipino community settling in Rome is more geared towards bringing their original household members to Italy, a tendency that would be coherent with the greater size of households in Rome than in Milan.

**Tab. III.C.3 – Aside from your household in Italy, how many members of your original household are living in another country?, By age at the arrival in Italy (%)**

	<i>Born in Italy or arrived before 6 years old</i>	<i>Arrived at 6-18 years old</i>	<i>Arrived after 18 years old</i>
No one	29.4	85.7	52.2
1 or 2	58.8	7.1	33.3
More than 2	11.8	7.1	14.4
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

The situation of divided families has ethical implications, above all when it involves the separation of parents from their children. The phenomenon – already referred to by us [Please refer to Report 1, III.A. *Profile of Respondents*] – is significantly widespread, even appearing in a sample such as that chosen for our investigation, composed of people with quite a good level of integration into Italian society. In fact, 6% of those interviewed have 0-5 year-old children living in the Philippines, on average one but not so rarely more than one. The number of those interviewed who left children between 6 and 10 years of age in the Philippines goes up to 10%, only slightly lower than that of parents separated from children aged between 11 and 14 (12%). Almost as widespread is the presence of adolescent left behind children, from 15 to 17 (8.5%), whereas a good 13% of respondents have children of age living in the Philippines.

Although fathers are moderately more numerous among those separated from their children in order to emigrate (the male respondents who declare having young children in the Philippines are around double in number than of the female respondents), the problem of the children left behind involves fully the mothers themselves: 15.4% of mothers with children from 0 to 5 years old live separated from them, as do 23.1% of mothers with children from 6 to 10 and a full 38.5% of mothers with children from 11 to 14. There are quite a few indicative percentages regarding the dramatic proportions of the problem, which also involves, in a decidedly disproportionate manner, immigrants who have not yet obtained a residence permit, who, in addition to their more precarious economic situation do not have the legal requisites to bring over their families<sup>2</sup>.

However, on the basis of the data relating to family income and to the use of resources it can be affirmed that the decisions concerning family reunion take shape considering not only plans to emigrate but also the economic situation of the family and the ability

<sup>2</sup> It must be said, however, that the presence of illegal subjects in our sample is too limited to enable the in-depth study required regarding this point.

to meet the needs of its members, both in the sending and in the receiving country. As we shall see later, the second generation members belong to household with adequate incomes – or judged as being such by the respondents – capable not only of maintaining relatives not in Italy but also of setting aside money for the future. It is thus foreseeable that, in compliance with a shared culture of emigration that condones and legitimises the separation from one's children, the reunification of the family is put off until the “optimal” conditions are reached, avoiding situations of marginality and exposure to the risk of poverty, which is relatively recurrent in other immigrants groups. Family economy is in any case among the themes that should be addressed during the training procedure involved in our project.

But who are the surrogate carers who play a crucial role, above all for the younger children?

First and foremost, in almost 8 cases out of 10 the children have a primary carer, and only in the remaining 2 cases out of 10 more than one carer. Those looking after left behind children are in the first place the female relatives (aunts, grandmothers, cousins...), with a more prevailing role than that of the father himself. Recourse to paid help is practically non-existent, as is requesting older brothers and sisters to take care of their younger siblings. The picture that emerges is thus of an organisation of care on a family basis, with emphasis on the female side, as is indeed well demonstrated by previous researches.

**Tab. III.C.4 – Do children have a primary carer or several carers?, By gender (%)**

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
Partner	42.4	35.1	39.7
Daughter	6.1	0.0	2.9
Other female relatives	39.4	45.9	42.6
Other male relatives	9.1	10.8	10.3
Domestic	0.0	5.4	1.5
Other person	3.0	2.7	2.9



## ***b. The Economic Condition of Migrants' Families and the Prospects of Professional Mobility***

When all the earnings of the household from various sources are added up, the total monthly income is an average 1,850 euro<sup>3</sup>, ranging from 800 to 3,000 euro, which is related in any case to the number of components of the household. This is a modest income level that – although a certain reticence to declare the true income is to be expected – is often judged as being inadequate to cover the needs of the family. It must be said that Rome households, perhaps on account of their larger size, enjoy higher incomes: in Milan, in 27.7% of cases the household's total monthly income does not exceed 800 euro, whereas in Rome the corresponding figure is 12%. In the capital, the households of most of those we interviewed have a monthly income over 2,000 euro (39%) or even 3,000 euro (20.3%).

Contrary to expectations, income does not appear to depend on the length of migratory stay, probably because the question referred to the family income and not to individual income. The men interviewed say they belong to households with moderately higher incomes. Also, the second generation members belong to wealthier households than the first emigrants (among those born in Italy, for example, in no case is the income lower than 2,000 euro a month).

The available income is judged as being just enough to cover household expenses in Italy by around 7 out of 10 of those interviewed (which becomes almost all in the case of those born in Italy), whereas 23.6% evaluate it as not being enough (only 7% respond that it is more than enough). The replies are similar regarding the adequacy of the income to support the original household in the Philippines (although 28.2% do not consider it adequate). In all cases, the Milan households are much more often faced with an inadequate income not meeting all their needs than are those living in Rome. Yet despite this condition of poor incomes, just under half of the families still manage to set aside money for savings, a percentage reaching 70% in the case of the families of respondents born in Italy and rising to around 80% in the case of the families of respondents who came to Italy between the ages of 6 and 18. The conditions of income are more precarious, however, for those coming to Italy as adults, who have often had to

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<sup>3</sup> It can be seen, however, that the missing cases are in this case equal to a full 47% of the sample, due to a certain reluctance to indicate the real income but also to the fact that the members of the second generation often say they do not have any information regarding these aspects.

rely on their own resources and who are in any case equally satisfied as those coming here at a younger age, who obviously have higher expectations. As was to be expected, the few respondents without legal documents live under decidedly more precarious conditions, and above all very few of these are able to save money; significantly, however, they almost all use money for their children's education, and a good two thirds say they are in any case satisfied with their personal earnings, which would almost seem to suggest their awareness that their illegal status does not allow them to have expectations that are too high. Finally, as illustrated in Table III.C.5, the higher the length of stay in Italy, the larger the possibility to set aside money for savings.

**Tab. III.C.5 – Is the total monthly income of your household sufficient to..., By year of arrival in Italy (%)**

	<i>Between 1972 and 1990</i>	<i>Between 1991 and 1995</i>	<i>Between 1996 and 2000</i>	<i>Between 2001 and 2007</i>
Cover household expenses here in Italy	75.6	79.5	70.6	56.4
Support your original household in the Philippines	60.0	69.2	66.7	66.7
Set aside money for savings	64.4	46.2	35.3	23.1

All in all, a good  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the respondents say they are satisfied (71%) or even very satisfied (3.4%) with their earnings in Italy, bearing out a level of expectation in line with the opportunities available. Thus the number of those that are not satisfied is around 24% (the men being moderately more satisfied than the women).

Those who declare themselves to be satisfied state that:

- albeit modest, their income is greater than what they could expect in the Philippines (*It's better here than what it was in the Philippines; Overall it's better here than at home; Referring to my old job...; I can earn more than a bank manager in the Philippines; There is a big difference here than when I was working in the Philippines; Earnings are more than enough and exchange rate with pesos is very high*);
- it is in any case level with the mean salary (*It's similar to what other colleagues get; Paid equal to the same job workers*);

- it is counterbalanced by the good climate of relationships that they experience in their work place (*I'm okay with the people I work for; I've a good living with the family I stay with*)<sup>4</sup>;
- it is in any case adequate to meet their own needs and those of their family members, who often include those remaining in the country of origin (*I can manage my salary for my necessities; I manage to live with my dignity and to help my friends: that is enough for me; Answers my financial needs; I can help my relatives; We send money to our parents and we can save for the future; Enough to live and send some money to the Philippines; Enough for me and help my sister; My job is fairly good and with the help of my wife we can send the children to school and have a normal life here; I can survive and contribute to the education of my two other children in the Philippines*);
- or, in any case, it is always something, especially for those who do not consider themselves as being able to aspire to anything better (*Having no permission to stay I am satisfied for I couldn't find any other job; At least I have a job to survive and help my family in the Philippines; At least here I have a job; Still living with my parents, otherwise not enough*).

Others (the minority, as already stated), in contrast, are not satisfied with their earnings:

- in relation to the quantity of work required of them (*Too little for the work we do; Work too much and paid too little*);
- or because they consider themselves as being unjustly discriminated against in comparison with other categories of workers (*As many other foreigners we're exploited; Too little compared to other workers; I have lower salary compared to the other Filipino workers*);
- they judge their wage as being totally insufficient for their needs, in particular when they are the main breadwinners (*Need to work 12 hours a day to maintain*

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<sup>4</sup> A recurring aspect both in the analyses proposed by scholars and in the self-descriptions of those interviewed regards the evocation of the affectionate nature of the “family” type relationships that grow up between Filipino workers and Italian families, which, far from being stigmatised because of their “pre-modern” or patronising nature, result for this reason as being particularly appreciated. This extract from an interview is an illustration of the case in point: *“I have observed, because I have been in some Italian homes, with Filipino families taking care of the old people, and Filipinos became the family of the employer, because the Filipino became the carer, so I saw that all employers are under the care of this carer and at the same time he becomes part of the family. I think in taking care of old people the Filipinos can very well take care of them as family members”* (Interview with XXX, 17<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

*family; My salary is not enough to live; My wage is not enough to cover expenses; I have to support my sister and her daughter here in Rome and my wage is not enough; Not enough to support the whole family, as my husband is unemployed);*

- especially as a consequence of the rise in the cost of living (*Since the euro we have half earnings and double costs; Life is too expensive; The life cost is increasing and the salary remains the same*);
- and particularly in relation to the expectations that they had before emigrating (*Earnings are not enough for our needs here, barely enough for the Philippines; I was hopeful before coming to Italy but the facts are different; It's very hard for a migrant to live here in Italy*).

Regarding savings sent to the country of origin, the main channel for their transfer is the bank, utilised by around 70% of those interviewed (or, to be more precise, by 86% of those who send money to their home country). Only 10% use money transfer services, and almost none use informal channels (bringing the money when they visit the Philippines or through family/friends who are visiting the Philippines), which a few years ago was much more widespread. All in all, the men are more likely not to send money back, and when they do, they are more likely to utilise channels other than the banks. As was to be expected, the tendency to send money back almost disappears among those born in Italy.

Once the subsistence needs have been met, money sent back home serves in the first place to fund the education of their children (as well as that of other relatives in some cases) and, secondly, for buying/renovating their house and for purchasing durable goods. As can be observed in Table III.C.5, the classification is similar for men and women, although the latter tend to use their savings for the necessities of the whole family, whereas the former invest more in the education of their children and in buying/renovation of the house. These differences can be explained by the higher incidence of married men. However, although contemporary literature tends to attach great importance to the gender factor, the tendency to send money home and its uses reflect firstly the role of emigrants within the family economy and the migratory plans of the latter. This accounts for the fact that it is above all the immigrants coming to Italy as adults who indicate the various uses of the money sent home specified in the

questionnaire (in particular the family members' subsistence and education), followed by those coming to Italy before the age of 19, and only at a great distance by those born in Italy. In the same way, the fact of being married has a positive influence on the willingness to use money sent back home for the family needs (and naturally for the children's education).

**Tab. III.C.5 – What is the money used for? By Gender (%)**

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
For the family's subsistence	72.0	78.8
For purchasing durable goods	26.8	26.3
For buying/renovating house	35.4	30.5
For the children's education	56.1	44.1
For the education of other family members	14.6	20.3
For business/investment	20.7	15.3
Others	2.4	5.9

Despite a distribution by profession that, as we have seen previously [please refer to Report 1, III.A. *Profile of Respondents*], for many has meant a step down in status from the work they did before emigration [please refer to Report 1, III.B. *Immigration to Italy*], a full 77.3% of the sample declare themselves to be wholly satisfied (71%) or even very satisfied (6.3%) with regard to the work experience in Italy. Those who are very dissatisfied are only 2.8%.

This very high level of satisfaction can be accounted for by a decidedly realistic level of expectation and by the capacity to appreciate – perhaps partly as a means of self-consolation – the positive aspects of their work experience.

Among their satisfactions, those interviewed count, in the first place, the attitude of their employers, who they often describe using expressions that evoke the extent of the intimacy and reciprocal attachment, rather than their rights and the appreciation of their talents (*It has been hard but Italy is a nice country and employers are not bad; People are kind and treat me as a family member; It's like being in a family environment; I'm happy with this job, the family treats me well; The woman I work for is kind; I have the support of my employer in times of necessities; My employer has become my friend; My employers are good to me; I found a nice family to assist; My employers are extremely nice to me*) to the point that the most appreciated employers end up by being those who give them more work opportunities (*People are nice and try to give me extra work*).

The satisfaction in their work seems to be propelled by the awareness that the fate of an immigrant is that of doing a hard job without having any other prospects (*Although very*

*hard the salary is good compared to the Philippines; I consider my job better than the job many other foreigners have; I enjoy my job although it's hard; Having no permission to stay I'm satisfied for I couldn't find any other job; Enough to pay the house rental and food; This is not my line, but there's no choice, I need to earn more than in the Philippines; I earn money and I can support my sisters; I'm satisfied with my job even if my dreams were others).*

Those who said they were not satisfied with their relationship with the Italian labour market identified the following reasons:

- the difficulties in finding a job for those who have some kind of handicap due, for example, to their age or their poor knowledge of the Italian language (*I work much harder here and it's difficult to find a job for an old man like me; I can't understand or speak Italian so I can't find enough work: just a few hours a week; I was without papers for a long time: now that I have papers I have difficulties to find a job*), and above all a job that does not involve cleaning work (*It's hard to get a good job even if married to an Italian person; I don't like domestic work; This is not my dream; My dreams were different*);
- the low wages (*I like my job apart from my salary*);
- but above all the impossibility for their investments in training and their skills to be recognised (*I'd like to have my education recognized here and also my wife's one; Not a job I graduated for; Not related to my educational attainment; I want to use my professional skills, I never worked as a care giver; I'm overqualified but I can't get promoted*), stressing the point that this is the main form of discrimination undergone by such an apparently “successful” group as that of the Filipino immigrants in Italy.

This accounts for why a full 38.5% of those interviewed have taken steps or planned to take on a different type of job in the next five years. The number of those interviewed that have taken steps for different jobs is higher in Milan (where it reaches 44.3%), a fact that likely reflects a greater range of professional opportunities, and is equally consistent among the members of the second generation. When pressed to explain their answer, however, those interviewed manifested low- profile planning skills lacking in real strategies for professional mobility. Indeed, most of those interviewed limited themselves to the following:

- the formulation of general statements (*I want to do something else; I hope to have a job because it makes us live well and my employers are good people*);
- a distancing from the almost inevitable prospect of domestic work (*I'm tired of being a domestic worker; I'm looking for something that doesn't involve cleaning the houses of Italians; I want to develop my knowledge not only as a domestic but for another kind of job*);
- or else the desire for a job related to his/her educational qualifications and skills (*I'd like to do the job I studied for; A job suited to my educational title; I want to use some of my capabilities in other ways; Want to challenge my skills*).

A minority, however, have more definite plans:

- they are thinking of a professional future predominantly in the health and social-educational field (*I'd like to work in a nursery/kindergarten; I'd like to work as a nurse in a hospital*);
- in the commercial sector or looking after people (*I would like to work in a shop; I'd like to work in a supermarket; I'm continuously looking for other jobs like working in a hotel*);
- in public employment or in the private-social area (*I would like to work in a no profit organization or in a public institution*);
- and only rarely in the self-employment area (*To have my own business; I'd like to run a beauty center*).

For others, the horizon of their expectations is defined:

- by their pension (*I would like to retire at some point; Waiting to accumulate pension rights; I'm happy, the retirement is close; Almost retired: I want to go home after completing contribution*);
- or by a more or less illusory return to the Philippines (*I want to go back home; Still don't know if I'm going to remain in Italy; I'm planning to retire back home*);
- or by an equally illusory move to another country (*I want to leave Italy as a designer and go to Canada; I plan to emigrate to the United States*);
- or by the simple aim of earning more, possibly with less effort (*To earn more; A less heavy and more paid one*).

Finally, for many the uncertainty prevails as to the effective opportunities of finding a better job (*I'm not sure what else I can do; I'm not sure what to do; I don't know what*

*to do but I'd like to do something else; Depends on the situation; To have a better future and salary; I want to follow my dreams).*

An indication already emerging from the previous research work, *Pride and Prejudice*, would thus appear on the whole to be confirmed in relation to the difficulty to develop convincing strategies, also in the light of personal biographies and those of family members who are to a large extent torn between Italy and the Philippines (and, at times, other possible destinations), between the reassuring prospect of returning and the necessity to continue to earn money, and between the refusal to take on an unsuitable job and the perception of the obstacles in the way of a different and better job.

The only ones with slightly clearer ideas about what to do are those who still have not overcome the obstacles to obtaining a “decent” job – a residence permit, a proper work contract, a level of competence in the Italian language that is at least sufficient –; the same goes for those who say they are happy and satisfied to do, or at any rate resigned to doing, a job that is perhaps not that of their dreams but that in any case enables them to achieve their personal earning goals (*I have no skills and no time to change jobs: my family's needs are becoming greater and I have to work continuously; This is not my line, but there's no choice: I need to earn more than in the Philippines; Satisfied with my job because it makes us live well and my employers are good people*). The more enterprising in this respect are the women, either because they are even more exposed to the risk of remaining confined to domestic work, or because on the whole they have attained a greater length of migratory stay and a higher degree of familiarity with the Italian society.

But what, according to those interviewed, are the main reasons why Filipinos are concentrated in the domestic work sector in Italy? The replies given to the corresponding open question, once traced back to more recurrent modalities, yield the following classification:

- over a quarter of those interviewed (28.5%) frankly admit that *it's the easiest job to find for Filipinos in Italy*, almost as if to highlight the modest investment that those belonging to this community can expect in their search for work, being able to take advantage of a sort of monopoly in the access to this type of employment, not even affected by the incessant arrival of emigrants from other parts of the world who are willing to do the same kind of work for less money.



On these same lines, a further 7.5% observe that *it's the easiest way to earn*, while 1% say that *it is a very sought-after job*. According to some key informants contacted during the qualitative stage of the research, this relatively easy access to domestic work would also seem to have the effect of influencing the composition of the emigration flow towards Italy, diverting the more ambitious emigrants to other destinations:

*So what type of people try to come here?*

People who are not interested in doing business, only in making money to send home... people with no qualifications... in the Philippines there are people who are very qualified, they have American schools... but those who are qualified don't come to Italy, only those who haven't studied... those who have a real specialist diploma try to exercise their own profession, like nurses, for example... I know the Filipinos well, I register thousands of them every month...

I have 6000 people on my books, and only a few of them have good qualifications, sometimes a diploma... and those who are very well qualified accept other work...

The strength of the Filipinos is that they are humble and are willing to do other work while waiting for other opportunities... (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

No, well... if the Filipinos of the future find they cannot do other jobs... young people do not want to be domestic workers, they all say "I will not do what you do"...; so, eventually this migration might move somewhere else if things do not change here, I mean if they are so rigid with recognising our education (Interview with XXX, 15<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

- a sizeable group of respondents (14.5%) show that the Filipinos' concentration in the domestic sector is due to the fact that *their education degrees are not recognized/evaluated*, underlining once more the existence of an extensive process of "brain wasting" which precludes their access to work for which they are more qualified. Only 5 respondents, however, refer explicitly to *racist or discriminatory attitudes* on the part of Italian society. The fact remains that the process of "disqualification" (the inability to do the work for which one is qualified) is so generalised that it appears to be a "normal" characteristic of the Italian model of incorporation, often accepted with resignation:

(...) the recognition of our degree here is something that we feel strongly about. I'm a graduate in geology but although at the beginning I felt bad about this, with time I have understood that here in Italy I can earn in 2 months what I would earn in a year in the Philippines. Of course you have to fight the homesickness and you miss your family. I'm not saying that you have thrown away your studies, since in my case if I hadn't gone to school I wouldn't be able to reason as I'm doing now, but in any case it's a passion that I have had to put to one side (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2008).

The current and emerging concerns of the Filipino in Italy is the stereotyped opportunities of work. Filipinos, men and women are only meant for domestic work. Any educational qualification is set aside because of lack of equipollency to Italian educational standard. Since the objective of every Filipino migrant is to earn, one embraces any lowly kind of work thus the domestic work. Then, there is the language, which is an obstacle to so many aspects of integration (Interview with XXX, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

- other respondents reveal the existence of those mechanisms of pre-categorisation on an ethnic base that are amply demonstrated in the sociological literature. The *good reputation of Filipino workers* (5.5%), together with the processes of *intergenerational-inter-ethnic transmission of the trade* (3%) are in fact a precious form of social capital (in the form of external and internal trust respectively) accessible to Filipinos as Filipinos, which although on the one hand renders their admission to the Italian labour market relatively easy, on the other hand has the effect of blocking the pathways to professional mobility. Indeed, as this key informant observes, this mechanism of accreditation inside the group could in the long run produce the effect of discouraging investments in human capital, with repercussions on the children of the immigrants who come to Italy in their adolescence with the prospects of themselves in their turn becoming domestic workers:

The biggest concern is the issue of Filipinos not getting high-skilled jobs here because the labour market supply mainly allows them to do only menial jobs. There should be a way to break this cycle. The issue of integration does not only mean that they have residence permit and that they have working contracts. It's not full integration. We could go on for days discussing this – but this is the reality (...).

For young Filipinos who were petitioned by their parents to join them here, they usually end up working, as domestic workers like themselves. So then we have the second generation of domestic workers. Maybe the parents have no dreams of having professional children in Italy in the future. As long as they earn big money, they are already satisfied. This situation probably discourages the children to pursue further studies (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2008).

if not of falling into deviant circles or self-damaging behaviour as a consequence of their frustration at the opportunities denied to them:

The second generation of Filipinos in Italy is a current and emerging concern. A number of Filipino children here are high school graduates only and end up as domestic workers like their parents. There have been cases of drug use and delinquency that we read about in the newspapers (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

- the existence of deficits is mentioned by a minority of respondents who refer to the *inadequacy of the linguistic and professional competence* (10.5%), rather than the more banal fact – although perhaps this is one of the most likely explanations – that *they don't try to do anything else* (1.5%);
- finally, 7% say that they do not know how to formulate the reasons for the phenomenon that we are investigating.

Although the attitude of those interviewed thus appears to be connoted by a considerable adaptability to more easily accessible opportunities, with a low propensity for planning, regarding the job prospects of their children (or of other young Filipinos) in Italy, almost 8 out of 10 people interviewed think that most of them will work in different kinds of work, a percentage that expresses clearly that the strategies of social (and professional) mobility are planned with the future generations in mind, in accordance with the hypothesis of the straight line theory. It should be pointed out that none of those born in Italy think that young Filipinos will work as domestic workers. Only 2.5% of the sample thus consider that the job prospects of young Filipinos will be concentrated in the domestic work sector, a prediction that is borne out by the same factors previously mentioned (ease of access, transmission of the trade down through the generations, human capital deficits). The great majority of those who foresee that they will work in different kinds of work point out, in the first place, the relevance of investments in education, acting as a driving force to obtain a job that doesn't involve domestic work (*Most of them are studying here and they are supposed to obtain a better job*: this affirmation was voiced by over a quarter of the sample). Others limit themselves to stating the hope and the promise that their children will not have to do the same job as themselves (*My sons will not be domestic workers; I'm here to guarantee they will not do this job; They will never do what I do; It's my ambition not to let them work with me; I don't have sons but I wouldn't want this job for them*). Only a small minority underline the importance of integration – linguistic, cultural and legal – into Italian society as a way forward to a better job (*Some of them grew up here and they master the Italian language; They will speak better Italian and will be more integrated in the culture; They are Italian now*). Finally, many confine themselves to asserting that *We are able to do other jobs*, almost as if to emphasise that domestic work is not the fate assigned by nature to Filipino workers.

On the other hand, as we have seen previously [please refer to Report 1, III.A. *Profile of Respondents*, Tab. III.A.3], the working conditions of the young people of the second generation are already manifesting a certain emancipation from the more markedly ethnicised occupational niche of the Italian labour market, although the attaining of non-manual jobs is still in no way generalised.

Finally, concerning the strategic levers that, according to the respondents, a young person can use in order to have a good future in Italy, the classification emerging from the replies leaves no doubts. To master the Italian language and to complete a university education are unquestionably the priorities, confirming an expectation of professional and social mobility planned entirely around the second generations and entrusted to investments in human capital the importance of which, as has been repeatedly underlined, is central to migratory plans. Naturalisation – that is, equality in the juridical-legal sense – is certainly of importance itself, but only 18.8% of the sample consider it the way of securing a good future in Italy. And especially striking is the scarce importance attached to the acquisition of training for skills that are in demand and to start working as soon as possible. Engagement in business – commonly considered as being the main chance of mobility for first generation emigrants living in Italy – is placed at the bottom of the list, confirming that the strategies of self-employment – in any case poorly diffused among the Filipino community compared to other national groups, even those of more recent arrival – for the moment assume a modest role in the promotional strategies of the Filipino community in Italy.

Men are more convinced than women (42.7% against 32.2) that acquiring Italian citizenship is a good choice to have a better future in Italy; women attach greater importance to university and above all to the acquisition of competences that are in demand.

As to the territorial differences, in Rome a considerably higher percentage (45% vs. 28% in Milan) suggest the acquisition of Italian citizenship (coherently with the fact that the Rome community, as we have seen, results as being much more interested in naturalisation). Those interviewed in Milan, however, attach much more importance to the learning of the Italian language (78% vs. 50% in Rome), completion of university studies (84% vs. 68%), and the acquisition of skills in demand (61% vs. 41%). In contrast, in Rome a surprisingly high number maintain the importance of starting working as soon as possible (47% vs. 21% in Milan), a reflection of an incorporation model still seriously weighted towards domestic work and the aim to save money, with a poor capacity to plan ways to attain professional mobility. Finally, it can be seen that the respondents without a legal status indicate much more than the others the opportunity of acquiring training skills that are in demand (72.2%).

**Tab. III.C.6 – If you were to advise young Filipinos on how to have a good future in Italy, which of the following would you ask them to pursue? (%)**

	<i>1<sup>st</sup> choice</i>	<i>2<sup>nd</sup> choice</i>	<i>3<sup>rd</sup> choice</i>
Master the Italian language	49.7	12.8	5.1
Complete a university education in Italy	25.1	43.1	12.9
Acquire an Italian citizenship	18.8	11.2	9.0
Acquire training for skills that are in demand	4.2	21.8	29.8
Start working as soon as possible	1.6	9.0	27.0
Engage in business	0.5	2.1	16.3
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

But above all it is the passage from the first to the second generation that redefines the classification of the desired strategies [please refer to Table III.C.7]. A good 83.3% of those born in Italy indicate the acquisition of Italian citizenship, a full 91.7% the completion of a university education in Italy, and only 12.5% consider it useful to acquire training for skills that are in demand. In other words, the young descendants of the Filipino immigration embrace with conviction a prospect of equal rights (sealed by naturalisation) and of equal opportunity, consider it a priority to invest in education at university level and manifest the same good level of autonomy regarding the labour market as do their Italian peers (and, as is seen from the interview extract below, in the same way as their Italian peers they entrust themselves to a system of accreditation primarily based on interpersonal ties).

*Given the difficulties you mentioned before, such as Filipinos' degrees not being recognized, etc, how did she [the respondent's daughter] get to be a manager?*

Because we know somebody who helped us... of course. You know one thing, yes we were helped, but once you see Filipinos working, you know this is the right person, we work very well, so why not? I am happy for my daughter because once she is in then it's okay, she can have a career (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Whether or not the Italian labour market will be capable of acknowledging the expectations of these “children of immigration” is a moot point, and a motive for apprehension on the part of their parents who, as we have seen, entrust to them the realisation of a project of emancipation with very high human costs – a feeling of apprehension that came out repeatedly from the interviews with the key informants, and which identifies the so-called “non-pure second generations”, who arrived in Italy when their school career was already at an advanced stage, as being the more vulnerable subjects –.

**Tab. III.C.7 – If you were to advise young Filipinos on how to have a good future in Italy, which of the following would you ask them to pursue?, Sum of 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> choice, By age at the arrival in Italy (%)**

	<i>Born in Italy or arrived before 6 years old</i>	<i>Arrived at 6-18 years old</i>	<i>Arrived after 18 years old</i>
Master the Italian language	34.8	77.8	67.1
Complete a university education in Italy	91.3	94.4	71.6
Acquire an Italian citizenship	87.0	22.2	31.6
Acquire training for skills that are in demand	13.0	38.9	57.4
Start working as soon as possible	43.5	22.2	34.2
Engage in business	26.1	33.3	13.5

### ***c. The Migrants' Relationships and their Integration in the Italian Society***

There is wide consensus backed up by extensive airing by preceding studies [please refer to Report 1, II.A.3. *Main Issues concerning the Filipino Immigrant Community in Italy*] that the Filipino immigrant tends to frequent above all co-nationals, with the risk of a sort of retreat into the community. It was thus considered opportune to insert into the questionnaire a battery of questions to shed light on the most recurrent type of frequenting habits. As can be deduced from Table III.C.8, although the neighbourhood and the school may be characterised by the prevalence of Italians (although co-workers constitute a universe that is decidedly heterogeneous from the viewpoint of national origin), elective frequenting habits – friends and church members – show a decided prevalence of co-ethnic relationships, in confirmation of an integrative model favouring intra-community relations, perhaps partly as a defence strategy.

*As regards integration, is there still a difference between the first and second generation?*

Yes... but it isn't automatically true that the first generation doesn't integrate but the second does. It isn't that they don't integrate because they don't want to mix with others but because at the basis there's this suspicion of not being considered or even of having their identity – including their Christian and cultural identity – cancelled by a system of social life without references or values, authority or respect. Their meetings are like a reaction to this danger that they perceive in our society (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

It is also interesting to note, regarding the work place, that although the supervisors are predominantly Italians, the colleagues are often Filipinos or workers of differing nationalities, confirming a tendency for them to be inserted in the work place predominantly in the ethnicised segments of the Italian labour market. The condition of

illegal status accentuates, in its turn, their tendency to live within the protective confines of the co-ethnic community.

**Tab. III.C.8 – I will mention several groups or communities which are part of your environment in Italy. Please tell me who are the majority of people among your neighbours, church members, close friends, classmates, supervisors at work, co-workers? Are they mostly other immigrants, mostly Italians, or mostly Filipinos, or different nationalities? (%)**

	<i>Mostly Italians</i>	<i>Mostly Filipinos</i>	<i>Italians and Filipinos</i>	<i>Different nationalities</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
Neighbours	67.2	14.6	9.4	8.3	0.5
Church members	8.1	73.0	15.1	3.2	0.5
Close friends	6.8	63.5	27.1	1.6	1.0
Classmates	28.0	29.0	4.0	10.0	29.0
Supervisors at work	67.5	5.3	8.6	3.3	15.2
Co-workers	21.6	20.9	15.7	23.1	18.7

The Rome interviewees are more likely to have Italian neighbours (in 81.5% of cases); however, integration into ethnically heterogeneous territories does not in itself facilitate social integration; suffice it to say that, again in Rome, the majority of church members are of Filipino nationality, a fact that should invite careful reflection on the role of the Church in facilitating integration or, in contrast, bolster the self-referential aptitude that characterises this group. This aspect emerges as being even more significant when we consider the replies of the second generation subjects, who find themselves involved in decidedly “Italianised” contexts such as the school, the work place, the neighbourhood itself or often a mix of these (such as the network of friends), but who are also frequenters of religious places dominated by the presence of Filipinos (in over 70% of cases), or, decidedly more rarely, mixed (with the presence of Filipinos, Italians and/or church members of other nationalities), although never predominantly Italians. All the more reason why those of “non-pure” second generation, who arrived in Italy in their infancy or adolescence, present a relational structure identical to that of those who emigrated as adults, confirming the problematic elements of this group that had already emerged during previous studies.

An entire section of the questionnaire was devoted to studying in-depth the perception of those interviewed regarding their level of familiarity with Italian society.

Firstly they were asked to evaluate their linguistic-communicative competence, indicating the level of competence in understanding, reading, speaking and writing Italian. As can be seen from Table III.C.9, those interviewed tend to place themselves at

an intermediate level, only a small percentage admitting their deficiencies, which regard in particular written Italian. Although those born in Italy all place themselves, as was expected, at a higher level of competence, those respondents reaching Italy between 6 and 18 years of age present a distribution evidencing decidedly fewer deficits, albeit just as disconcerting, as those of the “older” respondents, in consideration above all of the differing professional expectations that characterise the two groups [please refer to Table III.C.10].

Naturally, as could be expected, the level of linguistic competence is positively associated to the legal status, hence it is those without papers that find themselves the most vulnerable, since their precarious legal status is added to their considerable linguistic deficits. In contrast, the level of competence is particularly high among those who are naturalised (who, however, as we know, were generally born in Italy), have a permanent residence permit or have a residence permit for reasons of study. Furthermore, concerning all the fields of competence the Rome sample attribute themselves a higher score on average than do the Milan ones. Finally, men rate themselves as being moderately more skilled in spoken Italian than do women, and women slightly higher in written Italian.

The picture of linguistic competence acquired by the emigrants can be seen in Table III.C.11, which was composed excluding the replies of those born in Italy (to whom it is not correct to refer as emigrants). It confirms an area of widespread weakness referring to the ability to write in Italian, a circumstance that undoubtedly goes some way to explaining – obviously together with many other factors – the difficulty to pass to a type of work that is more qualified, even among those with high-level study diplomas. This deficit seems to us to be an aspect that has been on the whole underrated by those involved.

**III.C.9 – How well do you know the Italian language? On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 as the lowest and 5 as the highest, how would you rate yourself in term of:**

	1 (Lowest)	2	3	4	5 (Highest)	Mean
Understanding Italian rating	2.5	7.5	38.7	23.1	28.1	3.67
Reading Italian rating	4.5	8.5	39.2	22.6	25.1	3.56
Speaking Italian rating	3.0	11.6	39.9	27.3	18.2	3.45
Writing Italian rating	14.6	22.6	36.7	9.0	17.1	2.92



**III.C.10 – How well do you know the Italian language? On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 as the lowest and 5 as the highest, how do you rate yourself in terms of: (means rating), By Age at the arrival in Italy**

	<i>Born in Italy or &lt;6 years old</i>	<i>6-18 years old</i>	<i>xxx&gt; years old</i>	<i>Total</i>
Understanding Italian rating	5.00	3.94	3.42	3.66
Reading Italian rating	5.00	3.83	3.30	3.55
Speaking Italian rating	5.00	3.89	3.17	3.45
Writing Italian rating	5.00	3.05	2.58	2.91

**III.C.11 – How well do you know the Italian language? On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 as the lowest and 5 as the highest, how do you rate yourself in terms of: (respondents born in Italy excluded)**

	<i>1 or 2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Understanding Italian rating	11.6	43.9	26.0	18.5	3.49
Reading Italian rating	15.0	43.9	26.0	15.0	3.36
Speaking Italian rating	16.9	45.9	30.2	7.0	3.24
Writing Italian rating	42.8	41.0	10.4	5.8	2.63

The other aspects included in the questionnaire regard cultural consumption (or, to be more precise, the use of mass media), the language utilised at home and eating habits. Although use is made above all of Italian mass media (as could easily have been imagined), as to language spoken at home and food customs most of those interviewed seem to favour a *métissage*, based on alternation between Italian and Filipino codes and models.

Among the families of those born in Italy [Tab. III.C.12] the use of the mother tongue begins to break down and disappears as the only language, surviving only in combination with Italian (in 16.7% of cases) or else is completely supplanted by the latter (83.3% replied “mostly Italian”). Also Italian food has become popular with the families of those born in Italy, who in 70.8% of cases have adopted it as their predominant cuisine, and in the remaining 29.2% have combined it with Filipino cuisine [Tab. III.C.13]. In contrast, those arriving in Italy as adults tend in most cases to alternate Filipino and Italian cuisine (73.5%). Finally, the families of those born in Italy are almost completely dominated by the local media, which are enjoyed in a prevalent manner by a full 95.8% of respondents [Tab. III.C.14]. In correspondence with all these items, the “non-pure” second generations have values similar to those of adult immigrants, indicating that the modal model of family functioning is of the *transitional* type, in which elements of the culture of origin are combined with others adapted from the culture of adoption. In contrast, in the case of those without legal documents – who are more likely to be living with co-ethnic non-relatives –, the language spoken at home is more often only Filipino.

**III.C.12 – What language do you usually speak at home?, By Birth place (%)**

	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Total</i>
Mostly Italian	10.3	83.3	19.2
Both Italian and Filipino	58.6	16.7	53.5
Mostly Filipino	28.2	0.0	24.7
Other	2.9	0.0	2.5
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

**III.C.13 – What kind of food do you usually eat at home?, By Birth place (%)**

	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Total</i>
Mostly Italian	14.9	70.8	21.7
Both Italian and Filipino	71.8	29.2	66.7
Mostly Filipino	12.6	0.0	11.1
Other	0.6	0.0	0.5
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

**III.C.14 – What media do the respondents often use?, By Birth place (%)**

	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Total</i>
Mostly Italian	56.9	95.8	61.6
Both Italian and Filipino	36.8	4.2	32.8
Mostly Filipino	4.0	0.0	3.5
Other	2.3	0.0	2.0
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Finally, 70% of respondents say they follow Italian current events, 44% Italian politics, 50% Italian culture, 40.5% Italian history, 47.5% the Italian economy, 50% Italian show business and 55% Italian sport. Men are decidedly more inclined to follow Italian current events and politics (53.7% vs. 34.7%), but also culture, history, the economy, show business and above all sport, which is followed by 80.5% of male respondents, confirming that sport is one of the main attractive factors of Italian society in the eyes of foreigners. With the sole exception of politics and show business, those interviewed in Milan are more numerous in following Italian life.

Contrary to what was expected, the age of respondents does not seem to have any influence on their propensity to follow the various aspects of Italian society. Naturally, those born in Italy admit to a greater propensity to follow the various aspects of Italian society, but in particular Italian current events (100%), Italian politics (87.5%), Italian culture (79.2%), Italian sport (70.8%) and Italian show business (95.8%).

Finally, let us consider some data relating to the relationship between Filipino families and the institutions of Italian society. This takes the form, first and foremost, of the right to use the health service (53.5%), participation in the school-university system (52.5%),

the attendance of Italian language courses (46%), and the placing of their children in nursery schools (43.5%). Decidedly significant is the number of families who have taken out bank loans (40.5%) and, and all the more so that of the families who take advantage of skill learning and professional training (35%). Consistently with a population still concentrated in the active age group, only 5% of the families include members who have benefited from retirement benefits, and an even lower number of families (4%) receive unemployment benefits (although, in this case, we must consider the very poor diffusion of such benefits in the Italian context). The use of school and child services – and in particular of skill learning and professional training, indicated by two respondents out of three – involves all families of those born in Italy, among whom the attendance of Italian language courses is rare. A full 62.5% of the families of those born in Italy has also had recourse to bank loans, an index of the tendency of the more stable elements among immigrants to Italy to rely increasingly on the banking system. A third of the sample have had a serious illness since coming to Italy that required them to be confined to the hospital for at least one night. When they are not feeling well, the majority (55%) consult a doctor, 17.5% take a rest, 12% take medicines brought from the Philippines (14.4% of females and 8.5% of males), 10% buy non-prescription medicines in Italy, and 5.5% do nothing. Those born in Italy, on the other hand, behave in a decidedly “Italian” way: they consult a doctor in 91.7% of cases, and take a rest in the remaining 8.3% of cases. Those in the sample without a legal position are less likely to use the hospital services in Italy (although the Italian law extends to them the right to urgent or necessary medical care), and are much more likely to take other medicines brought from the Philippines or non-prescription medicines bought in Italy. Indeed, the only category of services widely used by those with no legal status is that of Italian language courses, of which there exist a large number offered by voluntary associations and no-profit organisations.

With regard to institutional subjects [Tab. III.C.15], teachers and religious leaders are the categories with whom those interviewed decidedly have the most contact. However, relations with the Italian civil organisations (voluntary associations, trade unions...) are very weak, although these organisations are very much involved in assistance to other groups of immigrants; at an intermediate level are those organisations of public

administration – central, local and other – with which immigrants have dealings that are “imposed” by bureaucratic needs.

**Tab. III.C.15 – I will mention several persons who represent different sectors of Italian society. For each one, please tell me the extent of your contact with this person in the last year (%)**

	<i>Never</i>	<i>1-5 times</i>	<i>6-12 times</i>	<i>More than 12 times</i>
Any government (or local government) official	77.5	18.5	1.0	3.0
Teacher/trainer	53.5	14.0	7.0	25.5
Priest/religious leader	19.5	31.0	11.5	38.0
Doctor/nurse	31.0	49.5	10.0	9.5
Officer/staff of any government agency	71.0	23.0	3.5	2.5
Officer/staff of a trade union/workers' organization	77.0	20.0	1.5	1.5
Police	69.5	27.5	1.0	2.0
NGO or volunteer organization	90.0	6.0	0.5	3.5

It must be added that the stabilisation in Italy of the Filipino community and the rise in inactive members has given rise to a definite growth and diversification of their welfare needs, in particular those of the children and, prospectively, of the elderly. The high level of parents' involvement in their work entails the need for childhood services, which are not sufficiently provided for by the institutional network, so that the Filipino community itself has taken up the challenge of providing after-school child care, partly through the setting up of conventions with public bodies:

Our main goal is to help Filipino families in difficulty. Many parents work all day and need someone to look after their children, after school or all day for kids under 3. And also when school finishes, which is why we have school camps. Soon, for example, 40 children will be leaving for a camping holiday in Molise, a project funded by the Region (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

The last questions in this section were dedicated to sounding the level of satisfaction with life in Italy and the sense of belonging to the Italian society.

Within a picture in which satisfaction with the different aspects of life in Italy prevails, those interviewed were asked to indicate what makes them happy about living here. The replies can be summed up as follows:

- firstly, the achieving of those basic goals represented by work and family, especially when the latter is together in Italy (*Have a job and stay with my family; My contribution to my family subsistence, my Filipino friends here and the church; Freedom to afford what I need, feeling safe; Decent earning, good food and access to free health services*);

- hence the possibility to achieve the aims of emigration and to be able to satisfy the expectations of family members in Italy and/or in the Philippines, among which the most important is investment in education (*The opportunity to buy a house and guarantee my children good education; We can send money back and provide good education for our children; For my son to go to a good school and have a good education; I can support my family in the Philippines*);
- others mention gratification linked to the work experience (*Good wage; Being considered as a part of my employer's family*);
- only a minority refer to specific aspects of Italian society and of life in Italy, or more frequently to the beauty of the scenery (*People, landscape and language: Italy is a very beautiful place; Food, climate, culture and historical places; Culture, food, art, history and climate; Cold, climate, and the lifestyle I got used to; We can eat and dress like Italians do; Shopping; Food, fashionable places, pleasures; I discovered many beautiful places; Nice country, easy to meet people*);
- also regarding the aspects of similarity with the country of origin (*Italian culture is very similar to the Philippines' one because of the religion; Simple to live in Italy: you can eat any kind of food and there are many churches*);

(...) the advantage of working in Italy, for Filipino workers, is that first they find it easy to integrate, because of the culture, and that they feel welcome here, maybe because the Philippines are a Christian country, maybe because of the Latin temperament, Filipinos are fun loving, and Italians are “la dolce vita”, so the same thing, they have a common God, Christian God; they love to sing, and they came for their families, especially for their mothers, this is why I always say to my Italian friends that we are both mama's boys, always looking for mamma (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

- and many appreciate the quality – and above all the free nature – of welfare services (*Decent earning, good food and access to free health services; Good social services; I acquired a house from the Comune di Milano; Enough earnings, free medication and good food*), and also the possibility to live in a democratic country (*Free to do what the law says; Equal chances and possibilities for everybody; Freedom to afford what I need, feeling safe. Culture is appreciative and here I see the true meaning of freedom, in all its senses*);
- those born in Italy emphasise the natural sense of belonging to the country (*I grew up here, I have my friends, everything, although only one of those*

interviewed admits that *It's my country, I feel 100% Italian; All! I was born here!*);

- however, some of the members of the first generation refer to the possibility of cultural enrichment that living in a foreign country offers (*Earn a living here in Italy; Intercultural exchange; Like being in a foreign country and getting to know other people; Meeting different people, learning new things; It's a different experience and it would be hard to go back*);
- finally a sizeable group cite friendships – Italian and Filipino – as being an element contributing to the quality of their lives (*People are friendly; Time with my Filipino friends; When I'm with my friends; I love Italy, I have many Italian friends and part of my in-law family is Italian*).

On the other hand, there are also some aspects that make respondents unhappy about living in Italy; aspects that can be summarized around some major points:

- first of all, the respondents miss their family members, their children, their husbands, their boy-friends and their friends, together with their home towns, and sometimes the Filipino weather (*Very far from my country, very long way to go there; Homesick: my children grew up without my husband and me; Feeling guilty for having not brought children here yet*);
- a second point is the lack of work (for the few who are unemployed) and economic difficulties, due to both low salaries and high fiscal pressure (*High taxes and low salary; Life is too expensive*);
- some highlight problems of racism and discrimination (*Discrimination is still existing despite denials by the Italians*), together with the feeling of being excluded (*We are a bit excluded from Italian society so we mostly meet only Filipinos; I feel not very integrated; Italian people's opinion of Filipino immigrants and immigrants in general is not correct*);
- a further point is overwork (*I work very very much; Bored and tired of working as a domestic helper*), which is at the same level as the lack of appreciation of their competence (*The kind of job I do: my skills are wasted*);
- finally, the excessive bureaucracy, at times accompanied by vexing attitudes on the part of officials (*Slow bureaucracy; When I renew my "residence permit"*

*because policemen treat us badly; My employer does not give me a “residence permit”; Too much bureaucracy for a small business like me).*

If these are the judgements of life in Italy, what can be said about the feeling of belonging in Italian society? Those interviewed were asked to place on the steps of the ladder here below [Tab. III.C.16], where 0 indicates total exclusion, and 10 full belonging.

Tab. III.C.16 – The steps in this ladder represent the degree to which you feel you belong in Italian society. If 0 indicates total exclusion, and 10 indicates full belonging, which step represents your place in Italian society now? (%)		
	<i>Born in the Philippines:</i>	<i>Born in Italy:</i>
	High: 31.6%	High: 100.0%
	Medium: 52.0%	Medium: 0.0%
	Low: 16.4%	Low: 0.0%

As can be seen, only 10.5% express an evaluation of full belonging, but a little under a third of the sample place themselves on the higher steps of the ladder. Evidently, these judgements of satisfaction with different aspects of life in Italy (such as a “good” job, a good wage, being considered as a part of the employer’s family, having rejoined the family, earning enough money to buy a house and to pay for education for their children), help us to explain this sensation of full belonging to Italian society. A sensation that, as we will see later [please refer to Report 1, III.F. *Plans about the Future*], doesn’t imply a breakdown with the country of origin. It’s the phenomenon of the so-called “double belonging”, common to those who were born in one country and, after migrating, find “success” in another.

Most, however, are gathered around the intermediate scores, almost as if to suggest a condition of semi-belonging, according to the typical iconography of the first-generation migrants. The mean value is 6 (5.63 in Milan and 6.35 in Rome, because of the greater number of second generation respondents in the capital).

Contrary to what was perhaps to be expected, it is the men even more than the women who feel a sense of total belonging to Italian society: the mean value is 5.84 for women and 6.24 for men. Furthermore, as can easily be imagined, the feeling of belonging varies according to age and above all to their own individual and family migratory history.

Those who have acquired Italian citizenship are placed around the higher scores (7-10): here are to be found precisely 95.2% of those who have Italian citizenship and 83.3% of those with dual citizenship, besides 100% of those born in Italy. And it is above all the former – that is, those with only Italian citizenship – who think that having Italian citizenship makes a difference in the lives of Filipinos in Italy (90.5% of affirmative replies). In the same way, the sense of belonging also reflects the legal status of the respondents, and it is thus those without a residence permit who feel alienated from Italian society (the mean score is 4.3, rising to 5.5 among those with a temporary permit and to 7.1 among those having a residence permit or Italian citizenship, that is, with the right to stay here indefinitely).

Finally, all those born in Italy are placed around the higher scores (the mean value is as high as 9.58), whereas those arriving here between the ages of 6 and 18 are distributed between the higher and intermediate scores. Although the mean for the entire population is 6, it's 9.69 for the respondents who arrived before 6 years of age, 6.5 for those who arrived between 6 and 18 years of age and 5.39 for those who arrived after 18 years of age. To sum up, even though this is a closed community with a self-referential tendency, the fact of being born in Italy or of arriving here at a very young age strongly influences the processes of identity building, going so far as to induce the respondents to declare themselves as belonging fully to Italian society, independently of the somatic features that distinguish them from the majority, of their parents' conditions of segregation in specific niches of the labour market, and of the tendency of Italians to see them as foreigners.

The individual biography is certainly more influential from this point of view than is the formal status of citizenship, which, as we shall see, represents a step that has a predominantly instrumental significance. Regarding this point, the interviews with the key informants yield a series of indications regarding the orientation of Filipinos concerning a crucial point in the evolution of interethnic relationships, that is, the choice of whether to acquire – or not to acquire – citizenship of the host country.



As has been previously stated [please refer to Report 1, III.A. *Profile of Respondents*], the number of naturalisations has increased above all after the introduction of the new regulations, which no longer oblige Filipinos to give up their Filipino citizenship. Dual citizenship is thus seen first and foremost as a formidable means of facilitation of their movements between the two countries for people whom experience has taught to brace themselves to face the strict bureaucratic procedures for the issuing of visas:

Having a foreign citizenship would help a lot, an Italian citizenship... Most people here apply to have a dual citizenship, which is very useful to come and go from Italy and the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

It would be very important to “become Italian” also from a legal point of view. Having an Italian nationality would make life much easier for Filipinos: looking for work, doing documents, going abroad throughout Europe, change country and not having to go through all the migration queue at the airport... (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

But above all, as the means of keeping intact their link to the Philippines, even when they choose to become Italians:

It is a privilege because the sentiment of the Filipino is to go home and it can be difficult for them to go back if they only have the Italian citizenship, as they cannot stay long. Instead with this law they can stay longer, it's a welcome move (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Hence naturalisation ends up by being seen, paradoxically, not as a choice that in some way cuts off their ties with the native land but, instead, as a strategy for further consolidation of their position, precisely because of the possibility that this offers them to leave Italy temporarily without repercussions:

Dual citizenship is an aspect that strengthens our ties with the Philippines. If we can have both citizenships it's better, we've got visas to go to the Philippines as Filipinos and we can stay in Italy normally as Italian citizens (Interview with XXX, 22nd June 2008).

It is something useful but, you know, it's so hard to get papers done that people are put off... I am not sure many people will actually have it... I know it would help, but it would not change our relationship with the Philippines, yes it would be easier to come and go, so then you feel a tourist there... (Interview with XXX, 15<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

In the cost/benefit ratio of naturalisation – where one aspect regards above all the bureaucratic burden involved and the other the facilitations it offers – it is meaningful to observe the complete lack of any reference to the aspects of identification with the society in which one lives and in which one has chosen to stay:

Yes that's a law now and it has its obvious benefits but the problem is the transaction cost: many still do not get how the bureaucracy works, there are so many papers and they see it as a waste of time to spend a whole day filling in forms because it means a waste of wages and I think that this is the major barrier, I don't know however in details, it would be good to know from the communities (Interview with XXX, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008).

Maybe, but I am not going to do it, I am happy to remain just Filipino. If I knew that bureaucratic things were getting easier, yes I might do it, but just the idea of getting more papers done.... No thanks (...). No, I do not think dual citizenship makes a significant difference, we just want to go back on holidays, now Filipinos who are here and have pension here want to stay... it is only for some practical purposes that it can be convenient (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

*Would acquiring a foreign citizenship contribute to stronger ties in relation to Italy?*

Well, it is about feeling integrated and having life easier with documents, I guess...

Also, the most important thing is work, so it might be easier to find a good job because you are Italian.

*On the other hand, would it weaken ties with the Philippines?*

No, not more than what is now... some people will not even go back to the Philippines anyway, so... why not. But, of course, it would make it easier to feel you can travel in Europe and stay here... as a feeling no, it would not be weaker... you know, home sweet home. It is always true. There is no place like home. For me, as long as I have the courage to do this job, I stay, but one day... yes I will go back for example, so I do not need to be Italian really (Interview with XXX, 15<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Acquiring foreign citizenship does not seem popular. Many of the people I know do not want to give up their citizenship. Besides, I think it is very difficult to obtain citizenship. Anyway, I don't see any harm having Italian citizenship, and having such will not weaken one's (ties) with the Philippines. Filipinos will always be Filipinos by heart (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Paradoxically, also those in favour of naturalisation argue along the same instrumental lines, that is, they express the idea that Italian citizenship serves in the first place to spare emigrants the bureaucratic burdens that accompany their life in Italy, as a passport to the job market of the European Union, and as a means of facilitating their international mobility, in particular between their country of origin and their host country.

No, the Filipinos on the whole are not interested in having Italian citizenship. They want to remain Filipinos and this is a mistake, in the sense that this would help them considerably, for example in their movements... (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

I have no idea if many availed themselves of this privilege. What I know is that the Filipinos like the idea that they will no longer renew their residence permit every two years. That's all I can say (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2008).

The children born here can go there and come back without any problems. You waste time and money in getting a VISA. Instead, with a dual citizenship it's much easier (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

The reason why this number is rising is that we can take advantage of many of the "benefits" of an Italian citizen, also to facilitate the arrival here of our family members, and to have access to the Italian hospitals and institutions. Let's say that in general, having citizenship helps us to use more of the resources of the country (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2008).

In any case the number of those applying for dual citizenship is decidedly on the increase. I think that it is more convenient to have citizenship; you avoid all the bureaucratic problems, the queues, the waiting and the expense (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

In any case, naturalisation, whatever the motive for which it is requested, does not imply at all a severance of the ties with the homeland:

As a matter of fact the majority of them is not interested in acquiring the Italian citizenship, although the number of Filipinos who acquire it is increasing. This is because Filipinos are very sentimental, and even those who acquire the citizenship still have the desire to go back home. Even when they die they want their body to be brought back home. So I don't think having an Italian citizenship can weaken Filipinos relationship to Philippines but It definitively strengthen ties with Italy (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

It is not necessarily true that by taking out Italian citizenship you will eventually forget who you are; on the contrary, the fact of having two cultures is an enrichment (Interview with XXX, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2008).

Going back to the results of the study carried out on a sample of Filipino immigrants questioned with regard to the consequences of naturalisation (*In your view, does having an Italian citizenship make a difference to the lives of Filipinos in Italy?*), the affirmative judgements (67.3%) decidedly prevail over the doubtful ones (23.1%), whereas only 9.5% consider this step to be practically irrelevant.

Supporters of citizenship see it in essence as a means of facilitating access to a job and to other resources and opportunities (*No problems in applying for a job, finding a house, borrowing money*), in gaining access to rights (*More rights, opportunities, benefits; Having an Italian citizenship gives more security, good benefits and no difficulties in processing legal presence; I would have the right to live in Italy for the rest of my life; More protection, better opportunities: active participation in elections*), in relationships with law enforcers (*When the police stop you, you're sure everything is OK*), regarding the possibility to travel and to cross borders freely (*It's easier to travel; Easier to travel in other European countries and sufficient to apply for a visa; Can go back to the Philippines freely without limitations*), besides as a means of strengthening the sense of integration into the society (*Makes life easier and I feel more integrated; Life is much better here especially for the Italian citizens; It's an important step to integration*), rendering them more similar to Italians (*I can have what Italians have; Equal opportunities as Italians*) and opening up new prospects for the future (*It could open to new projects; It guarantees a better future*).

Prevalent among those who are undecided are the few that are informed as to the consequences of naturalisation, although there is no lack of those who believe that,

independently of equality in the face of the law, in effect foreigners will continue to be considered as such (*For Italians we will always be Filipinos; Once Filipinos will remain Filipinos in the eyes of Italians, there are a lot of discriminatory practices here*). Prevalent among those who are undecided is the idea that the differences remain – in the way of behaviour of the people but also in their treatment – even once Italian citizenship has been granted (*We are too different; They are Filipino and should remain Filipino; It doesn't make you more integrated or accepted; I don't think it changes when you look for a job; We are still regarded as Filipinos; I think it's the same*); the same goes for the conviction that it is rather the migrants' children (the second generation) that are the “natural” candidates for naturalisation (*I never had any problem without citizenship; It does for young people, but not for me as I want to go back*).

Of those who have applied for Italian citizenship there is a distinct prevalence, as we have already seen [please refer to Report 1, IIIA. *Profile of Respondents*], of those born in Italy. For them, the acquisition of Italian citizenship has thus been a natural step (*I was born in Italy and I feel Italian; I was born in Italy and it was normal to ask for Italian citizenship after 18 years of age; I was born in Rome and my life goes on in Italy*), all the more if the parents are also naturalised (*I was born in Rome and my parents have Italian citizenship*).

The fact that it is above all – or rather only – for members of the second generation that Italian citizenship assumes a significance that is not merely instrumental but truly evocative of a sense of belonging to and identification with Italian society, also clearly emerged from the interviews with the key informants:

For those children born in Italy, acquiring Italian citizenship has become a recent trend. They believe that Italian citizenship is an easy gate to pass through European borders to other countries. Italian citizenship guarantees a freer diplomatic circulation; neither will it strengthen nor weaken ties to either of the two countries. It is just a matter of political status although it will differ from individual to individual. There are those who have eradicated their culture of origin like the native language but there also those who are brought up with it (Interview with XXX, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The children might have a different idea because they were born here but we were not born here so our idea is neutral. The citizenship is just a piece of paper that doesn't count much. Yes, with the piece of paper we are not afraid, we are legal but the children have a different idea I think (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Most of us would like to have citizenship but because of the difficulty... You must have legal status to stay here, to renew your residence permit, which lasts 2 years, takes a year of time lost at the immigration office. It's also difficult to go on holiday (while waiting for renewal), because your residence permit is in Italy. At least, if you have (Italian) citizenship and pay your taxes you're safe. We don't lose time asking our employer for a permit to go to commissariat, or to the town hall or other offices to do these

bureaucratic things. It is much simpler for our children too: if we want to integrate, we have to start with us parents. Of course having citizenship increases our level of integration and of belonging here in Italy, but this absolutely does not weaken our ties with the Philippines. Our culture is rooted in the hearts and minds of all Filipinos. That will never vanish. But I am also sure that for our children, and for the generations to follow, our culture will tend to die out even if we try to keep it intact. In fact, my daughter, who is only 11 years old, does not accept being Filipino because her teacher says that she is Italian (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2008).

Many come here to rejoin their families, many children are born in Italy and feel themselves to be Italian citizens. No-one thinks of returning to the Philippines after a few years, and many people will stay in Italy because they consider themselves as Italian (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

However, among those who didn't apply for Italian citizenship, excluding cases not meeting the legal requisites and those in the process of applying for citizenship, there is a certain climate of disinterest (*Not sure, no time to investigate how to do it; Not interested; Not thought about it; I have been lazy; I'm busy with other things*). There is no lack, however, of those who plan – in more or less realistic terms – to go back to the Philippines (*I'm planning to return to the Philippines; I want to go back home as soon as possible for retirement*), or who reject the idea of a choice that also has a symbolic value, despite the possibility of dual citizenship (*I'm proud to be as I am: I love my country and I have no reason to change my citizenship; I like the Philippines; I don't want to change my Filipino identity*). In addition, there are a considerable number of respondents who admit to not being at all aware of the requisites required by the law or of the procedure to be adopted (*Did not know I could; I'm not sure how to apply*), nor yet of the advantages that naturalisation brings (*First I have to know my duties and responsibilities in having the Italian citizenship; I don't know very well what differences it makes*). It would be convenient to face these issues during the training program.

The last question of this section of the questionnaire asked the respondents to indicate the factors that helped them the most in Italy, obtaining the replies synthesised in Table III.C.17. The first place, assigned to "Faith in God", well expresses the distance between the Italian and Filipino societies in terms of level of secularisation, taking into account the pervasiveness that the religious aspect takes on for Filipinos, and for Filipino immigrants in particular. But this is a preference that could also bring with it an attitude of strong adaptability or even of resignation (as some key informants have been quick to point out).

In second place, with the consensus of around a quarter of those interviewed, is family support, the incidence of which supersedes that of self-reliance (which is typical of an

individualistic culture). Friend support, which is so much touted by all the literature on the so-called ethnic resources, scores very modestly, even lower than employer support. As can be seen from the table, men rate family support higher, whereas women attach greater importance to self-reliance: a result that is in certain respects counter-intuitive, but which accurately reflects the picture of Filipino emigration to Italy. But, above all, again the main discriminating factor is that which distinguishes the first from the second generation. The vast majority of those born in Italy do not consider that there is any one particular factor that is the most facilitating their life in Italy (82.6%), assigning a decidedly modest role to “Faith in God” (8.7%) and to family support (8.7%). The latter – family support – however, assumes considerable importance for respondents who arrived in Italy between the ages of 6 and 18, in a full 44.4% of cases.

**Tab. III.C.17 – All things considered, what is the one factor that has helped you most in Italy?, By Gender (%)**

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
None	11.5	9.7	10.5
Faith in God	37.2	37.2	37.2
Family support	30.8	20.4	24.6
Support of friends or employer	5.1	8.8	7.3
Self-reliance, being strong	15.4	23.9	20.4
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

To sum up the relationship between Filipino immigrants and Italian society, we can refer to these interview excerpts. From these it can be seen that the strong point of this community lies in “not creating problems”, thanks to their own work ethic, their respect for promises given – which seems to have much more value than respect for the immigration laws – and in the essential avoidance of its members of deviant behaviour (with the exception of self-abuse behaviours such as drug abuse, which, however, do not appear to create problems for Italians). All this makes for a good reputation, which enables them to steer round some of the obstacles that make daily life difficult for many emigrants of other nationalities (the accounts of border controls are emblematic of this). But it also makes for a low-profile integration model which, despite the affirmation – almost rhetorical – of the process of professional “disqualification” (by which a subject accepts a more menial job than he is qualified to do), ends up by remaining firmly anchored to the frame of thought that has led to the term “Filipino “ becoming synonymous with domestic helpers in Italy.

I don't think that at the moment we Filipinos have so many problems in Italy. We are, let's say we are people able to fit in without problems, and we are respected by the Italians. If you ask a lot of Italians, those with money, a lot of them have Filipino workers. Because we are people who work. If you read the daily papers, you won't find any of the things that Filipinos do. Filipinos just work. Work and family. We do everything for our family. Here in Italy and also in the Philippines. We haven't this micro-criminality that the Albanians have... yes, our kids are also everywhere, they are involved in drugs and stuff... but common crimes like stealing... we don't have these problems... I think (...).

Nowadays even with the police, when they get a black kid they raise hell investigating. I'll tell you a story. We passed through the Swiss Customs by car and the customs officer said: "what have you got in the boot?", "Work tools". "Where are you from?" "The Philippines". "Then you can go". I say this: look at the shops, they do everything they can to employ Filipinos because we keep our word. Even if we have no documents, if we say we will pay for something, even to ask for more credit, we will pay what we owe. This is a Filipino thing. And Filipinos can be trusted. Ask all the people who have Filipinos working for them. You'll never hear of a Filipino woman stealing from her parents or employers. Never! (Interview with XXX, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

*Will Filipinos still be attracted by Italy?*

People were originally attracted by Italy because it is an easy country where to live, people are friendly and treat you like in a family at work... they do not discriminate that much compared to other countries and they open their house to you... if you are a "domestica" [domestic worker], they treat you very well (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

### III.D. Associational Life in Italy

#### ***a. Associational Attitudes of Filipino Migrants***

Considering the aims of this project, the section of the inquiry devoted to the associational life has a particular importance. In this chapter we merely propose some brief considerations that will then be developed in the section of the report specifically dedicated to the activities of the associations [please refer to Report 2: *Filipino Migrants' Associations in Italy*].

In the first place it should be noted that the associational experience is a qualifying aspect of the life of the Filipino community in Italy, an essential component of the building of their identity, as well as the main form of Filipino presence – in that it is a situation that transcends the individual men and women workers – in the public domain, albeit only partially perceptible outside the confines of the community itself and only partly distinguishable from religious practice:

*In your opinion, which are the main characteristics of the Filipino community in Italy?*

Right now it is mainly a social organization. We have 50 to 60 associations, and they are mostly created for social purposes. You know, they need an outlet after working from 11, to 12 or maybe 15 hours a day, in home, they want to go somewhere during their day off, they want to meet, and get together, during their Saturdays and Sundays, and try to live the way they used to live in the Philippines, so to enjoy themselves. The other outlet is the Church. They go to Church, we just had our Flores de Mayo, it's a very special event, religious event in the Philippines, and we had it last Sunday, it was raining unfortunately, but the *Duomo* was full of people, and it's a very uniting activity for the Filipinos. We have tried to put together a business club, but up to now it's being shaking. Filipino business men who are involved in business. Very few, very few. But it's still being... (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The various forms of intra-community aggregation thus arise out of homesickness and the search for reassuring affiliations that help them, in their few moments of free time from work, to “feel at home”:

Because we feel sad and homesick for our country. We are sad at work, but when we are together we feel free, we feel at home. Those who don't join associations don't yet have contacts with friends who could bring them along. Also those who have been here for years don't always become part of the communities, maybe because they haven't met anyone who would bring them, because otherwise any Filipino would want to be part of a community. This spurs us to organise ourselves to beat homesickness, rather than to



help someone. It was more homesickness that spurred the first organisers to get together (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2008).

*Why do Filipinos create organisations ? Why do many Filipinos fail to join associations of Filipino emigrants?*

Because we are inclined to gather among ourselves. It is inherent in our culture. It gives us also a sense of security because it is always better to be with someone you know even if they are not relatives. There is a strong sense of homesickness that spurs us to get together to speak our own language (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

They are in a foreign country, they have left their friends and part of the family, they do not speak the language and so... they need to be in contact with other people as much as possible and feel “at home”. We can talk to persons we know better, we understand each other and we have the same values and religion.

Young Filipinos meet regularly, like three four times a week to... *fare un giro in centro* [go around the town centre].

Filipinos are used to being in a community. Also in the Philippines we live on islands and therefore we are used to being close together, like a large family (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

So much for the basic reasons for this associational ferment, which, however, as we shall see straight away, also appears to answer other needs and motivations. The questions asked in the questionnaire to a sample of immigrants help us, in the first instance, to identify the size of the phenomenon.

We begin with the observation that a third of those interviewed is a member or an officer of a Filipino organization. Of the men affiliated to the associations, the percentage of the officers (41.7%) is not much lower than that of the members (58.3%)<sup>1</sup>, witnessing a process of “inflation” of the associations induced by the need for personal visibility and affirmation – a phenomenon repeatedly referred to by the key informants:

You don’t even have to encourage them! Filipinos... they want to be president! So whenever there’s a small group they form an association, form an association, form an association! (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The weakness is the political factor. We call it “Contest for Leadership”, if you have one leader and it’s election time and that leader loses the election he will create another group. You can see communities will divide and the followers will go with that leader. Even in the Philippines it is the same. If you are the leader of a group and you put up a chapel, at election time, you lose, you put up another chapel just across the street. This is why they think Filipinos are very religious: there are so many chapels! But the truth, in fact, is the political interest underneath (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

In fact, independently of the formal officials, only a tiny number of respondents say they are actively involved in the associations. Legal status does not seem to constitute a discriminatory variable regarding the associational experience: quite the contrary – but in coherence with the functions carried out by the Filipino associations – even the

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<sup>1</sup> These percentages and those which follow are calculated on the component of the sample (66 subjects) who said they were a member or officer of a Filipino organization.

irregular ones show a high propensity to associations, in particular those associations of a religious nature and are quite convinced of the usefulness of associations to help the interests of Filipinos in Italy and to support development projects in the Philippines. Moreover, it must be stated that the second generation in the narrow sense, that constituted of those born in Italy, are basically not involved in the associational experience (only one respondent said he was a member of an association), for lack of time, but also of interest and of need, elements that are more than sufficient to preclude associational participation also for those who have been approached by friends and relatives, in spite of a timid agreement as to the contribution that the associations can make in promoting the interests of the Filipino community in Italy and the development of the Philippines. Consequently, the results that we are presenting refer almost exclusively to those born in the Philippines. All these aspects would lead us to think that the associational experience has primarily the function of compensation with regard to the stress which migration produces, confirming at the same time the belonging to the community, sharing its values – above all religious – and the attachment to the country of origin.

As emerges from this interview with the president of one of the principal Filipino associations in Milan, these latter constitute a strategic component in the story of relations of intra-community solidarity, a place of crystallisation of social capital which is fundamental with regard to the results of the ways of integration of the Filipino immigrants in Italy:

Not all Filipinos are involved because many are full of work and don't have time. They only help their families. They are in a minority because the majority, if they can be in an association that helps, then they will give a hand (...).

We speak to other immigrants when we are on the bus, for example. They say: "You're lucky to have associations that help your co-nationals – we haven't anything. If we come to Italy we are on our own". However, Filipinos come to Italy, and our associations always help them, but not the others. For this reason they are forced to do something to survive. They arrive in Italy with no help, nothing – they are forced into petty crime, because they don't have anyone to help them. But we help our co-nationals that come over here. If I'm a Filipino and I hear that my employer needs someone, I call someone straight away. I call another Filipino woman who needs to work. We always help people for work as well, by word of mouth (Interview with XXX, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

One aspect fully confirmed also by numerous other key informants:

*And do you think that these associations can be useful to the Filipino community?*

Yes, their impact is very helpful to their members, because these associations act as the support group of Filipinos. You know, it is very difficult for a foreigner... for a Filipino to live in a foreign land. There are certain things that a Filipino would normally do that he has to do in a foreign land. Now... with their

support group, he is emotionally strengthened, he gains friends, and so the general, the quality of life of Filipinos is in fact improved by the presence and the support of these associations. We have had a lot of problem cases of Filipinos here, people who cannot adapt, who get depressed, and we have been helped by these associations. So these associations are really really important for us, and so we try to have them as active as they can (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

These considerations are confirmed in the replies provided by those interviewed to the question “Why did you join a Filipino organization?”. In first place among the motivations for the choice of association is the possibility to meet/to be with fellow Filipinos (66.7%), which is a relational motivation, coherent with the fact of a life of aggregation greatly centred on the community of the ethnic group [please refer to Report 1, III.C. *Life in Italy*], and with an evident propensity in favour of associations on an ethnic basis compared to “Italian” or “mixed”.

Social gathering. They want to talk their language, share the information because this is the nature of Filipinos. This is why we have integration problems, because we tend to form groups. If a Filipino has the chance to choose between a community of Italians and a community of Filipinos it’s certain he will go for the Filipino one (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Immediately afterwards come altruistic motivations, pertaining to a propensity to help fellow Filipinos (65.2%).

However, all the motivations contemplated in the questionnaire – which were not mutually exclusive – obtain a high number of affirmative replies: I was recruited by a family member or a friend (47%); To have people to turn to (50%); To be involved in projects and activities of the Filipino community in Italy (59.1%); To be informed about issues, events and activities concerning the Filipino community in Italy (59.1%); To be informed about issues and events in the Philippines (53%).

Vice versa, for the majority of respondents who are not part of associations, the main reason is lack of time (*no time, busy with other things*: 65.3), the lack of interest or of information regarding these associations (33.2% in both cases), and in second place is the fact of never being approached by the organisation (29.5%), the fact of not seeing a need to join a Filipino organization (28.5%) and of having family-friends (20.2%). This list perfectly corresponds to the replies provided by the key informants, unanimous in considering the lack of time as the main reason for not joining associations, and the same possibility for mobilising the Filipino Diaspora making it an agent of change in relation to the prospects of the country of origin and of the Filipino community in Italy. For this same reason, associational choices often end up being limited to the fact of

being together among similar people and having a point of reference which satisfies practical but above all emotive needs.

As we have just mentioned, if participation in “ethnic” associations is a widespread experience, the same surely cannot be said for autochthonous associations. Only a mean 3.5% of respondents are members or officers of non-Filipino organizations (4.2% of female respondents and 2.4% of male respondents). In this case, the main reasons concern the desire to meet other people (57.1%), to be involved in community projects and activities (28.6%), and to help other people (14.3%), together with some other purposes (such as to sing or something similar).

Concentrating now on “Filipino” associations, regarding the three most important organizations for each respondent, the people interviewed say they are actively involved in 62% of cases, somewhat involved in 16.4% of cases, not very involved in 18.8% of cases and not involved at all in only 3.8% of cases.

Let us now go on to describe the projects or activities undertaken by the Filipino organization indicated as the first<sup>2</sup>. We find, above all, religious activities (indicated as the main activity in 45.9% cases), cultural-recreational-social activities and support services and assistance (legal, health, counselling, etc.). We cannot omit to emphasise the residual attention assigned to the programmes specifically directed at overseas Filipinos and to the activities relating to the collection and management of financial funds and entrepreneurial promotion (that is, the aspects mainly pertaining to our project)<sup>3</sup>.

As could be expected, among the members of the “spurious” or not strictly second generation – arriving in Italy between the age of 6 and 18 years – the importance of sports and cultural-recreational activities increases.

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<sup>2</sup> We omit the data relating to the activities undertaken by the associations indicated as second and third because they are calculated on absolute values that are too low to be statistically representative.

<sup>3</sup> The data should be interpreted taking into account the fact that the majority of those interviewed limited themselves to indicating the main activity of the association. The percentages of the second, third, fourth and fifth activities thus should be referred to very low absolute values.

**Tab. III.D.1 – What projects or activities are undertaken by the first above-named Filipino organizations for its members or the Filipino community in your area in Italy? (%)**

	<i>1<sup>st</sup> activity</i>	<i>2<sup>nd</sup> activity</i>	<i>3<sup>rd</sup> activity</i>	<i>4<sup>th</sup> activity</i>	<i>5<sup>th</sup> activity</i>
Religious activities	45.9	2.6	--	--	--
Cultural-recreational-social activities	24.6	44.7	4.5	--	--
Sports	--	5.3	22.7	--	--
Support services and assistance	21.3	15.8	18.2	27.3	--
Business and investment promotion in Italy	1.6	5.3	--	--	--
Business and investment promotion in the Philippines	1.6	--	--	9.1	--
Financial literacy programs	--	2.6	--	--	--
“Paluwagan”/rotating credit/common fund	--	2.6	18.2	9.1	--
Information campaign about the police and programs of the Italian government for immigrants	3.3	13.2	27.3	9.1	100.0
Information campaign about the police and programs of the Philippine government for overseas Filipinos	1.6	7.9	9.1	45.5	--

If religious activities take first place within Filipino associations, according to the key informants this is mainly because of the need to preserve institutions and traditional values put at risk in the impact with Italian society:

We do not accept them as workers if you marry in the Embassy because it's said in the Bible that you must marry in church. Men and women must live like this, not marry after having 3 or 4 children. We are very concerned with marriage. We have some people who married in the Embassy and we are trying to help them to marry in the church, to get the sacrament. We try to convince them to marry in church and help them with it. We are also concerned with respecting the host country. Although our blood is still Filipino we must respect life here as we live here (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

We want to transmit to people who arrive in our Community not only how to live in Italy but also faith in God. We of the Philippines are always faithful and we don't want to lose our peers, who would otherwise fall by the wayside. In the Philippines cleaners can't get into the Church because there are so many people in there. At home we have small Churches but full of people; here, the Churches are big and they aren't able to fill them (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2008).

This aim, however, also pervades the initiatives in several fields such as social support, and tends to be presented as a leitmotiv by those responsible for the various associations:

*Is there any other reason why you would like a nursery for Filipinos, I mean you want it for Filipinos only?*

We...yes, also. We would like Filipino children to grow within a Filipino community, so they can respect our values... for example, the respect towards older family members, which here in Italy is not a concern... Italian young people are not very respectful of their parents... we do not like this. Also, here they engage very early in sexual relations, they are teenagers early and maybe get pregnant early, they leave the family house before getting married... many differences. We are indeed very different.

Also, religion, we want religion to be introduced also at early age, in the nursery... so, this is why we are working to open a truly Filipino nursery... (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Laziness is a weakness because if you are lazy you prefer to stay at home and relax and do your housework. On the other hand, believing and enjoying what you do is a strength. We must share the three “T” which are Time, Talent and Treasure. If you are sharing time with the community you are sharing it with God and you are sharing your treasure, your finances and holdings with your community you are sharing with God and He will guide you (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Still with reference to the limited number of respondents to this section of the questionnaire, in 58% of case (68.8% in Milan and 42.9% in Rome), the associations mentioned have programs specifically aimed at young Filipinos in their region in Italy. The programs mentioned concern sports activities, religious activities (such as reading sacred texts, church choirs, evangelization,...), organization of social events (concerts, ...), language and computer courses, health education (HIW), initiatives addressed to “street children”, organization of summer camps, trips.

On the whole the Filipino organizations are judged by over half of respondents as being somewhat successful in realizing their objectives, very successful (around a third), and only a few as being somewhat unsuccessful. Female respondents are particularly enthusiastic in evaluating the Filipino associations’ success in realizing their objectives: 48.7% of them (but only 18.2% of men) answer “very successful”.

But what kind of problems have these organizations encountered? First of all, as could have been expected, there is the lack of finances (66.7%). There is a wide gap between this and the problem of lack of support from members (40.9%) and from the larger Filipino community (31.8%). The relational-organisational aspects, concerning management (30.3%), relational problems among members (28.8%), lack of leadership (22.7%) or definition of projects or activities (12.1%) are of less importance [please refer to Table III.D.2].

**Tab. III.D.2 – What kind of problems have these organizations encountered? By Interview area (%)**

	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Rome</i>
Lack of finances	57.1	83.3
Lack of leadership	19.0	29.2
Lack of support from members	38.1	45.8
Lack of support from the larger Filipino community	21.4	50.0
Ill defined projects or activities	14.3	8.3
Relational problems among members	35.7	16.7
Management problems	26.2	37.5
Other	0.0	4.2

According to the respondents, to be more effective the Filipino organizations need these kinds of training: leadership and management (62.1%), communication skills (53%, with reference above all to linguistic deficits), financial management (53%), community building and networking (51.5%), building links with Italian government and institutions (50%), project development (48.5%), fund-raising (45.5%), information technology (45.5%) and, in last place, building links with Philippine government and institutions (42.4%). Men tend more than women to underline the inadequacies with regard to the relational aspects, such as the lack of support from members or from the Filipino community and the problems of management.

**Tab. III.D.3 – In your view, what kind of training do Filipino organizations need to be more effective? By Interview area (%)**

	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Rome</i>
Financial management	42.9	70.8
Fund-raising	35.7	62.5
Leadership and management	59.5	66.7
Communication skills	50.0	58.3
Community-building and networking	42.9	66.7
Training in the use of information technology	47.6	41.7
Project development	42.9	58.3
Building links with Italian governments and institutions	47.6	54.2
Building links with Filipino governments and institutions	42.9	41.7

The interviews with the key informants, however, allow for us to dig deeper into these delicate aspects, revealing a series of implied problems of an otherwise apparently thriving associational life.

In the first place, a fundamental element of weakness lies in the fact that the level of involvement of affiliates (independently of what has been said regarding our respondents), and above all their willingness to carry out demanding projects, is strongly inhibited by the limited time available for such a hard-working population:

You know, we are people who want to have a community of reference. Filipinos in general want to belong to a community. Not me, now, I am old and I have my family. Filipinos do not have much time, you see... they do what is useful for the time and what gives them a community support... so they live here and they want a religious community, sport community, counselling, etc. (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Because they don't have enough time, because they work every day and they want to be at home with their families on Sundays, and besides they don't care much about politics (Interview with XXX, 11<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The factor that limits the efficacy of our programmes, however, is the lack of time. We all have a second job and for this reason it isn't easy to find new collaborators (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Another element of weakness is accountable for by the phenomenon of “inflation” of the associational structures, both the cause and the effect of an antagonism fed by the search for a personal assertion on the part of the many aspiring community leaders. This phenomenon is also present in other communities of immigrants, although in the case here examined it is in blatant contrast with the rhetoric of solidarity and union cited as being characteristic traits of Filipino culture:

In my opinion the point of strength is union. It's true that there are more and more signs of antagonism among the leaders of the community, but I can say that the Filipino community is the one with the strongest union, with the greatest sense of being united. We are divided on so many issues, but we have the strength to unite for a cause. The negative aspect, however, is the self-promoting attitude. Yes, there are those of us that have the capability to take on a certain level of leadership, although they tend to assume a certain role merely for the sake of vanity rather than out of a sense of interest and involvement in the community (Interview with XXX, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2008).

This phenomenon goes hand in hand with “localism”, that is, the tendency to aggregate according to a criterion that reflects the common geographical origin rather than common interests or aims:

Being together is a point of strength. A weakness... the diversity among us, because we come from different parts of the Philippines. In fact, we in our organisation are more or less from the same birthplace, in the south of the Philippines. Then there are the organisations from the north-east. So geographical location is also a criterion of forming organisations (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2008).

*In the Milan area, do associations have their specific character, in your opinion?*

Yes... they have... they want to congregate, the families. People from Luzon, they want to be classed together, the people from Mindanao want to be classed together, because of their cultures... so these are characteristics of the Filipino organizations. Some organizations here are... we have some which help Filipinos... in the Philippines... one example is Balikatan, they are registered here, they have fund-raising, the fund, their donations they send it to Manila, they have projects... The money from Microsoft was available through them, not through the government, so we only do the supervision over the project (Interview with XXX, 17<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Again it is precisely the main aim of the various forms of associational aggregation – that which we have defined as the function of compensation for the stress produced by emigration – that ends up by representing a fundamental point of weakness, circumscribing the horizons of their projects:

A strength is the feeling of belongingness lying underneath: Filipinos need to feel part of a group especially when they are away from home but associations need to be more solid in the sense that they cannot only provide for people's emotional security but they also have to provide them with the instruments for future growth and this is what we are trying to do (Interview with XXX, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008).



One of the strong points of the associational structures is their capacity to create synergies with the subjects and institutions of the territory, a strategy that is useful for reinforcing the efficacy of their actions. As regards the associations to which our respondents belong, the experiences of cooperation, however, involve to a decidedly prevalent extent the Philippine Embassy/Consulate (a good 75.4% of the respondents say that the first organisation mentioned cooperates with these bodies) and in a very sporadic way the Italian government or NGOs (35.8%) or other immigrant groups in Italy (42%). Cooperation with the Italian government or with NGOs is decidedly more prevalent in Rome – as also emerged from the interviews with the key informants – perhaps partly because most of the government offices are in Rome; those with other immigrants groups in Italy are more present in Milan.

On the other hand, there is a very high percentage (89.4%) who consider it important for Filipino organizations to be recognized by the Philippine Embassy/Consulate, to receive support and assistance, to be legalized, to improve the coordination among the different protagonists, and to promote forms of partnership in some projects and activities.

This aspect is also emphasised by various key informants, together with the awareness that, in this field, the attitude of the ambassador/consul and his collaborators is of fundamental importance. For instance, several pointed out that the nomination of the present ambassador some years ago brought about an effective improvement in the relations between the Embassy and the associational structures, inaugurating an “open door” policy. Not without a certain amount of rhetoric, various key informants underlined the importance of the support of the Philippine government:

*Going back to your Filipino community and your activities, how do you assess the support of the Philippine government?*

Ah ah (laugh)... only their presence, their inspirational talks and their psychological support which is still very important, but... the good thing they do is that they encourage the Filipinos to be Filipinos, to feel proud about who they are, really...

So , yes, they help by giving approval or disapproval as well... for example, they want to get involved in what we do as programs, they want to approve our activities... (Interview with XXX, 15<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

In contrast, as was expected, the synergies with the institutions of Italian society are rather weak, also as a reflection of that self-referential aptitude that has already been noted several times:

*In your opinion, what are the strong points of the associations of Filipino emigrants? What are their weak points?*

Although on the one hand this makes us feel safer, on the other hand it doesn't help us to integrate with the host country, that is, Italy (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

*What are the possibilities of the associations of Filipino emigrants to solve the problems and answer the needs of Filipinos in Italy?*

The strength is without doubt the fact that they know the necessities, the resources and the people. The limits are that they are probably not aware of the possibilities that there for them are on the part of the state, of the Italian administration. Hence also this type of association, for example, the one of those women I mentioned earlier, didn't know what to do to ask the institutions for the right to certain economic or legal facilities. Since they come from a colonial mentality very much linked to the Church, they refer much more to the traditional channels of the Church to ask for places or cheaper opportunities to organise their events, but they are unaware of what democracy is and thus of how to act within a democratic state and how they can utilise the services that the state puts at their disposal. There isn't an adequate awareness of the institutions. They don't act, or they act on the margins (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Unfortunately, there isn't as yet any involvement or effort on the part of the Filipino associations within the Italian institutions, with the exception of assistant councillors, who, however, are elected individually. However, the CFMW (Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers), has had relationships with the local council – their day care centre for infants is in fact operating under the aegis of the Rome City Council. Then there is KAMPI, which is linked to the trade union. There are many potentialities, albeit limited by the lack of funds, to support the activities and those working within the associations (Interview with XXX, 11<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

## ***b. Filipino Associations as Potential Agents of Development***

Because they know how difficult it is to live in the Philippines and that there are poor people there. We are a proud people. We are not like the Africans. We love our poverty. We love our people. For this reason we help them. There is a lot of patriotism (Interview with XXX, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Being charitable is one of the strengths of the Filipino emigrants' associations. Filipinos have experienced hardships and they want to share some of their blessings to improve the lives of other people even in a small way. We all witness that when there are calls for support from the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2008).

The two interview excerpts just quoted illustrate the potentialities and limits of the associational structures in their role as agents of development for the Philippines. The potentialities are rooted in the first instance in the great altruism of this community, with a firm religious basis and not without a vein of patriotism; the limits are the difficulties to transform the generosity and altruism into institutionalised practices of socialisation of the risks and into the promoting of a self-driving development in the communities of origin.

I guess belongingness, they can share meals and traditions and language. Being part of a community has a sentimental value really. A few have managed to move beyond that, providing services for the members. As in other countries, there are a few associations which come up with projects to help back in the

Philippines as it is in Mexico with some associations. In the USA where a large percentage of Mexicans are, they have fund raising schemes which they send back for development projects in Mexico and they have been able to negotiate that for every dollar they raise the local government gives another dollar and the Mexican government gives another dollar so that if you raise let's say 10,000 in the end you make 30,000. This is the kind of move we would like to see here but it's not happening yet (Interview with XXX, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008).

There is a group of private individuals that I know who habitually send and give aid to their home town of origin like building small infrastructure projects in rural areas such as a basketball court or chapel, some financial support in cases of emergency. They are not an organization like the others. Some church-based organizations send material aids to victims in calamity stricken areas but mostly are one-time projects that are not followed through and the result are never known, the reason why others don't get involved. They don't trust the way it is being organized, and there's lack of transparency in terms of accountability. Really, I've not heard of any successful development projects funded by Filipinos (Interview with XXX, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Before examining these aspects in detail, however, it is useful to take into account the degree of involvement of the Filipino organizations in the Philippines, through information about the projects or activities undertaken by them. On the basis of the data collected with the questionnaire, only a modest number of associations – around one out of five – result as being involved in livelihood assistance, relief/calamity assistance and support of infrastructure projects such as houses, schools and water wells.

If we confine ourselves to the main activity carried out by the first mentioned association, the list is as follows: livelihood assistance (31.6%<sup>4</sup>), relief/calamity assistance (21.1%), support of infrastructure projects (18.4%), donation of educational equipment/computer/books/supplies (10.4%), scholarship grants (2.6%) and feeding programs (2.6%). These are thus rather sporadic initiatives but which were given great emphasis during the interviews with the key informants:

*Do you know examples of Filipino organizations, in Italy, enrolled in development projects in the Philippines?*

Balikatan... Filipino Women, Bicolnon also. Bicolnon is a regional organization this is one province, where the Monte Mayon volcano is located. So the people from Bicol have the association Bicolnon. So they are also involved in developmental projects.

*And Filipino organizations in Italy participate in development in the Philippines. But which type of development?*

The use of remittances is for health or economy growing, that's why the Philippine government said that they are heroes because of the sacrifices in terms of feeding their families, giving them better conditions of life. Economy, and also they have... in terms of technology from the host country, so we have some successful OFWs who made good and put up their own businesses and for how many years now we have been recognizing them, as contributors to the development of the Philippines. Some of my encounters are people who have acquired inner knowledge, about business, so they teach in institutions, they also put up their own businesses (Interview with XXX, 17<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

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<sup>4</sup> The percentages should be interpreted taking into account that they were calculated with reference to the minority of associations carrying out some type of intervention in the Philippines.

There are a lot of philanthropic donations when there are disasters... there are small projects to help back home. You might have heard of the religious association *deus fratres*... they are helping us as mentors and they have scholarship programs to help children to buy books and send them to school (Interview with XXX, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008).

For example there is a project of “cardinal Rosale” according to which we collect money here and send it home to help children who need books and things to go to school. With that money we also contribute to repair buildings as a Euro here is worth lots of money at home. Others do not care really. They are mainly concerned with their family, who comes before others. Out of all the money we receive every month 40% is sent to the Philippines and 10% is for the priests. So we are concerned with the group here as well as there. Some people leave after the Mass and do not stay all day (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

For example, at Christmas, with the funds that we collect, our organisation is able to buy rice and cereals to send home (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2008).

All these initiatives are based on a universally known virtue of Filipino emigrants: their generosity towards those who are neediest, and their willingness to act above all when the organisers of fund raising campaigns put pressure on them of a religious or “local” nature, whereas the support for the needy of the community of origin serves to fortify a link and a sense of belonging. Regarded with detachment by an outside observer extraneous to the dynamics of the community, the generosity of Filipino emigrants – which is confirmed every time, for example, a collection or a fund raising campaign is organised to collect money to face an emergency – has its limits in the “familial” spirit that is a characteristic trait of a culture and of a society in which the weakness of institutional intervention and of the spirit of democracy compete in burdening the family – in its extended meaning – with the task of seeing to the present and future needs of its members, investing the emigrants with a task they then cannot shirk from doing:

Firstly, there’s what I said before: it’s a society of classes. There arises spontaneously a mentality of the paternalistic type rather than a social mentality, one of social development, of aid to the poor and hence of very sporadic rather than continuing intervention and of projects. On the other hand, they probably concentrate much more on their working activities and on the needs of their families. We must remember that normally Filipinos are very much influenced by the economic demands that their families of origin make on them.

The Filipino nation is very young and has not yet developed a real democracy, and so it’s unlikely for a citizen to feel responsible for his own community there. He feels more of a sense of responsibility towards his family (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Furthermore, in the dynamics of the associational situation there is no lack of cross-accusations of improper use of the funds collected:

We collect funds here during events such as the Filipino music festival and we send it all to the homeland. Some don’t bother on account of all the things that have happened. Some collect funds but then they put

them into their own pockets. But we want to be sure that this money will get to its right destination (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2008).

Unfortunately, we aren't well thought of by the Filipino community. Usually when we are approached it's because they have problems, or they don't accept their personal situation, which, for the Filipino mentality, means not being grateful to God for what they have.

The religious associations see us as enemies, as bringers of bad luck. We also get called "Communists", although most Filipinos don't even know what Communism means. Besides, we haven't a political orientation, we merely defend the rights of the workers (Interview with XXX, 11<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

In this picture composed of lights and shadows, however, some promising signs are worthy of note. First of all, the vocabulary of those responsible for associational organisation shows, at times, a shift from the rhetoric of solidarity and altruism to the necessity to renew the competences and the instruments that make for more effective management and valorisation of savings:

Our main program is to convince Filipinos of the value of savings. The majority of them do not have a savings account. We always advise them to open an account for their savings, we ask them to think about the future. We have a program that has lots of packages that help Filipinos here in Italy and their families in the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 15<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Others even raise doubts as to the aims of the more widespread and popular fund raising programmes, proposing arguments that, setting aside their polemical and strongly ideological tone, in any case offer up food for fundamental thought:

I think that contributing to these projects is wrong. I'm sorry to say it, but what they do is to collect money only to build new churches, or maybe a school. I can't accept this. The money that we and our families pay, the taxes, should suffice for this. Why do they ask us for more money? The Filipinos are very generous, they want to help their fellow creatures, even if they are in difficulty themselves, so it's easy to put pressure on them. I believe that those who engage in these fund collections do it because they've been coerced into it, not informed. The government doesn't speak openly, they don't give the exact picture of things, on the contrary, they take advantage of them.

The Associations could be development partners, but for projects that are clear and transparent and addressed to everybody, so that all can make use of them (Interview with XXX, 11<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Moreover, the need is beginning to be felt of a "professionalisation" of the associational structures, which would mean the involvement of paid professionals and not only voluntary workers, in the awareness that this would be a fundamental step towards the undertaking of more ambitious projects:

*Do you see FAOs as a potential partner in promoting national development in the Philippines?*

You, know this is an important question. From my view, as a president of our community, I would like to say yes, but in reality... no, not directly. We actually don't do much in that sense... simply because it is hard for an organization to promote programs when it is even hard to keep going with our daily

activities... remember that we are all volunteers and we don't have much time... of course, it would be great (Interview with XXX, 15<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

The limitation of the associations of Filipino emigrants is that they are voluntary associations; they don't always have the personnel or funds, we are here to work, there aren't many of us who can do voluntary work, who can afford to do it (Interview with XXX, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2008).

In this perspective, some associations have taken the steps – such as enrolment in the register of associations that Italian law indicates as a prerequisite for participating in public competitions – that enable them to avail themselves of the funding opportunities, thus being able to guarantee a greater degree of continuity of the activities they do, and also to start up more wide-ranging projects:

*What are the factors that contribute to the efficacy of your work with the Filipinos in your area? What are the factors that limit the efficacy of your programmes regarding the Filipinos in Italy?*

The fact of being a national and recognised association, and of being able to participate in various public competitions (...).

We are very much linked to the Italian government, sometimes privileged. We present the various programmes when the competition notices come out. Our nursery school, for instance, is funded 11 months of the year by the Rome City Council. We have dealings with both the Council and the Province, because we always follow the competition notices (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

It's essential to have collaboration with the Italian government. With our projects passing through their hands, it is thanks to them that we have funding. For example, we have done a project that the Province supported that enabled us to show our Christmas traditions to others, in particular to elderly people. Another of our initiatives that hasn't been spoken about is a project called "a journey towards our origins". We organise a trip to the Philippines with 15 adolescents from 13 to 18 for a month during the Christmas period. The first 2 weeks we are with them and we show them all the aspects of the Filipino situation, even the most run-down and poor places, and we organise meetings with other adolescents resident in the Philippines and also with the international agencies that work with children. The other 2 weeks are spent with their relatives so that they can form relationships with them without their parents translating for them all the time. We leave around the 8<sup>th</sup> December and come back before the reopening of our usual activities. The first time, half was funded by the Rome City Council and the other half by the parents. The second time we had no funding and we collected the funds ourselves, and thanks to the collaboration of religious groups in the Philippines we had free board and lodging, but the other half was still paid by the parents (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Others have even embarked on a new conception of "ethnic associationism", which is seen not only as a resource to support the integration of emigrants in Italy and the well-being of the families and of the community of origin, but also for the host society itself. As observed by the assistant councillor of the Board of City Councillors of Rome (one of the rare examples of a Filipino immigrant who has assumed a political role in Italian society), the associations arising out of immigration can become a resource also for the territory in which the immigrants live, thus broadening the meaning of the concept of "agent of development" to include the host society itself:

(...) for example, there's the association of the "Guardians", Filipino ex-policemen, who I once took to a meeting with the municipal police, to try to involve the association of ex-policemen in the initiative to promote safety in the territory. The result was that one of them, one of the Filipinos, was elected as a volunteer in the group of retired city policemen and was invited to patrol together with the Italian volunteers. This was an idea. It's just a question of finding the nature of an association and of seeing where it can be inserted into the activities of Italian society, of the Rome City Council (...).

I always quote the example of the nursery schools, because the real problem of Italian society is assistance to those who are weakest. We had the idea of opening a day care centre for Filipino children while their mothers are at work. The problem of the nursery schools, however, is so bad that we had to open our doors to other mothers as well, also to the Italian mothers. In this way an association of the Filipino community renders a service to Italian society (Interview with XXX, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2008).

Although we shall look more closely at this in the report on associational life, it seems thus possible to identify a series of aspects which can be brought to bear in order to define the activity of the associations, a situation with serious limits but also with a degree of diffusion and familiarity among Filipino emigrants such as to make of them indisputable protagonists of every project activated by the Filipino Diaspora to Italy for the development of their country of origin. To this end it is worth remembering the high degree of legitimisation which – irrespective of the aspects regarding lack of clarity and of criticism of associational activity – the associations enjoy. We only have to think of the fact that the great majority of respondents consider that Filipino organizations can help advance the concerns and interests of the Filipino community in Italy (56%) and in supporting development projects in the Philippines (56%). There is also a sizeable area of those who are uncertain, although very few maintain that the associations are of no use at all in reaching these objectives. It should, however, be underlined that it is above all the Filipinos interviewed in the Milan area who share these positive judgements, whereas among those living in Rome there is the prevalence of uncertainty, a sign of a certain critical attitude towards the associational situation which, as we have seen, also emerged from the interviews with the key informants. Finally, most of those interviewed (61%) consider that the Filipino organizations are in a better position than individuals to contribute to development in the Philippines. Also in this case there is a high number of those who are uncertain (36%), whereas only 3% of the respondents express a negative judgement in this respect; also in this case the Milan figure (78% of those are in agreement) is much more positive than that of Rome (44%).

Those who think that Filipino organizations can help advance the concerns and interests of the Filipino community in Italy point out the various functions of associations, such as to spread information, to contribute to the community building process, to improve the Filipinos' integration and to make their needs more visible, to solve personal

problems, to provide moral support. Critical voices stress that *associations only look out for their earnings* and that *Filipino organizations are like the Italian politicians*.

About the organizations' role in supporting development projects in the Philippines, the respondents stress financial help in particular (*They can collect more material and financial sources; If many of them do give support there would be a great impact on development*).

Finally, those who think that Filipino organizations are in a better position than individual efforts to contribute to development in the Philippines share the opinion that *More hands are more effective*; some observe that *They have more power and ability; They can have some attention; They have the support of the consulate; They have political influence; They are stronger than individuals because they represent lots of people; Through soliciting financial assistance from Italian NGOs*.





### III.E. Ties and Linkages with the Philippines

#### ***a. Social Relationships with the Philippines***

The fifth section of the questionnaire was dedicated to the ties and linkages with the respondents' home country, a theme which, in recent years, has attracted increasing attention due to the popularity acquired by the transnational perspective.

We will begin by highlighting that 91% of the sample claim to still have active ties/links with the Philippines. More precisely, this percentage actually reaches a unanimous consensus (99%) among those interviewed in Milan, while it stops at 83% in Rome, where, as has been seen, we are dealing with an older community which, in many cases, is settled in Italy in a definitive way. Even among those born in Italy 70.8% claimed to have active ties/links with the Philippines, showing that, in the current international scenarios, the adjective transnational can be applied also to the second generations.

Immediate family members (87.9%), other relatives (85.2%) and friends (80.2%) are the main connections to the Philippines. Men are even more numerous than women in maintaining a connection with immediate family members, other relatives and friends. Those born in Italy themselves maintain links with their family network, while the ties with friends are decidedly more rarefied, even though they concern just under a quarter of the respondents: we are dealing, most likely, with friendships which were formed on the occasion of the visits to the parents' homeland, which, as will be seen, are relatively frequent even among the members of the second generation.

The other major kinds of ties are of non-material nature (such as love for the country, 73.6%; or nice memories linked to the Philippines, 70.9%). Actual (15.4%) or planned (12.6%) investments/businesses, together with the support of some projects in the Philippines, have a minor role, although it must be underlined that they involve a significant number of Filipino migrants in Italy (if we relate these percentages to the dimensions of the Filipino community in Italy). In all these cases, male respondents are more involved than female respondents.

We think it advisable to underline that those interviewed in Milan seem to be much more active as promoters of actual businesses (18.2% over 12% in Rome), as promoters of planned businesses (18.2% over 6%) and as supporters of projects in the Philippines (36.4% over only 3.6% in Rome). In contrast, as could be easily expected, those born in Italy are very little involved in all these kinds of initiatives.

**III.E.1 – What keeps you connected to the Philippines? By Place of birth (%)**

	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Total</i>
News from family/friends	87.7	92.9	88.2
Newspapers/magazines produced by Filipinos in Italy	69.7	14.3	65.1
Filipino newspapers/magazines sold in Italy	47.1	14.3	44.4
Subscription to Filipino TV channels	34.8	7.1	32.5
International broadcasts & media	38.1	21.4	36.7
Internet	56.1	42.9	55.0
Visits to the Philippines	58.1	28.6	55.6
Other	1.3	0.0	1.2
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

The large majority of the sample (85.5%) try to be constantly informed about the events and happenings (outside family matters) in the Philippines, by using, firstly, news from family and friends (88.3%) and the newspapers/magazines produced by Filipinos in Italy (65.5%) or sold in Italy (43.9%) and the connection to the Internet (54.4%). The use of Filipino TV channels is more uncommon, but in any case fairly widespread (32.3%), as is the gathering of information through international broadcasts & media (36.3%). Finally, more than half of the sample (as many as 58.4% of women) are informed about the news by visiting the Philippines. Men tend to use more often all the communication channels mentioned in the questionnaire, with the sole exception of international broadcasts & media which are, instead, more widespread among women (39.6% of affirmative answers). But mostly we can observe, with respect to all the items mentioned, a decidedly more marked activism among the Filipino community in Milan – compared to that in Rome – in keeping alive their links with the country of origin.

But which are the aspects of Filipino life that the migrants follow? Firstly, as could be expected, family matters, indicated by over 90% of respondents, a datum which attests the transnational nature acquired by most of the families, some of whose members are involved in emigration. Secondly, the home town events and news, followed by nearly three quarters of the respondents. However, the other aspects which are taken into

account in the questionnaire – national and/or local politics, business opportunities, sports, show business – are of decidedly more restricted interest, a fact which shows that the nature of transnational linkages is mostly related to the family and to the local community. From another standpoint, although we are dealing with a minority, the percentage of those who show some interest in business opportunities (27.3%, rising to 35.6% of men) constitute quite a significant group of migrants, which is of interest to this study, given the aims of the project which is its framework.

As can be inferred by Table III.E.2, the women are almost unanimously interested in family matters, and more frequently follow show business; the men, instead, follow with greater interest their home town events and news, politics, sports and business opportunities.

**Tab. III.E.2 – What of the following aspects of Filipino life do you follow? By Gender (%)**

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
Family matters	83.6	94.9	90.1
Home town events and news	80.8	68.7	73.8
Politics (national and/or local)	46.6	38.4	41.9
Business opportunities	35.6	21.2	27.3
Sports	41.1	17.2	27.3
Show business (films, actors, singers, TV shows/personalities)	30.1	36.4	33.7
Other	0.0	1.0	0.6

The persistence of the linkages with the homeland is in any case attested to by the fact that for over 80% of the sample the last visit to the Philippines dates back to the preceding year (from 2004 on), for about half to 2007 or 2008 (it has to be considered that the interviews were carried out in the months of June and July 2008) and for 35.2% to 2004-2006. The presence of the spouse in Italy doesn't seem to reduce the proneness to periodical visits to the Philippines, which could instead be restrained by the presence of young children. Even most of those born in Italy could visit the Philippines, and also for the latter the last visit usually dates back to very recent years (only about 1/3 of those born in Italy or who arrived here before the age of six have never visited their parents' country).

**Tab. III.E.3 – When was the last time you visited the Philippines? By Place of birth (%)**

	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Total</i>
Between 1997 and 2003	18.5	6.7	17.4
Between 2004 and 2006	31.5	73.3	35.4
2007 or 2008	50.0	20.0	47.2
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Linkage with the homeland conceals unusual and paradoxical reasons. As this key informant remarked, there are people who return to the Philippines also for health reasons, giving up the free assistance offered by the national health care system in Italy, only in order to be cured by a Filipino physician:

Also Italians are easy with them... but for the services... Filipino go to hospitals only in the Philippines, they go back for medical checks or problems even if they have to pay... sometimes we say: “why don’t you use the health service here, it’s free!”... but they don’t like it here, so they trust their doctors more... (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Considering the past three months, only 5.4% of the respondents (which reaches 33.3% among those born in Italy) have not communicated with their family. In most cases, the communication is more or less weekly (74%), sometimes even daily, whereas among those born in Italy tends to be monthly.

The most recurrent means of communication, used by 91.6% of the respondents, is the phone or computer (landline, cell phone, internet), a datum which speaks for itself about the relevance which modern means of communication have in the daily life of the immigrants’ families. SMS/texting are also very popular, and are used by over 45% of the sample, as well as the use of e-mail/chatting (48.9%). The sending of audio-video tapes involves only 4.2% of the sample, and letters – which, in the past, were actually the only means of communication with the families far away – are used by a modest 8.9%. Decidedly more numerous are those who rely on their periodical visits to the family of origin left behind (36.8%), or on the visits of the relatives who come to Italy (26.3). Based on the gender of those interviewed, it can be found that women are more prone to use the phone, while men rely mostly on e-mail-chat. Considering the area where the interview was carried out, we can see, once again, that the respondents in Milan use more frequently all the means of communication with the Philippines, with the sole exception – which is totally consistent with the interpretative framework proposed below – of the family left behind who visits the respondent in Italy.

**Tab. III.E.4 – How do you keep in touch with your family in the Philippines? By Age on arrival in Italy (%)**

	<i>Born in Italy or arrived before 6 years old</i>	<i>Arrived in Italy at 6-18 years old</i>	<i>Arrived in Italy after 18 years old</i>
No contact	34.9	5.6	0.6
SMS/texting	26.1	50.0	45.8
Call (landline, cell phone, internet)	65.2	83.3	91.0
E-mail, chat	52.2	77.8	42.0
Letters	4.3	11.1	9.0
Audio/video tapes	0.0	5.6	4.5
Respondent visits family in the Philippines	26.1	33.3	37.0
Family visits respondent in Italy	21.7	5.6	27.8

## ***2. Political Participation***

One of the crucial themes in the literature and in the research dedicated to the diasporas concerns the political participation of migrants in the political life in the country of destination and of origin. With our questionnaire we probed in particular the latter topic, by asking those interviewed if they had voted in the Philippine elections since the absentee voting law took effect in 2004.

In contrast with what could be expected, only 28.5% declared that they had participated, usually only once (22.5%); it must be noted that none of those born in Italy voted in the Philippine elections, usually because they didn't have the right (86.4%); in addition, for the same reason, (indicated by 90.5%) none among those interviewed who have acquired the Italian citizenship have ever voted. But, mostly, it is striking that those who didn't vote, the relative majority (34.8%, which rises to 50% of those who are less educated and to 62.5% of those who arrived in Italy between six and eighteen years of age) didn't do it because they weren't interested in voting in the Philippine elections or because, even if they were registered, they did not get to vote (13.3%). A large proportion is composed of those who were aware of the absentee voting but did not register (26.7%). The remaining percentage didn't have the right to vote (14.1%) or did not know about the absentee voting (11.1%). In contrast with what could be expected – taking into account the fact that a larger percentage of men claimed to follow Filipino politics than women – it is the men who more often show their lack of interest in voting (41.8% over 30% of women), whereas women are more often aware of the absentee

voting but did not register (in 35% of the cases, compared to 14.5% of men). It is also striking that proneness to vote doesn't seem to be related to educational attainments. What mostly needs to be underlined is that, even if we consider only the respondents who arrived in Italy in adult age [please refer to Table III.E.5] – that is, the group which, referring to nearly all the indicators which are considered here, is found as the most strongly linked to the country of origin – the percentage of the people who vote remains low: a little more than a third of this group. Finally, it is interesting to observe – with the caution suggested by the small size of absolute values – that the proneness to vote doesn't seem to be related to future plans in terms of naturalization, nor to the intention of returning to live in the Philippines.

**III.E.5 – Have you voted in Philippine elections since the absentee voting took effect in 2004? Why not? By Age at the arrival in Italy (%)**

	<i>Born in Italy or arrived before 6 years old</i>	<i>Arrived in Italy at 6-18 years old</i>	<i>Arrived in Italy after 18 years old</i>
Yes, at least once	0.0	5.6	27.1
Yes, more than once	0.0	0.0	7.7
No	100.0	94.4	65.2
- not interested in voting	13.6	62.5	35.4
- did not know about absentee voting	0.0	12.5	12.5
- aware about absentee voting but did not register	0.0	18.8	34.4
- registered but did not get to vote	0.0	6.3	17.7
- don't have the right to vote (only Italian citizenship)	86.4	0.0	0.0

The reasons for this scant proneness to political participation can be easily understood by reading the interviews with the key informants. Firstly, the high rate of corruption which notoriously characterizes the political life in the Philippines represents a significant deterrent to the expression through voting, especially for those who, being far away, have the even stronger impression of being used:

*What about the contributions of absentee voting to strengthening ties with the Philippines?*

I don't agree. We do not know the person we should vote for and I think this is a way of corrupting us to gain more votes. It's more logical for the Filipinos who live there to choose who to vote (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

I don't think it is very useful, because there isn't an individual thing. You must give voice to... When there are elections, there is no freedom, but corruption (Interview with XXX, 22nd June 2008).

Another problem concerns the substantial extraneousness of the migrants from the political life in the Philippines, especially of those who have by now been away for many years:

People who have been here for 20 years feel they can exercise the right again after a long time because they haven't done that since they left the home country. For some it is a value but for so many they do not even value it. We only have 10% of the registration for the absentee voting. Frustration is one of the reasons as they do not understand the purpose of it. Some who express the vote do not even know the person (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

In my opinion, this is a law that does not apply to many people. I mean if you live here you might not even know the person you are voting for and this is why not many OFWs make use of this benefit (Interview with XXX, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008).

Hence it seems that the law on absentee voting does not yet enjoy legitimization, which would require a more transparent and democratic situation of the Philippine political life. As was remarked polemically by more than one key informant, the expectations of the migrants are of perceiving the closeness of the government authorities, not only through some formal acts, but through the effective comprehension of their needs and difficulties:

I have never seen them. We know that they call us when elections are coming, to ask for our vote. They call us "the new heroes" because it is us who send money to the Philippines. At the City Council you pay 50 cents for a certificate; the Embassy asks for 15 euros, minimum, for offering the same. So, personally, I don't feel them to be really close (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2008).

The following declaration goes in the same direction, and is very polemical with respect to the fact that, often, the resources sent by the migrants end up being used for ostentatious aims:

*How would you assess your collaboration with the Philippine government with respect to the programmes that you carry out?*

Let's not talk about this... no comment. With Filipinos there are always problems with money. And I think that money is a resource only when it becomes an instrument useful to realize something, to fulfil the needs of the community or of other people, but some other times it becomes a big limitation, because it becomes a very strong conditioning element. Unluckily I don't have the elements to explain how much can be spent for a celebration, but I can say that such a lot of money is spent. They put up taxes in order to cover the expenses for any kind of activity, this becomes a very strong conditioning element. Every activity which is carried out involves a considerable amount of money, especially if we are dealing with an activity in the Philippines. And this amount will be taken away from someone... From the families who have to contribute or the government knows very well where to find money for some events which are very visible but that, finally, don't provide any concrete support, any real help (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> June 2008).



In fact, an objective analysis cannot avoid detecting a certain activism by diplomatic and consular authorities. According to the description provided by the Labour Attaché at the Embassy in Rome, the programs and priorities of the Filipino Embassy are the following (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008):

- a welfare program for Filipino workers, called “overseas Filipino workers’ welfare fund”, a kind of insurance for a minimal fee of 16 or 17 euros where benefits include having a loan if you wish to open a business in the Philippines;
- a scholarship program for the education of the sons and daughters of overseas Filipino workers;
- training programs that permit Filipino workers to go back to the Philippines, providing them with technical skills;
- programs for Filipinos who failed and have difficulties going back home (providing them with a ticket);
- training programs addressed to Filipino workers in Italy who want to do other kinds of jobs.

### ***c. Contribution of the Filipino Diaspora to the Development of the Philippines***

Finally, let us consider some important issues related to our objectives: since they came to Italy nearly a third of those interviewed have received requests for assistance to support some community projects in the Philippines, and nearly 40% have supported some projects or activities in the Philippines (by contributing through money, service or in kind); over half plan to contribute to supporting a project or activity in the Philippines; nearly 40% plan to start a business in the Philippines.

We can thus identify a very large number of people who can be mobilized in the field of our project (and again, as can be verified by reading Table III.E.6, a stronger activism in this field by the Filipino community settled in Milan). Another striking fact is the large consensus that these statements find among the members of the non-pure second generation, maybe because of a dissatisfaction with the level of integration that they have achieved in Italy, which drives them to search elsewhere for the realization of their aspirations.

**Tab. III.E.6 – Since you came to Italy, have you....? By Interview area (%)**

	<i>Milan</i>	<i>Rome</i>
Received requests for assistance to support some community projects in the Philippines	37.0	26.3
Ever supported any project or activity in the Philippines	50.5	27.7
Plan to contribute to support a project or activity in the Philippines	60.8	40.6
Plan to start a business in the Philippines	45.9	33.7

The requests for assistance to support some community projects were devoted to the following:

- building churches;
- building and maintaining schools;
- supporting children and orphanages;
- financing emergency support projects;
- contributing to medical assistance;

other aims were scholarship grants, homes for aged people and water pumps.

The list of the interventions to which those interviewed are planning to contribute in the future is very long: houses for homeless people, children's and poor people's assistance, aid to woman victims of violence, scholarship grants, the promotion of tourism, calamity relief, medical centers, infrastructure projects and livelihood assistance. Many people in any case remark that honesty and reliability of the proponents are indispensable conditions to persuade the migrants to contribute to these initiatives.

Finally, the projects to start a business in the Philippines are concentrated in the commercial field and in the field of catering: many people plan to open a restaurant, a shop (a grocery, a baby dress shop, an internet café, a bakery...) or a supermarket. Some plan to open a tourist agency, or to run a piggery, a chemistry, a gasoline station, a resort, a beauty center, or to invest money buying apartments to be rented.

With respect to all the options of involvement, women are those most involved: 32.5% of them had received requests to support some community projects, 44.7% have supported some project or activity, and 57.4% plan to start a business in the Philippines.

Moreover, as the General Consul in Milan clearly explained, entrepreneurial initiatives are not the only way through which migrants can become agents of development:

The main contribution for one would be the remittance of money, 12 to 15 billions dollars, worldwide, not only Italy. The other contribution that they can give would be the transfer of technology, not only to Italy, but to other countries also, what they learn. For example we have this Filipino millionaire or billionaire in the Silicon Valley, in California. He has been conducting workshops in the Philippines on how to start a business, how to be an entrepreneur, and even here there have been workshops about business, about being entrepreneurs, not being merely workers; if you notice, the Chinese would rather sell goods at the *Duomo* than be household helpers, they are more entrepreneurial than Filipinos, the mindset among the Filipinos is that they would like to be secure about their monthly salary, whereas those who sell these toys, they are not sure if they will make money or not, but whenever it rains they will come up with umbrellas, five euro umbrellas. It is more risky than working in a household where you have a fixed monthly salary, but if they prosper, they will become rich people. The Filipinos, right now, they tend to be just workers, not entrepreneurs, so we are trying to change this mindset, but right now the main contribution is the remittances, and then the exchange of technology. At the same time we affect the host country, Italy, with the skills that are contributed, maybe here not so many skills, but the help, because they are able to help in the houses and the mothers of the children are free to work in offices, and they will contribute to their economy (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

As a whole, what emerges from the data is a widespread willingness to invest the savings coming from their work in projects and initiatives geared towards the well-being of the families and communities of origin, but also the necessity of reinforcing the support activities addressed to migrants for a real enhancement of their savings.

### III.F. Plans about the Future

#### ***a. Between the Philippines and Italy...***

The last section of the questionnaire was dedicated to the plans for the future, that is, to probe, in particular, the ideas and opinions of the respondents about the possibility to go back to the Philippines or to stay in Italy, after shedding light on the individual perception of the sense of belonging.

The first question asked was the following: *Having lived both in the Philippines and in Italy, where do you feel most at home?* As could be expected, the large majority answered in the Philippines (58.3%), only a small group (10.9%) answered in Italy, and a significant portion answered in both countries. It is men, more than women, who feel most at home in the Philippines (62% over 55.8% of women), but mostly it is the respondents from Rome who preserve a very solid sense of belonging, given that 80.8% of them declared that they feel more at home in the Philippines (and only 3.8% in Italy). Of course, the more recent the moment of migration to Italy, the stronger the attachment to the country of origin, so that among the newcomers (who arrived in Italy from 2004 on) 85% declared that they felt most at home in the Philippines, a percentage which strongly decreases (29.4%) among those who arrived in Italy before 1986 (the majority of the latter answered in both countries).

But most of all, what is striking is the very large proportion of members of the second generation who feel most at home in the Philippines: more than four respondents out of ten among those who were born in Italy or who arrived here before six years of age, and 6 respondents out of ten among those who arrived in Italy between 6 and 18 years of age, percentages which seem to indicate the capacity of conveying through the different generations the sense of belonging to the country of origin, together, albeit with the likely perception of a certain sense of extraneousness towards the society where they are living (although, as has been seen [please refer to Report 1, III.C. *Life in Italy*], the sense of belonging to Italian society reaches decidedly high levels). At the same time,

we think it significant to mention, once again, the malaise and the sense of exhaustion which, almost inevitably, are typical of the second generation, which is called by many scholars the “generation of sacrifice”, and which is driven to search for some comforting roots in the parents’ country of origin. It is a process which tends to disappear in the ensuing generations, who are devoid of direct witnesses of the ancestral culture, unlike the parents of the second generation.

Those who feel most at home in the Philippines justified this statement by mentioning that their family and their loved ones are in the Philippines (*My whole family is there; I miss my relatives; Despite the economical and social conditions I want to live in the Philippines because my family is there*), but also by referring to their pride in their origins (*I’m proud to be Filipino; I’m Filipino and I love my country; I couldn’t have another home; Filipino heart and soul*), to the nostalgia which, anyway, is always present in the migrants’ life (*It’s my land and I hope to go back; I prefer being at home; It’s my country; I was born in the Philippines and there is no place like your home town; There is no place like home; Home sweet home*) and to the difficulty to really feel integrated in Italy (*Our culture is not accepted here yet; My roots are there and I don’t want to be treated as a second class citizen*).

Those who feel most at home in Italy pointed out, instead, that their family is by now rooted here and that they were able to recreate a “normal” life here (*My family lives here and I work here; My son was born here; Our cultures are similar, my sons study here and I can do my church activities*).

Those who feel most at home in both countries remarked that homesickness is the price to be paid in order to be able to benefit from the opportunities offered by living in a country such as Italy (*The Philippines is my home but I live better in Rome; In Italy I earn enough but my family is in the Philippines; It’s easy to earn money here but in the Philippines it is still beautiful despite poverty*) and that, as time goes on, it is inevitable for them to feel, at the same time, a part of two worlds (*At home I feel good but I live here; My roots are in the Philippines but I’m used to living in Italy for so many years; Feel comfortable here, feel good at home; I have been living here for so long and I feel at home here. When I go back to the Philippines I see many things have changed; In both countries I have my family; My roots are there but my family is here; My heart is in the Philippines, but I have had many experiences here and I have grown fond of it; Job on one side, family on the other; the Philippines is my love country, in Italy I have*

*my family; I already learnt to live as an Italian but I don't forget my origins; Both countries satisfy my needs; I like the Italian climate but I love my country as well).*

Besides, concerning the self-definitions, the large majority consider themselves as Filipinos (56.9%), a percentage which largely exceeds all the others: Filipino-Italian (31.5%), Italian-Filipino (10.2%), and, mostly, Italian (1.5%). As can be inferred by Table III.F.1, the self-definition is closely related to the length of stay in Italy, so that the longer the period spent in Italy, the less common the proneness to consider oneself as Filipino, and the more marked the tendency to have resort to the so called hyphenated identities .

**Tab. III.F.1 – Which of the following best describes yourself? By Year of arrival in Italy (%)**

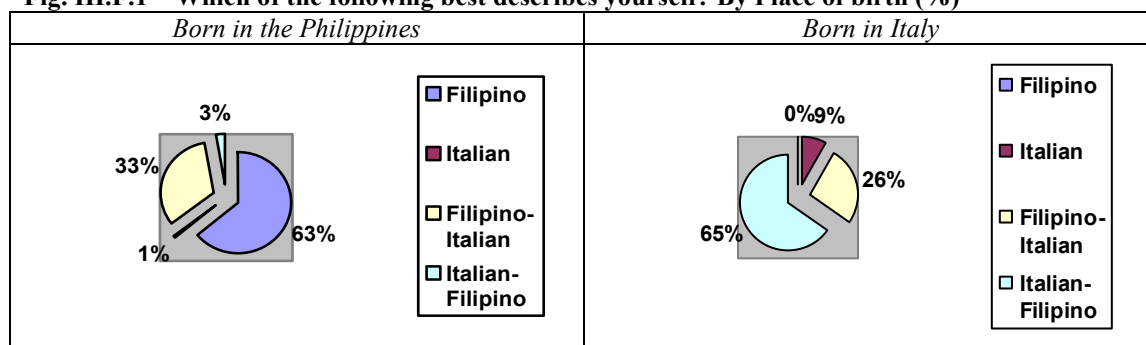
	<i>Between 1972 and 1990</i>	<i>Between 1991 and 1995</i>	<i>Between 1996 and 2000</i>	<i>Between 2001 and 2007</i>
Filipino	33.3	78.9	70.6	76.3
Italian	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6
Filipino-Italian	62.2	18.4	27.5	18.4
Italian-Filipino	4.4	2.6	2.0	2.6
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

These identities are moreover strongly privileged by those who were born in Italy, 65.2% of whom identify themselves with the expression Italian-Filipino, and 26.1% with the expression Filipino-Italian. Only two respondents born in Italy chose the expression Italian in order to describe themselves, which reminds us that the experience of the second generations and the processes of identity construction of the latter – especially within a community distinguished for its strong cohesion and, in some cases, for its self-regarding character, as is the Filipino community in Italy – cannot avoid the logic of a double belonging. In contrast, two thirds of those who were born in the Philippines chose the adjective Filipino and another third the adjective Filipino-Italian, highlighting a very strong attachment to the homeland. This attachment is shared also by the members of the non-pure or improper second generation, half of which define themselves as Filipino and the remaining part is distributed between the choices Filipino-Italian (the most frequent one by far: 44.4%) and Italian-Filipino (5.6%).

The naturalized Italians themselves – in particular those who have only Italian citizenship – are divided between those who chose the expression Italian-Filipino (seven cases out of ten) and those who chose the expression Filipino-Italian (the remaining

three cases out of ten), confirming – according to what, as has been seen, clearly emerged from the interviews [please refer to Report 1, III.C. *Life in Italy*] – that the option for naturalization has a mainly pragmatic function, and doesn't really affect the processes of identity construction.

**Fig. III.F.1 – Which of the following best describes yourself? By Place of birth (%)**



Concerning the projects for the future, only 18.7% exclude the possibility to stay in Italy for a long time; the remaining part of the sample is equally divided between those who are sure to stay in Italy (40.4%) and those who answered don't know, it depends (40.9%). Filipinos living in Milan are more determined to stay in Italy, 50% of these consider staying in Italy for a long time. Paradoxically, it is the respondents who have lived in Italy for a longer time who opt for a prolonged stay in this country: the tendency to stay in Italy for a long time is shared by 47.1% of the migrants who arrived in Italy before 1986; it reduces to 37.8% among those who arrived between 1986 and 2003; it falls to 25% among the newcomers, who arrived in Italy from 2004 on. This makes it evident that, regardless of the initial projects and intentions, the migratory routes are redefined over time, due to life experiences, and not only to available opportunities. Thus it seems reasonable to think that a proportion of those who nowadays are reluctant to accept the hypothesis to stay in Italy for a long time may, within a few years, acquire such an adjustment level to Italian society that they may be led to delay their return. Of interest, furthermore, is the fact that a large group of people who were born in Italy (33.3%) are uncertain concerning this aspect, whereas among the members of the non- pure and improper second generation, 16.7% rule out staying in Italy.

It is not altogether true that acquiring a citizenship will contribute to stronger ties with the Philippines. I know some Filipinos here who became citizens or who were born or grew up here. They do not want to go back home because of some circumstances. It's very expensive to go back home with the whole family, so in a way a gap is somewhat created. They stay here. Children don't speak Tagalog, and all they are acquiring is within the Italian context: culture, education, etc., especially for children who are born here, even by Filipino parents and those of mixed marriages (...).

Those who wish to return are too few, except probably for the elderly migrants who wish to go back home for good when they retire (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2008).

Evidently, the answers to the following question are symmetrical: those interviewed were asked if they were considering returning to live in the Philippines at some point. 40.6% answered "Yes", 17.3% "No", while a significant 42.1% answered "I don't know" (and again it is striking that 22.2% of those who arrived in Italy between 6 and 18 years of age plan to return to the Philippines). 18.2% have short term return projects, within 2010, the modal proportion plan to return within 2018, most likely because it means ten years after the time of interview. In Milan, the group of those who plan to go back to the Philippines is larger than that of Rome, but the date of return is later. It must be underlined that, with respect to the non-pure second generation, the percentage of undecided people is about 50%, compared to little less than a quarter of respondents who declared themselves willing to go back to the Philippines, which appears to be a sign of the restlessness and uneasiness of this group, a large majority of whom plan in any case to stay in Italy for a long time, postponing the date of their return to after 2015.

### ***b. Looking into the Future***

Among those who are planning to go back to the Philippines, we find a large proportion (40.8%, which increases to 46.7% among those lacking legal status) of people who plan to start a business, together with those (30%) who are planning to go back to retire-to relax; the proportion of those undecided is, in any case, quite large (no plans: 17.7%), and these could potentially be involved in a programme for assisted return.

Those who consider returning to live in the Philippines have the aim:

- to rejoin their family (*I want to stay with my family*);



- to spend their retirement there (*When I can no longer work, to enjoy my family; I'm very old, I'm retiring in a few years; I can finally enjoy my pension benefits after 25 years working in Italy*);
- or to start a business (*I've lived and worked abroad for a long time: after saving more money I want to do my business at home; To open a restaurant: there I feel at home*);
- but there are also those who simply evoke nostalgia for their own land (*It's my homeland; I'd like to bring my family back; There is no place like your home town*).

The large area of undecided people often refer to:

- the plans of their relatives and of their children (*It depends on what my family decides to do; If my children come here I'll stay; It depends on the future of children; My children are studying here, it will all depend on the situation*);
- but also the uncertainty of future events (*It depends on how things go; I'm still young and I can't decide now; I am better off here but depend on my family; I'd like to but I don't know if it will be possible*);
- and of the opportunities that may be available in the future (*Not sure what to do when I'm back; It depends, I'd like to go to the UK; If I have enough money to start a business; Depends on my home town development; Depends on the Philippines' economic situation; Still accumulating capital for my planned business; Depends on my studies*).

Those who, instead, rule out the possibility to go back to the Philippines, refer to:

- their rootedness in Italy (*My life is here now, I can earn a living; My family is in Italy; I am better off in Rome*);
- or, more seldom, to the plan of moving elsewhere (*I'd like to join my father in the USA*).

Many people highlighted that the Philippines:

- will always be the place for their holiday (*I like to go there on holiday but I'd not live there*);

- but also a place where it is unthinkable to return, as the conditions of the country do not make this an advisable choice (*Hard life, difficult to find jobs in the Philippines*);
- or because by now they have become Italians (*Just for holiday, my life is here now; Lifestyle is different, I go there just for a holiday, I'm Italian*).

Concerning, finally, those who were born in Italy, for them it is totally natural to stay here (*My life goes on here and I was born in Italy; I was born in Italy and my life is here; I was born in Rome and this is my home*).

The last question of the questionnaire asked the respondents what they would like to achieve in the future for themselves and for their family.

For themselves many respondents wish to be able:

- to go back to the Philippines to have a quiet life and to spend their old age there (*I'd like to have a good pension from Italy and spend my future back in the Philippines; Go back to the Philippines to look after my nephew*);
- to have a proper job (*I'd like to work in a no profit organization helping people in the Philippines; Go back to my country and keep my family together, be a teacher as I used to, but with more savings*);
- or to put up a business (*Go back to the Philippines and open a restaurant; An orchidarium in the Philippines; To be a successful businessman at home and enjoy the fruits of my labour*).

The majority, instead,

- think of stabilizing their economic and patrimonial situation in Italy (*Stay here and save money; Make enough money to pay the house I bought and support my family; Pay my mortgage and finish buying my house*);
- or to reinforce their capacity of saving in order to meet the needs of the family left behind (*Send more money and provide good education for my children; Help the future of my kids; To earn enough for my family's needs*).

Other people's desires go even further:

- migrating to other destinations of the world where the Filipino migration has spread (*Go to the US with my mother and my child; To see my son finish his studies, possibly in the United States*);

- or realizing their dreams (*The best for myself; Realize my dreams; Improve my life...*);
- or they would like for themselves an increasing route of professional mobility (*Have a good, well paid job and learn a profession; I'd like to work as a nurse in a hospital*);
- often through the means of self-employment (*I'd really like to have my own business here in Milan, take a course and become a beautician; Change jobs, maybe open a restaurant or a shop; A good independent job; Be a successful businesswoman*), thus contradicting the stereotype according to which Filipinos are not too prone to independent work.

Some unusual plans are also present, which try to unite, in forms which are not always totally comprehensible, the two shores of the personal and family migratory experience (*Have a well paid job, buy a house in Italy but live in the Philippines; A family, a shop and travel all over the world*).

But mostly, the desire emerges, which is as much simple as shareable, to achieve, in some way, in Italy or in the Philippines, a good “family and working balance”, thanks to better earnings (*Join my family together, be with my children and earn better money; Get a better job and spend time with my family; Time to rest and enjoy family and friends; Go back to my country and have a good time with my family*).

In brief, drawing up the balance of a life spent in working, often compelled to a forced separation from their dear ones, what is mostly desired is the possibility to have a peaceful life, being able to put material concerns behind them and dedicating enough time to the affections which have been unwillingly neglected (*Have a long, pleasant retirement; Earn more to live well with my wife when I'm older*). From this perspective, the emphasis on responsibilities towards the family, and in particular towards their children, is understandable (*Give a good education to my kids so they can have a good future; Be a good mother; Be a good father*) when voiced both by those who were forced to separate from their families and by those who had, in a more or less direct way, the experience of being an “orphan of emigration”.

Moreover, as this key informant reminds us, there have already been many who have returned to the Philippines: “old people like to go back home”:

Usually, as I knew, all the people who had been working here for twenty five years, now they are all in the Philippines. They went back to live there. Because when you have already had... you have already

worked in Italy, you have already tried to have some money, then they go back to the Philippines, to live there, because there old people are respected, unlike here in Italy. This is why all old people like to go back home.

*In the immediate future, will elderly Filipinos keep on returning?*

Normally yes. Those people I know, who have spent already more than twenty years here in Italy, all the people I know, who came with me, when I came, they are all back in the Philippines. There are few people staying here. When they have done twenty or twenty five years of work here they go back to the Philippines, they build a house there. And what we are working on, now, is to allow them to have their pension in the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 10th July 2008).

Also the youngest people, who are making more ambitious plans, do not give up the objective of uniting work and family, of combining professional success with the peacefulness of family life; these are essentially the two objectives which remained unfulfilled in the experience of their parents (*Master in economy and marketing plus a family; University degree, stable job and a beautiful family; A family and a good business; Job, house and children; Job related to my studies, money and house; To be a successful businessman with my family all together*).

Money, health, happiness, success, well-being and peace complete the list of desires.

In accordance with the central role which the family plays in the Filipino culture, personal desires nearly always involve the field of the responsibilities towards the family, shaping a list where restricted space is reserved for the aspirations to self realization in love and in work – typical of an individualistic culture – and large space is devoted, instead, to the sense of duty towards relatives and the aspiration for a peaceful future which, nearly always, also involves other family members (*Earn more to live well with my wife when I'm older; Have a good retirement life in the near future and help the Filipino community in my own little way; A very long-lasting job that could support me and my wife in our old age; Go home after retirement and help my wife with the business; Run my own business and have a good life in my old age with my husband*).

The list of aims to achieve in the future for the family thus tends to replicate that of personal objectives, with a marked emphasis on the desire to guarantee a proper education for the children, so as to allow them to have a better job, higher earnings and financial stability, but mostly with a constant emphasis on good health, peacefulness, long life, and happiness. In short, they wish for their children what they couldn't have (*Study and have a good position in a job, not to worry about money; I'd like my son to be socially integrated, have a good job and a happy and not separated family; Receive*

*good education and have enough money to go on holiday; Have time to relax and not much to worry about; Good health and economic situation: I want them to feel stable, together with their kids; Hope they prosper in their business and are able to provide for their children's education).*

Before concluding, there is an aspect which needs to be analyzed, because we are dealing with a point which was unexpected, but which emerged repeatedly and was underlined in the interviews with the key informants. This is not at all accidental, as, given that the Filipino community is one of the “oldest”, it was natural to expect the issue to arise of the transition to pensionable age of a significant proportion of immigrants. These interviews remind us that the welfare systems and their accessibility have an important role in affecting the individual and family migratory projects, and that, in order to decide on a future return, the possibility to transfer to the country of origin the pension rights acquired in Italy is crucial. These aspects have to be analyzed in detail, by both the home country and the host country, in order to search for governing systems able to enhance the contribution of the migrants to their well-being, while at the same time giving due consideration to their rights and legitimate expectations.

I am 60 and if I want to return to my country I do not have a pension there, it is not transferred by the Italian government (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

The situation of the elderly Filipino migrants, women mostly, is another emerging concern. Many of them have been here for over 30 years! I'm in contact with some and they really don't want to go home because of the most important factor, which is the social service issues, pension if they'll have access to it. Most especially that healthcare is not free in the Philippines, whereas in Italy, it is free even for the workers without papers. So they might opt to stay for as long as they can. I see some of them around here with their families; some are in very precarious conditions because they can't work and therefore don't have enough income. Some don't even have the social pension. Yet they are here because of the availability of social services (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2008).

And the high cost of living is another thing which affects people's decision to stay or leave in the sense that people have to think twice where to retire: I mean in the Philippines we have no universal healthcare so you prefer to retire here because you have the medical coverage along with it and this represents a dilemma (Interview with XXX, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008).

## **IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

According to the most recent data available from the Ministry of the Interior and revised by the National Statistics Institute (ISTAT), as of January 1, 2007, there were 76,413 immigrants from the Philippines in Italy, representing a 3.2% share in the total of foreigners with a residence permit. Even if their number is more than doubled between 1991 and 2007 their share in the total of immigrants has steadily been declining since 1999 and today they represent the 7<sup>th</sup> largest immigrant group in Italy and second among the Asian groups. In other words, the Filipino community presents a numerical progression similar to those of the other foreign communities of long standing, like the Moroccans and the Tunisians that, although increased in numbers, have diminished their relative presence against the other foreigners, especially after the last amnesty, launched in 2002.

The Filipinos are based mainly in the cities of Milan and Rome, and the reason for this distribution is tied to the particular specialization in domestic work that Filipinos are noted for and, of course, to the functioning of the migration chain. Over time, it has assumed a settled (i.e., permanently based) and familial (i.e., having families) character, becoming an integral part of the population of two urban centers – Milan and Rome – where our study took place. What had once been a predominantly female group ten years ago has now been transformed into a more equitably represented group, gender – and age-wise; besides, the characteristic of having been long-term residents makes the consistent number of the second generation born in Italy begin to assume importance, and though they are still mostly of primary school age, their assimilation into society and the job market will become key factors in the future of the Filipino community in Italy.

Even if, from the perspective of the home country, the Filipino community in Italy may appear but a drop in the ocean in the overall Filipino emigration abroad – directed primarily to the United States of America, Saudi Arabia, Japan, Malaysia, and Australia

– within Europe, however, Italy is one of the principal destinations. Above all, recognizing the right of family reunification, the Italian legislation favoured the emergence of a migratory model totally different from that of the temporary overseas worker celebrated in the Philippines as the new national hero for his remittances that keep its economy afloat. Such circumstances make the study of transnational practices of Filipino immigrants living in Italy, and the research on the role of the Filipino diaspora in Italy in the development of the communities of origin, of great interest, within an international landscape where the traditional distinctions – starting from those between temporary migrations and permanent migrations and between labour migrants and non-labour migrants – appear to be more and more obsolete.

As previously noted [Report 1, II.B, *Locating the MAPID Study and its Expected contribution*], given the increasingly marked interest, at an international level, in the relationship linking migrations and the development of the country of origin and in the initiatives of co/development implemented by migrants and based on the potential of the transnational social capital accumulated by them thanks to the migratory experience, we think it advisable to note a lack in the scene of Italian literature on Filipino migrations, that is, the shortage of works analysing in depth the interventions of co-development, if any, put into effect by these migrants or by the associations they founded. Being characterized by a high propensity to save money and send remittances, a very flourishing associational life, a powerful system of ties and linkages with the home country, a clear interest by the latter to mobilize the Diaspora, the Filipino community in Italy is an excellent case to which to address this kind of study.

Besides a description of the general life conditions of the Filipino immigrants living in Milan and in Rome (with special attention to their work and family life and to the main emerging concerns of the Filipino community settled in Italy), the expected contribution of our study was, therefore, to focus the attention on issues such as Filipino immigrants' earnings, behaviour related to money such as savings, consumption and remittances; membership in Filipino immigrants' organizations or in other kinds of organizations; ties with the Philippines; knowledge, opinions and interest related to co-development; experiences in dealing with Philippine government institutions; participation in the life of the host society and experiences in dealing with institutions in Italy; plans for the future. Special attention was also addressed to the features, objectives and activities of the Filipino immigrants' associations, their relationship with the Philippine government,

with Italian institutions and with the Consulate or Embassy, their capacity to become agents of change in relation to the home and to the host country, their interest, knowledge, opinions and previous experiences linked to co-development, and the support they receive from the Embassy or Consulate or from the Philippine government in this field.

More analytically, the expected contribution of the MAPID study is:

- To realize a quantitative study in order to evaluate the possibility to generalize the indications provided by the qualitative analysis about Filipino immigration in Italy, particularly with reference to the transnational configuration of Filipino immigrants' family, the problem of children left behind, the immigrants' ties and linkages with the Philippines, the associational life, their future plans and, in particular, their intention to stay in Italy for a long time or to return to the Philippines at some point;
- To explore the professional mobility prospects of the Filipino immigrants living in Italy, their perception of the available opportunities, their strategies and, in particular, the opportunities of insertion concerning the second generations born in Italy or arrived in the country at an early age;
- To provide information about the Filipino immigrants attitude toward citizenship (Filipino citizenship, Italian citizenship, dual citizenship) and toward absentee voting;
- To offer a comprehensive picture of the Filipino associations, their organizational features, their aims, their strengths and weaknesses, their internal structure, their role in supporting Filipino immigrants' integration in the Italian society, their involvement in the field of development of the origin country;
- To grasp the relationship between emigrations and home countries development, collecting information about immigrants' attitude to send remittances for various purposes, to contribute to fund raising campaign, and to invest money in business initiatives;
- To collect suggestions for the organization of the training program, concerning both its contents and its organizational aspects.

The results presented in this Report 1 allow us, firstly, to develop some considerations related to the relationship between the Filipino community and Italian society.



In the Italian mentality, Filipino immigration has been synonymous, at least up to now, with a hard-working and unobtrusive presence, almost invisible because they are cloistered within the thousands of homes where the majority of these immigrants work as home helps or caregivers. Over time, the community was able to establish a reputation for reliability, which has permitted them to command significantly higher wages than other immigrant labour doing the same line of work. They are loyal and cohesive within their own social groups, with whom they socialize regularly congregating in meeting places historically defined as such (e.g., Catholic churches designated as socio-cultural centers). The term “*filippina*” has become synonymous with domestic helper, regardless of actual nationality or work role, a loyal and deferential all-around worker, obedient and servile towards the mistress. This social representation has given rise to dozens of research studies and even to an enlightened television spot where an Italian assumes, without first asking, that the doorbell ringer with the Filipino-like physiognomy is the new housemaid and proceeds to advise her on what detergent to use (it turns out she is a visiting professor of chemistry and new to the condominium).

The Filipino community enjoys a strong and highly appreciated presence in the job market, having the lowest percentage of unemployed compared with the other foreign groups. According to the results of our survey, only 1.3% of male and 4.4% of female respondents are looking for a job – percentages well below the corresponding quota of Italian workers – and, despite their modest income, more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the respondents say they are satisfied or even very satisfied with their earnings in Italy, bearing out a level of expectation in line with the opportunities available. In describing their work experience in Italy they don’t hesitate to evoke the affectionate nature of the “*family*” type relationships that grow up between Filipino workers and Italian families, which, far from being stigmatised because of their “pre-modern” or patronising nature, result for this reason as being particularly appreciated.

At the same time they are minimally involved in upward mobility as far as work is concerned (outside of the transition from live-in domestic work to that paid by the hour) and almost totally extraneous to entrepreneurial initiatives: only 5.3% of male respondents, and no female respondents, declared themselves to be entrepreneurs or self-employed. And, even if recent testimony attests to new job opportunities outside the usual niche associated with the group, including self-employment (mostly in the

same sector – like janitorial services – which represents an extension of sorts of domestic work), this is an evolution that for the moment, at least, is incapable of influencing the prejudices, positive and negative, towards the Filipinos. Actually, asked about the main reasons why Filipinos are concentrated in the domestic work sector in Italy, the respondents stress the fact that it's the easiest job to find, especially thanks to the very good reputation of Filipino domestic workers. At the same time, even if a full 38.5% of those interviewed claim to have taken steps or planned to take on a different type of job in the next five years, when pressed to explain their answer, those interviewed manifested low-profile planning skills lacking in real strategies for professional mobility. In other words, the plan of putting up a business, expressed by many interviewees, is not corroborated by any concrete initiative, in adequate numbers or quality to enable us to prefigure a route which could be emulated by others (which occurred, in contrast, in other immigrant groups). Finally, despite a distribution by profession that for many has meant a step down in status from the work they did before emigration (the “dequalification” process is in Italy so marked that it becomes a distinguishing trait of the Italian case and so widespread that it is taken into account even before emigrating) almost eight respondents out of ten declare themselves to be wholly satisfied or even very satisfied with regard to the work experience in Italy.

Within this framework it is important to underline, however, that, regarding the job prospects of their children (or of other young Filipinos) in Italy, almost 8 out of 10 people interviewed think that most of them will enter into different kinds of work, a percentage that expresses clearly that the strategies of social (and professional) mobility are planned with the future generations in mind, in accordance with the hypothesis of the straight line theory. The great majority of those who foresee that they will enter into different kinds of work point out, in the first place, the relevance of investments in education, acting as a driving force to obtain a better job, emphasising that domestic work is not the fate assigned by nature to Filipino workers. Actually, the working conditions of the young people born in Italy are already manifesting a certain emancipation from the more markedly ethnicised occupational niche of the Italian labour market, although the attaining of non-manual jobs is still in no way generalised. Finally, questioned about the strategic levers that a young person can use in order to have a good future in Italy, the young descendants of the Filipino immigration embrace with conviction a prospect of equal rights (sealed by naturalisation) and of equal

opportunities, consider it a priority to invest in education at university level and manifest the same good level of autonomy and selectivity regarding the labour demand as do their Italian peers. Whether or not the Italian labour market will be capable of acknowledging the expectations of these “children of immigration” is a moot point, and a motive for apprehension on the part of their parents.

To sum up the relationship between Filipino immigrants and Italian society, we can affirm that the strong point of this community lies in “not creating problems”, thanks to their own work ethic, their respect for promises given – which seems to have much more value than respect for the immigration laws – and in the essential avoidance of its members of deviant behaviour (with the exception of self-abuse behaviours such as drug abuse, which, however, do not appear to create problems for Italians). All this makes for a good reputation, which enables them to steer round some of the obstacles that make daily life difficult for many immigrants of other nationalities. But it also makes for a low-profile integration model which, despite the affirmation – almost rhetorical – of the process of professional “disqualification”, ends up by remaining firmly anchored to the frame of thought that has led to the term “Filipino “ becoming synonymous with domestic helpers in Italy.

Regarding family life, as is well known, one of the characteristic of the Philippine immigration to Italy is gender composition, with a female predominance due to the types of occupations available and to the expectations of women in their country of origin – where they are considered more reliable than the men, including in contributing to the family well-being thanks to their remittances. As stressed by a lot of authors, both in the home and in the host country, this female immigration has brought about not only the proliferation of motherless families, but also a new development in the traditionally sex-differentiated division of labour, whereby the women now assume the role of family breadwinner, keeping unaltered at the same time their expressive role. Actually, our results confirm only partially this kind of interpretation. Certainly they reassert the extraordinary proportions of the phenomenon of children left behind: 6% of those interviewed have 0-5 year-old children living in the Philippines; the number of those interviewed who left children between 6 and 10 years of age in the Philippines goes up to 10%, only slightly lower than that of parents separated from children aged between 11 and 14 (12%); almost as widespread is the presence of adolescent children left behind,

from 15 to 17 (8.5%), whereas a good 13% of respondents have children of age living in the Philippines. Overall, nearly one immigrant's child out of two is living divided from at least one of his/her parents. Although fathers are moderately more numerous among those separated from their children in order to emigrate (the male respondents who declare having young children in the Philippines are around double in number compared with the female respondents), the problem of the children left behind involves fully the mothers themselves: 15.4% of mothers with children from 0 to 5 years old live separated from them, as do 23.1% of mothers with children from 6 to 10 and a full 38.5% of mothers with children from 11 to 14. There are quite a few indicative percentages regarding the dramatic proportions of the problem, which also involves, in a decidedly disproportionate manner, immigrants who have not yet obtained a residence permit, who, in addition to their more precarious economic situation, do not have the legal requisites to bring over their families (nor to visit them in their homeland, which would compromise their possibility to enter Italy again). This is the sign of a migratory culture which, evidently, is by now legitimizing the model of the family divided by emigration. Nevertheless, our research work contradicts the commonplace according to which the fathers are substantially disengaged with respect to care- giving tasks. Even if the relative majority of immigrant mothers entrust their children to other females relatives, more than one third designate their partner as primary care giver of their children left behind, and a further 10% indicate other male relatives. It seems, thus, that the process of crossing traditional gender borders is reaching a high degree of evolution with regard to the reproductive functions, showing the high potential of transformation implied in emigration.

Albeit in constant growth – if we consider its overall proportions – the incidence of the population of Filipino immigrants in Italy, as has previously been pointed out, has diminished in terms of percentage with respect to the total number of immigrants, due to the growth of the weight of the communities of recent immigration. Considering the specificities of the Filipino integration model–based on decidedly ethnicised employment relationships and on a very low involvement in deviant behaviours – this evolution contributed, for Filipinos, to a loss of centrality within the migratory Italian landscape. Moreover the initiatives of mobilization put into effect by Filipino immigrants within the public context are sporadic, and decidedly not very showy. In

contrast, in very recent years, the activism by other groups of immigrants in the public sphere, mostly for the claiming of their rights and the denunciation of xenophobic episodes, has been exponentially increasing. In a period in which the Italian administration is starting to involve, much more frequently compared with the past, the immigrants' networks and associations (in accordance to the guideline indicated by the EU), the invisibility of the Filipino community risks becoming a strongly penalizing factor. The reflection on associational practice is therefore strategic, given that associations are not only the main form of Filipinos' presence in the public sphere – as has already been shown in detail [please refer to III.D., *Associational Life*] – but also the emerging interlocutor of local administrations. Beyond the considerations which will be developed in the report specifically dedicated to associations – which is mainly the outcome of some interviews addressed to the people responsible for associations – there are some points which are worth mentioning here, based on the interviews with immigrants and with key informants.

As a matter of fact, what emerged from the survey is an immigrant community decidedly more heterogeneous – from the standpoint of life conditions and of income levels, but also, and mostly, concerning the plans for the future – than what we are usually led to think, partly due to a self representation, not devoid of some rhetorical elements, in the terms of a homogeneous community with a high degree of unity. The desirable evolution of the Filipino associational practice – so as to enable it to fulfil needs and expectations which were not restricted to aggregational aims or objectives of mutual support in the most difficult phases of the migratory experience – should, hence, undergo a gradual renouncement of its purely ethnic elements and of its exclusive focus on the dimension of its context of origin, towards an increasingly functional specialization, going hand in hand with a more marked professionalization (given that voluntary work, within a community which is so much involved in the work for the market, is one of the main factors of weakness of these associations).

A further desirable evolution – which concerns the world of associations but which also goes beyond it – is what could be defined as an evolution of the culture of migration. As is evidently shown by the experience of the generation of those born in Italy (none of which, meaningfully, is involved in associational practices) and as is shown even more clearly by the experience of the members of the “impure” second generation (wavering against their will between two worlds which both appear to them as extraneous), the

widespread culture of migration, at least shared by those affiliated to the associations, seems not to have transformed in concomitance with the changing of the features of the Filipino presence in Italy. The fact is eloquent that, after thirty years of migration in Italy, in the description of the associations' features and main aims, the function of aggregation and of compensation is decidedly prevailing with respect to the claim for participation in Italian society. There are, actually, some experiences at the cutting edge of the Filipino associational world, which are represented by some active agents prompt to grasp the promotional opportunities offered by the external context, but we are dealing with some sporadic cases which are not always playing a driving role with respect to their countrymen.

It must be borne in mind that – as has been hinted at – the emerging attention towards the immigrants' associations, which have been identified by many administrations as the potential subjects promoting and managing the projects of co-development financed by the local bodies, has deeply transformed the structure of Filipino associations' opportunities. Our research, however, gave us a picture of an associational practice full of weaknesses. Here we will mention just some of them:

- in the list of the projects or activities undertaken by the Filipino organizations, the religious activities come first, followed by cultural-recreational-social activities and support services and assistance (legal, health, counselling, etc.), whereas a very residual attention is assigned to the programmes specifically directed at overseas Filipinos and to the activities relating to the collection and management of financial funds and entrepreneurial promotion;
- in first place among the reasons for the choice of association is the possibility to meet/to be with fellow Filipinos, a reason shared by 2/3 of respondents, coherent with a circumscribed horizon of associations' projects;
- the aim to preserve institutions and traditional values put at risk in the impact with Italian society is probably even more strongly perceived as urgent than the objective of integration into Italian society, and of promoting some authentically empowering actions in this direction (it is actually more frequent that associations work as a mechanism of accreditation for access to employment or to some other social opportunities which are already largely controlled by the Filipino community, rather than facilitating a change in the model of incorporation);

- the experiences of cooperation in which associations are engaged involve to a decidedly prevalent extent the Philippine Embassy/Consulate and in a very sporadic way the Italian government or NGOs or other immigrant groups in Italy;
- the level of involvement of affiliates (independently of what has been said regarding our respondents), and above all their willingness to carry out demanding projects, is strongly inhibited by the limited time available for such a hard-working population and by a lack of paid professionals and not only voluntary workers, in the awareness that this would be a fundamental step towards the undertaking of more ambitious projects:
- another element of weakness is accountable for by the phenomenon of “inflation” of the associational structures, both the cause and the effect of an antagonism fed by the search for a personal assertion on the part of the many aspiring community leaders;
- finally, as regards the associations’ role as agents of development for the Philippines, only a modest number of them – around one out of five – result as being involved in livelihood assistance, relief/calamity assistance and support of infrastructure projects such as houses, schools and water wells. Again, as regards their potentialities and limits, the former are rooted in the first instance in the great altruism of this community, with a firm religious basis and not without a vein of patriotism; the limits are the difficulties to transform the generosity and altruism into institutionalised practices of socialisation of the risks and into the promoting of a self-driving development in the communities of origin.

Given all these elements of weakness it can be stated that the MAPID project is very timely, as it is in accordance with the needs expressed – and mostly unexpressed – of the associational experiences which are trying to achieve the empowerment which is necessary in order to access the new structure of opportunities which has taken shape in Italy.

Some words are also needed to describe the attitude of Italian society towards immigration. Over the last few years, the issue of immigration has undergone in Italy – a country which was used to consider itself and to represent itself in the role of home

country – a sort of normalization; concerning both its indissoluble link with the daily functioning of society, and the attitude of public opinion, which, in a way, “metabolized” the migratory phenomenon as a structural aspect of Italian society. Even if it is preparing to think about some reforms (about citizenship, about political rights to be recognized to foreign residents), yet Italian society, at the same time, is qualified by an attitude of strong and widespread concern with respect to immigration; a concern which is fuelled by the feeling of an overall incapacity to govern the phenomenon (testified by the number of undocumented immigrants, and mostly by the high incidence of the irregulars among the new comers which attest to a spontaneous migratory process, which is taking place autonomously, regardless of any legal procedure<sup>1</sup>), by the large presence of immigrants in petty and organized crime, by the worry that immigrant workers may be threatening competitors for Italian workers, especially within the framework of the current recession. Within this context, the processes of mobilization of immigrants in the public sphere are acquiring a strategic function in enhancing an image of immigrants as subjects who don’t avoid the duty of participation and of undertaking responsibilities also on a collective level. It is important, in this concern, to remember – besides the considerations already made about Filipino associations – that only a mean 3.5% of respondents are members or officers of non-Filipino organizations. It is also meaningful to mention the indications gathered about the orientations concerning citizenship - not so much for their innovative character, or for the worry they evoke, but rather for the reflections which they can suggest. In the first place, the data collected definitely contradict the stereotype according to which Filipino immigrants are reluctant towards naturalization - a stereotype which must be reformulated, instead, in the following terms: Filipino immigrants are reluctant to accept the idea of losing their Filipino citizenship, as is shown by the fact that the interest in naturalization immediately increased just after the legislative reforms which made it possible to acquire dual citizenship. At the moment, 13.5% of interviewees have acquired Italian citizenship. Among the members of the second generation, only a minority don’t have Italian citizenship, but, anyway, have requested it (even if this implies losing Philippine citizenship). Concerning the members of the first generation, the opportunity to keep the citizenship of origin seems to have totally dispelled every

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<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, within our sample, more than 11.5% of the respondents entered Italy without having any permit, 60.3% used a tourist visa, with a much higher weight of that of the situations where the immigrant had a permit.



resistance: 28.7% of those who are not yet naturalized think they will do so in the near future, once the conditions to do it have been acquired, and a smaller percentage (26.9%) don't rule out this possibility. Finally, it is advisable to add that, if the majority of our respondents are aware of their opportunity to have dual citizenship (that is, of acquiring Italian citizenship without having to renounce that of origin), there is a sizeable 34.5% who are not informed about this possibility, and this could lead us to expect a further increase in the number of naturalized people in the future. Moreover – but we are not dealing with a totally unexpected datum – the interest in Italian citizenship has a nearly exclusively instrumental meaning; it is not valued for its symbolic meaning and for its linkage with the dimension of identity, nor – apart from a few exceptions – as a means for a more complete integration, but, rather, as a “safe conduct” with regard to a bureaucracy which is perceived as complicated and, to some extent, harassing and as a useful instrument to allow entry into Italy for other members of the family. Paradoxically, the Italian citizenship is, above all, seen as the means of keeping intact their link to the Philippines, as it offers the freedom to move freely between the two countries. Only for members of the second generation does Italian citizenship assume a significance that is not merely instrumental but truly evocative of a sense of belonging to and identification with Italian society.

Finally, concerning the linkages with the Philippines, the most salient data are the following. Firstly, over 90% of the sample claimed to still have active ties/links with the Philippines. Even among those born in Italy, more than 70% claimed to have active ties/links with the Philippines, showing that, in the current international scenarios, the adjective transnational can be applied also to the second generations. Furthermore, transnational families represent the norm in the context of the Filipino community settled in Milan and Rome: only 20% of those interviewed claim not to have any original household member remaining in the Philippines. For over 80% of the sample the last visit to the Philippines dates back to the preceding year (from 2004 on), for about half to 2007 or 2008 (it has to be considered that the interviews were carried out in the months of June and July 2008) and for 35.2% to 2004-2006. Meanwhile, the marital choices of those living in Italy – including those who were born here or who arrived during their adolescence – reveal a marked preference for endogamy. In addition, the large majority of the sample (85.5%) try to be constantly informed about

the events and happenings (outside family matters) in the Philippines, by using, firstly, news from family and friends and then the newspapers/magazines produced by Filipinos in Italy or sold in Italy and the connection to the Internet. Immediate family members, other relatives and friends are the main connections to the Philippines (they are indicated by more than 8 respondents out of 10). Actual or planned investments/businesses, together with the support of some projects in the Philippines, have a definitively minor role, involving only 10-15% of the sample, although it must be underlined that they involve a significant number of Filipino immigrants in Italy (if we relate these percentages to the dimensions of the Filipino community in Italy). Actually, more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of respondents claim to have some interest in business opportunities, a percentage that constitutes quite a significant group of immigrants.

It's very difficult to identify the conditions which promote transnational practices. The most obvious answer is the fact that they are conditioned by the immigrants' family situation. As emphasized in the previous chapters, the migratory choices and strategies can be understood only by taking account of the economy of the family, of its framework of reciprocal obligations and of its strategies of accumulation and risk differentiation, according to what the migration studies highlighted. A datum which is actually striking if we consider the high incidence of male and, mostly, of female unmarried immigrants, who, all the same, show some life and work strategies strongly influenced by the duty towards their family of origin, or their extended family, with some consequences both on the personal level– for example the renouncement, more or less voluntary, of the creation of their own elective family – and on the collective level – in terms of “taking away” of some resources which could be invested in projects able to produce wealth. As has previously been highlighted, the theme of family economy surely needs special attention within the framework of our project, given the centrality which the family, and its system of mutual obligations, have in the contemporary Filipino culture, and, specifically, in the culture of migration.

Concerning the participation in the political life of the country of origin, the first relevant datum concerns the fact that only 28.5% of the sample declared that they had voted in the Philippine elections, usually just once. But, mostly, it is striking that of those who didn't vote, the relative majority didn't do it because they weren't interested in voting. What mostly needs to be underlined is that, even if we consider only the

respondents who arrived in Italy in adult age – that is, the group which, referring to nearly all the indicators which are considered here, is found as the most strongly linked to the country of origin – the percentage of the people who vote remains low: a little more than a third of this group. Another factor which restrains political participation (it must be remembered that voter turnout is most likely similar to that of many other groups of people residing abroad) is, firstly, the high rate of corruption which notoriously characterizes the political life in the Philippines, together with the substantial extraneousness of the immigrants from the political life in the Philippines, especially of those who have by now been away for many years. On the other hand, the expectations of the immigrants are of perceiving the closeness of the government authorities, not only through some formal acts, but through the effective comprehension of their needs and difficulties.

Finally, it's very remarkable to observe that, despite a significant length of stay in Italy, the large majority of respondents (almost six immigrants out of ten) claim to feel most at home in the Philippines, only a small group in Italy, and a sizeable proportion answered in both countries. Of course, the more recent the moment of migration to Italy, the stronger the attachment to the country of origin; however, it is striking that a very large proportion of members of the second generation feel most at home in the Philippines: more than four respondents out of ten among those who were born in Italy or who arrived here before six years of age, and 6 respondents out of ten among those who arrived in Italy between 6 and 18 years of age, percentages which seem to indicate the capacity of conveying through the different generations the sense of belonging to the country of origin, together with the likely perception of a certain sense of extraneousness towards the society where they are living (although the sense of belonging to Italian society reaches decidedly high levels, according to the answers provided in another section of the questionnaire). The presence of their family and their loved ones, the pride in their origins and the sense of nostalgia, together with the difficulty to really feel integrated in Italy, are the main reasons why the respondents feel most at home in the Philippines. Besides, concerning the self-definitions, the large majority consider themselves as Filipinos (56.9%), a percentage which largely exceeds all the others: Filipino-Italian (31.5%), Italian-Filipino (10.2%), and mostly Italian (1.5%). Four respondents out of ten are considering returning to live in the Philippines

at some point, while another four are uncertain in this concern; consequently, only a minority rule out this hypothesis. Among those who are planning to go back to the Philippines, we find a large proportion (40.8%) of people who plan to start a business: their projects are concentrated in the commercial field and in the field of catering: many people plan to open a restaurant, a shop (a grocery, a baby dress shop, an internet café, a bakery...) or a supermarket. Some plan to open a tourist agency, or to run a piggery, a chemistry, a gasoline station, a resort, a beauty center, or to invest money buying apartments to be rented.

About the contribution of the Filipino Diaspora to the development of the origin country it must be added that, since they came to Italy nearly a third of those interviewed have received requests for assistance to support some community projects in the Philippines, and nearly 40% have supported some projects or activities in the Philippines (by contributing through money, service or in kind); over a half plan to contribute to supporting a project or activity in the Philippines.

All things considered, what emerges from the data is a widespread willingness to invest the savings coming from their work in projects and initiatives geared towards the well-being of the families and communities of origin, but also the necessity of reinforcing the support activities addressed to immigrants for a real enhancement of their savings.



## Report 2

# Filipino Migrants' Associations in Italy



## **I. INTRODUCTION**

### **I.A. Policies and Social Environment in Italy Supporting Migrants' Associations**

Despite the fact that migrants' associations have been part of Italian society for about three decades and that their number is by now considerable, their weaknesses are still substantial and their role in the Italian political and social life quite restricted. Let's try to briefly give an account of the institutional context which is the framework of this situation.

From the beginning of the '90s up to now, the policies concerning immigration and, hence, immigrants' associations, have tended to fall under the competence of local administrations. Also concerning the possibility to receive financing from Italian public institutions, the national laws on Migration provide for the allocation of some financial resources to regional or local administrations, which should have a direct contact with migrants' associations. In fact, in order to access these funding opportunities, migrants' associations have to be entered in the specially provided regional registers. As a consequence of the decentralization of these policies, the world of immigrants' associations became more and more diversified in its features, taking on different traits according to the local context (Pizzolati, 2007). However, a common tendency can be found, which qualifies many immigrants' associations on a national scale, that is, the tendency to direct their interest and action only at a community level (Caponio, 2005).

In fact, although many local administrations, through their declarations and regulations, fuel the rhetoric of the necessity of enhancing the participation and the involvement of immigrants' associations in the local decisional processes and interventions directed towards immigrants, these groups tend to maintain a marginal role also on a local level (Pizzolati, 2007).

One of the factors identified by some scholars as contributing to the weakness and marginality of the immigrants' associations is the presence, within the Italian context, of



many associations for immigrants: consolidated groups of native people, who, for many years, have made themselves well known on a local level for providing assistance to migrant people. These bodies, which in some cases can intervene in supporting and empowering immigrants' associations, more often act, with respect to the latter, as a sort of powerful and favoured competitor in the allocation of the grants coming from public institutions. Local administrations, in fact, tend to choose these native associations as privileged mediators between them and the immigrants' communities, to entrust them, instead of immigrants' associations themselves, with the main responsibilities concerning the governance of immigrant people and, hence, to provide them with most of the money allocated to this end. This attitude strongly contributes to weakening the participation of immigrants' associations, as immigrants tend to be considered as subjects to be assisted rather than as active agents of their integration (Zanfrini, 1997; Caponio, 2005). As a self-fulfilling prophecy, this attitude towards immigrants tends to really turn them into passive subjects and doesn't give immigrants' associations the opportunity to augment their experience and competence.

In this regard, it is interesting to observe a recent change in the behaviour of local administrations which, spurred by the interest shown by the European Union for all matters concerning co-development and by its financial engagement in this concern, started announcing frequent calls for proposals addressed to immigrants' associations willing to promote co-development initiatives in their members' country of origin. This recent flurry of interest in co-development and openness towards immigrants' associations could produce an important change in the behaviour of Italian institutions towards immigrants, turning it from a substantially assistential attitude into an active involvement and participatory approach, a change which could lead to a process of mobilization of immigrants' associations.

## I.B. Objectives of this Report

One of the main objectives of the MAPID project, which constitutes the framework of the piece of research presented in this report, is intervening on the conditions of Filipino migrants' associations, in order to empower them and, in particular, to contribute to improving their capacity for promoting co-development initiatives.

The choice of intervening specifically on this aspect of the Filipino community living in Italy, that is FAOs (Filipino Associations Overseas), by organizing a training program addressed to their active members, is linked, firstly, to our firm conviction, based on the findings of many international research studies, in migrants' associations high potential for the promotion of transnational interventions of co-development. Among the several phenomena linked to international migrations and capable of fueling the exchanges and relationships between different national contexts, the phenomenon of associationism is peculiar for its capability of structuring activities and objectives, of creating a means of intermediation between individuals and institutions of the host and of the receiving country and of generating and reproducing social capital (Ceschi and Stocchiero, 2006). Hence, given our objective, that is promoting the development of the Philippines through the transnational interaction of Filipino migrants and of the Philippine institutions involved in migration and development, Filipino migrants' associations are a stakeholder not to be set aside and to be analyzed in detail in order to adjust our initiative on the real need of its target.

This second report, then, will focus on the associative life of the Filipino community living in Italy and, in particular, on the functions, structure, main features, strengths and weaknesses of FAOs based in the areas of Rome and Milan that is in the two urban areas where the largest Filipino communities living in Italy are settled. Special attention will be dedicated to the interest, opinions and experiences shared by active members of FAOs with respect to the theme of co-development, an aspect which has been very seldom explored by the Italian sociological literature. By the acronym FAO we will mean every group with a minimum level of institutionalization composed mainly of Filipino migrants.

After mapping out a profile of FAOs and identifying their main resources, functions and training needs, we prepared a directory of Filipino migrants' organizations based in

Milan and Rome, that we hope will become a landmark for the creation of networks linking FAOs and Philippine institutions involved in migration and development and, possibly, for the creation of collaboration between Italian NGOs, associations and public institutions and migrants' associations.

This directory will be published in the Mapid website.

## I.C. A Brief Description of Data Collection

This report will be based on the results emerging from the research which was conducted between May and November 2008 by a team of eleven researchers operating in the areas of Rome and Milan.

In order to offer a detailed picture of the features of the FAOs based in these areas, their objectives, their main strengths and weaknesses, their internal structure and their relationship with other Filipino and Italian institutions and organizations and their opinions, interest and previous experiences in the field of co-development, we will take into account some quantitative and qualitative data. The instruments used for the data collection are a questionnaire, combined with some open questions, addressed to officials or active members of FAOs – forty of these questionnaires were filled in, twenty in Rome and twenty in Milan – and an in-depth interview addressed to some key informants – twenty five of these interviews were carried out, ten in Milan and fifteen in Rome –.



## **II. RESEARCHING FILIPINO MIGRANTS' ASSOCIATIONS IN OTHER ASPECTS OF THE FILIPINO COMMUNITY LIFE**

### **II.A. Review of the Literature about Migrants' Associations in Italy**

The sociological literature concerning migrants' associations based in Italy is still quite scarce and our knowledge in this field unsatisfactory, as the few research works concerning this issue usually investigate the situation of migrants' associations in a marginal way, basing on a very restricted sample or on a single ethnic group, or taking into account only some of its several implications.

The sociological literature produced at Italian and international level on the theme of immigrants' associations suggests instead that the study of this phenomenon must involve multiple factors, from those linked to the internal structural and cultural features of the ethnic communities, to those concerning the presence of a surrounding associational network, its main characteristics and influences, if any, up to those related to the institutional and legislative context (Pizzolati, 2007).

Despite these limitations, the Italian literature available on this issue gives some indications as to various aspects of the phenomenon of associationism among immigrants. Some studies highlight, for example, that the immigrants' proneness to create associations seems to be related to the length of stay of the ethnic community, as a longer stay could imply a privatization of the integration strategies, a fact which contributes to weakening the ethnic identity and the need to create associations (Palidda and Consoli 2006). Besides, immigrants whose origins are rooted in cultural contexts which are similar to the Italian one have a more restricted need to go beyond informal networks of solidarity and to constitute formal associations. In contrast, the immigrants coming from contexts which are culturally and geographically very far from the Italian one (Tarozzi, 1998), need to constitute associations in order to reinforce and reproduce

identity linkages and to try to face the stigmatization processes put into effect by the host society (Palidda and Consoli, 2006). The dimension of an ethnic community doesn't seem to necessarily affect the number of associations existing inside it and their level of organization, whereas the tendency to create associations is influenced by the migratory models and the groups' resources (Caponio, 2005). Some scholars, moreover, tend to state that the active participation of immigrants in associations is a factor which favours their integration into Italian society ((Recchi, 2006), but there are also some studies based on the idea that this is not necessarily and always the case (Palidda and Consoli, 2006), as the tendency to integration or exclusion is very different according to each ethnic group, regardless of the density of its associative life. The choice of some immigrants' associations who give to a native person a central position in the decisional process of the group seems to be a sign of willingness to integrate into the local context, as this can be a good strategy for creating collaborations with some local stakeholders (Carchedi, 2000).

The Italian sociological literature available on this phenomenon also allows us to outline some basic features of the Italian immigrants' associations, their evolution and their current conditions.

The first associations of immigrants based in Italy were created in the second half of the 1970s, sometimes with the support of some Italian Catholic organizations of the third sector. At the beginning we were dealing with organizations composed of immigrant students and exiled people, which are usually the emanation of political groups based in their country of origin, and which often work, by organizing awareness campaigns, for the improvement of the social and political situation of this country (Caselli, 2006; Pizzolati, 2007). Only from the second half of the 1980s did these associations focus on the conditions of life of immigrants in the host country (Carchedi, 2000). During this phase, which could be defined as the phase of recognition and visibility, the proneness to create associations tended to increase within ethnic communities and the collaborations between immigrants' associations and local organizations, mostly trade unions, became more frequent. Later on, in the '90s, a new phase could be identified in the evolution of immigrants' associationism in Italy, that is, the period which could be defined as the phase of active participation and mobilization (Pizzolati, 2007), when immigrants' associations attained a higher level of internal structuring and of influence

in the local context and collaborations with Italian organizations became more consolidated.

All the same, even if migrants' associations have been part of Italian society for about three decades and their number is by now sizeable, the literature on this issue shows that their weaknesses are still considerable and their role in the Italian political and social life quite restricted, unlike what is happening in other European countries, where public local institutions often refer to them for the implementation of some social policies (Ambrosini, 2005; Zanfrini, 1998). The risk highlighted by some scholars, as has already been hinted at, is the generation of a very dangerous vicious circle: if public institutions choose not to entrust migrants' associations with some tasks implying a certain responsibility, considering them too weak and inexperienced and, usually, preferring to them some Italian catholic organizations of the third sector, these migrants' associations will never have the opportunity of acquiring all those experiences and competence which could lead them to an empowerment and, hence, to an increase in their reliability (Caponio, 2005; Zanfrini, 1997).

The sociological literature concerning migrants' associations based in Italy, moreover, highlights the crucial function that these organizations could have in intermediating between single migrants and Italian society and its institutions (Ambrosini, 2005). In the last years, scholars have also started exploring the important role that these organizations could have in creating ties between the migrants' host society and their society of origin, but this kind of research, which implies a transnational standpoint, needs to be fostered, as the studies carried out in this regard are still very few.





## II.B. Review of the Literature about Filipino Migrants' Associations in Italy

Most of the sociological literature concerning the Filipino community living in Italy takes account of the issue of associationism, considering it one of the pivots of its life within the host society, and an effect of the culturally determined proneness of Filipinos to community life (Roncaglia, 2003; Zanfrini and Asis, 2006). Most of the research works concerning this topic explore it in connection with other issues, for example the integration of Filipino migrants in Italian society or in certain urban contexts (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993; D'Ottavi, 1998), their incorporation in the labour market (Lodigiani, 1995), the second generation (Roncaglia, 2003; Zanfrini and Asis, 2006) or their involvement in co-development (Garcia and Simmons, 2008). Given its centrality in the Filipino migrants' life, in fact, associationism has important functions with regards to all these themes and has to be analyzed in order to have a deeper comprehension of many different aspects of the Filipino community life.

The origin of Filipino migrants' associations based in Italy dates back to the 1970s, when the migratory flows to Italy started and were consolidated. The pioneers of this migration, mostly women, in order to find an affective support, to adjust to the host society and to find a job, started weaving thick and efficient networks of self-help, which linked together friends, migrants coming from the same place or, in a few cases, family members who had emigrated to Italy. At the beginning we deal with informal networks which, step by step, reached a higher level of formalization and institutionalization (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993; Lodigiani, 1995). These first Filipino associations were established, in Italy, within a Catholic context, as the Church and the Missions had a central role in the promotion of the Filipino migratory flows directed to Italy. Mostly since the 1990s, as a consequence of the increase of the migratory flows and of the intensification of the networks based on family links, some changes occurred: some religious protestant associations were established, as well as some lay associations (Zanfrini and Asis, 2006). Even if Catholic institutions were still considered by many Filipino migrants as one of the main factors which legitimized and supported their presence in Italy (Palidda, 2000), some of them started perceiving these bodies as instruments for a latent and informal control of the Filipino migration, as their action

tended to promote the linkages which were internal to the ethnic group, rather than the relationships with the host society. Subsequently, some groups of Filipino migrants tried to move away from the Italian Catholic context, by frequenting the local parish with lesser assiduousness, by addressing to Filipino priests, and by building more opportunistic relationships between ethnic associations and local catholic institutions (Cominelli, 2004).

Obviously Filipino associationism has different features according to the Italian local context in which it developed, but there are some general traits of Filipino associations that can be highlighted.

First of all, most of these organizations are located in Rome and Milan, as these are the Italian areas where the largest Filipino communities have settled. This is why most of the research works on Filipino associationism are carried out in these contexts.

Especially in these urban areas, the number of associations is quite high, and these groups continuously undergo a process of constitution, splitting up and new constitution (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993; Lodigiani, 1995; D'Ottavi, 1998; Simmons and Garcia, 2008). Usually these groups are organized in a hierarchical way and it is the group itself which assigns to certain members a specific position, usually through democratic processes (Simmons and Garcia, 2008). At the beginning leaders were mostly women, but later, when Filipino migrations to Italy started to involve also men, the roles of leadership tended to be assigned to the male component (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993). Having the leadership of one of these groups is considered by Filipino migrants as an opportunity to gain, inside the ethnic community, the social recognition which cannot be achieved through professional success (D'Ottavi, 1998). This position, besides, allows some Filipino migrants to have a professional advancement, from domestic work to occupations within Filipino private or public institutions (such as banks, Embassy or Consulate) providing services to Filipino migrants (D'Ottavi, 1998).

Often, in the context of these associations and religious communities, we can find the same people belonging to more than one group. The criteria for the membership of these groups are various: place of origin, common political ideas, common religious belief and way of worshipping, common objectives such as organizing recreational activities, support and assistance activities or projects for managing, sending and investing savings (Favaro and Omenetto, 1993; Lodigiani 1995).

If, at the beginning, the main activity of these associations was supporting and assisting,

formally or informally, Filipino migrants, nowadays, as these groups are no longer the only intermediaries helping migrants in finding a house or a job or in benefiting from the services provided by the Italian institutions, a large space is dedicated to the organization of recreational moments and activities which represent an important opportunity of gathering and entertainment for the Filipino community (Zanfrini and Asis, 2006; Simmons and Garcia, 2008).

Most of the Filipino organizations based in Italy, anyway, have a religious base, the main places where the Filipino community gathers are catholic churches and oratories and most of the events promoted by Filipino associations revolve around religious or national celebrations (Zanfrini and Asis, 2006).

The fact that Filipino associations are deep rooted in Italian society can have a twofold interpretation. On one side it can indicate that the conditions of Filipino migrants in Italy have improved, on the other side it brings attention on the attitude of this ethnic community, which tends to withdraw into itself (Zanfrini and Asis, 2006).

The relations with Italian institutions and associations are, in fact, sporadic, apart from some contacts with the trade unions, where some Filipino cultural mediators are employed (Ambrosini, 2004). But the unwillingness or incapacity of the Filipino community and, hence, of Filipino associations, to create links with Italian society is caused, firstly, by a specular refusal of Italian society (Martinelli et al., 1998).

Therefore, apparently, the effective mobilization which the Filipino community is able to put into effect in order to support its members, being incapable of having some positive effects on a professional level – by creating for Filipino migrants new, more satisfactory routes of incorporation in the labour market –, tries to enhance, instead, their opportunities of recreation and gathering (Lodigiani, 1995; Simmons and Garcia, 2008).

By cultivating close linkages within the ethnic community and identities and values which are strongly linked to the homeland, Filipino migrants can more easily bear the burden of subordinate, low skilled professional roles. In other words, Filipino migrants keep considering their society of origin as their main landmark and criterion to judge their social position, as within the latter, their prestige had an increase thanks to migration, while having contacts with Italian society makes them perceive more strongly their non prestigious and subordinate position within this context (Zanfrini, 1998).

Thus, Filipino associations are peculiar for their self regarding attitude and their non permeability, which are emphasized by the social control wielded on their members, mostly on the youngest ones, and strengthened by the segmentation and isolation of the different networks existing in their bosom and by the self promoting attitude of some of the leaders, which can lead to an even stronger social control (Palidda, 2000).

According to some studies associationism is also a hinge in the life of the second generation of Filipinos (Liamzon, 2007). Many young Filipinos are members of religious, socio-cultural or sports associations – often all these different objectives overlap in the same association –, which in many cases are controlled by an adult leader. These associations carry out an important social function in preventing the risk of isolation, solitude and maladjustment run by young Filipinos, especially those who reached their parents in Italy after a certain time of separation and in preserving the Filipino cultural identity among the second generation (Roncaglia, 2003; Zanfrini and Asis, 2006; Liamzon, 2007). The latter objective is strongly pursued by adult Filipinos, who fear that their children will lose the values of the Philippine culture and will absorb the Italian values, perceived as dangerous. The Philippine government, for its part, uses young people's overseas associations as a means to strengthen the linkage between young migrants and their homeland – one of the reasons why this linkage has to be perpetuated is to ensure a continuous flow of remittances directed to the Philippines, which is essential for this country's economy (Roncaglia, 2003; Zanfrini and Asis, 2006). The literature in this concern highlights the risk that the efforts of both the Philippine government and the adult Filipino migrants in strengthening the second generation's attachment to their country and culture of origin could produce in young Filipinos a situation of double exclusion both from the Italian and from the Filipino society (Roncaglia, 2003; Zanfrini and Asis, 2006).

Let's now mention some peculiar features of the context of Rome and of Milan: as has been previously mentioned, it is here that the largest Filipino communities are located in Italy, and where those associations are more numerous.

The associations and religious communities based in Rome are very numerous, quite structured and lively. They are very often supported by the Catholic Church. Sometimes they are also supported by some bodies of the Philippine government working for the protection of Filipino migrants (D'Ottavi, 1998). All the Catholic religious communities based in Rome are coordinated by the Catholic Filipino Chaplaincy or Centro Pilipino

linked to the Basilica of Santa Pudenziana, which is also a landmark on a national level, because it coordinates all the Filipino Pastoral Councils based in Italy (D'Ottavi, 1998). In Milan there are also numerous religious communities and cultural, sports, music and social clubs. Also in this context, catholic religious institutions play an important role in the community life of Filipinos and are the centers for some of their groups, such as the Parish of the Santo Carmine and of San Lorenzo. These institutions, often, become the only place where Filipino associations can conduct their activities (Lodigiani, 1995). Going back to the literature concerning the associational life of the Filipino community settled in Italy, in the second half of this decade the issue of associationism is starting to be investigated paying special attention to its connection with the theme of transnationalism and co-development. In particular, a research work promoted by the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) in partnership with the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and with the Filipino Women's Council, a Filipino migrants' association based in Rome, focuses on the phenomenon of remittances and on their impact and their potential in promoting development in the contexts of origin, based on a multi-situated qualitative research into the Filipino community living in Rome and into a number of rural communities in some Philippine provinces. The findings of this study concerning Filipino associations based in Italy (Rome) reveal that there are few groups promoting initiatives geared towards the Philippine context and that these interventions are only seldom continuous interventions based on an organic project, and, much more often, sporadic actions which are not able to produce a real change in the context that benefits them (Garcia and Simmons, 2008). This study suggests that some aspects which would need improvement in order to foster FAOs capability of promoting development are their organizational and leadership skills, as well as their financial management (Simmons and Garcia, 2008).



## II.C. The MAPID Study on Filipino Migrants' Associations

### ***a. Locating the MAPID Study on Filipino Migrants' Associations in Italy***

As the perspective adopted by the research work cited here above, which appears to be very fruitful, has started to be of interest to scholars, in the Italian context, only in the last few years, have the gaps to be filled in this respect still been numerous and, hence, further studies in this direction need to be fostered. Moreover, even if the knowledge of the phenomenon of Filipino associationism has been explored by many research works, there are no studies specifically concentrating on this topic which try to analyze, systematically and with a certain level of deepness, all its implications.

It is precisely in these directions that the current work will move, trying to contribute to filling the gaps highlighted here above.

### ***b. The Conduct of the MAPID Study***

This research work was conducted between May and November 2008 by a team of eleven researchers operating both in Milan and in Rome, the two urban areas explored by this research, where the largest Filipino communities in Italy are located.

The research was based on a mixed methodology, which combined quantitative and qualitative analysis and used two different instruments: a questionnaire, which also included some open questions, addressed to Filipinos who are members of FAOs, and an in-depth interview addressed to some key informants.

the main instrument for the data gathering, that is, the questionnaire addressed to active members of FAOs, was aimed at digging deeper into the reality of the FAOs operating in Italy, and in particular in Rome and Milan. The goal of this observation instrument was, first of all, to create a directory of FAOs containing some basic information about them and, furthermore, to define the features of these organizations, their objectives, their main strengths and weaknesses, their internal structure and their relationship with other Filipino and Italian institutions and organizations and to analyze their opinions,



interest and previous experiences in the field of co-development.

The respondents were traced thanks to the contact details provided by the Philippine Consulate and Embassy – previously contacted and found willing to collaborate to the MAPID project - and, concerning Rome, through the Filipino associations and religious communities directory available on the website “[www.un-instraw.org](http://www.un-instraw.org)”. Some more associations and religious community leaders and active members were contacted through the snowball method, that is, thanks to the intermediation of other respondents. The variety of strategies put into effect for contacting interviewees itself implied a certain heterogeneity of the group of respondents. All the same, special attention was paid by the researcher to select both lay associations and religious communities, and, among the latter, organizations belonging to different Christian denominations. The attempt to contact some Muslim Filipino migrants by addressing the mosque in Rome wasn’t successful, as, apparently, there are very few Filipinos frequenting this place of worship. No Muslim Filipino organization was found in the directories consulted and no acquaintance of our Christian interviewees belonged to the Muslim community.

Forty interviews were carried out, twenty in Rome, and twenty in Milan.

As the interviews were carried out by a researcher operating in Milan, the respondents living in the area of Milan were met personally; those living in the area of Rome were interviewed on the phone. The interview was conducted either in English or in Italian, according to the preference of the interviewee. It was tape recorded, transcribed and, if in Italian, translated into English. Each interview lasted about an hour and a half [in order to have more detailed information about the profile of respondents, please refer to Report 1, II.C., *Methodological Notes*, Tab. II.C.4].

One difficulty encountered by the researcher was related to the observation instrument itself. For some logistical reasons linked to the overall organization of the project’s activities, the data collection instrument chosen for this survey on Filipino organizations was a set of closed and open questions previously arranged and used by the Philippine government for aims that were different from the objectives of research. This is why the questions mostly closed questions – were not always totally pertinent to the reality at issue and didn’t always allow for a good level of accuracy in the data collection. The choice of using this instrument, albeit a certain weakness from a scientific standpoint, was motivated by the fact that it offered the opportunity to compare the data collected with some information, concerning other countries, previously gathered by the

Philippine government. The difficulty encountered because of this choice was sidestepped by inviting the respondents to give, if necessary, different answers from those scheduled as optional replies, and by noting in the specially provided space many remarks and explanations, in order to improve the precision of the analysis.

Concerning the identification of respondents, this operation didn't cause many problems: most of the people who were contacted declared themselves interested in the project and willing to contribute to it. The only obstacles to the recruitment of respondents were the not always updated listing provided by the Embassy, the respondents' lack of free time and the mistrust shown by some of the interviewees, sometimes clearly caused by the fact that the Philippine government was one of the partners in the project. Besides, some people were not very willing to be interviewed, as they had already been the target of some interviews carried out in the framework of previous research works, which, in their opinion, didn't bring any concrete benefit to the conditions of the Filipino community.

Finally, in order to augment the information provided by our respondents and to gather some data about some Filipino associations and religious communities based in different areas from Rome and Milan, a secondary operation was carried out by the researcher involved in this analysis, which was specifically focused on Filipino organizations. That is, additional information was collected through the reading of some documents provided by the interviewees and produced by the organization at issue or through an exploration of the data available on the Internet. This operation, though, wasn't really fruitful, as the documents provided by the interviewees didn't give much more information than that already provided by word of mouth; besides, few organizations had a website and most of them were based in Milan and Rome and thus contacted for an interview. Apart from some exceptions, moreover, most of the websites explored weren't very explanatory, and were incomplete and not updated. While conducting our research, some tracks were identified which could be more fruitful for carrying out this exploration about the FAOs based in other Italian areas than Rome and Milan. Some of our interviewees declared to be in contact with some FAOs in various Italian towns, and to be willing to provide us their leaders' names and contact details. Further interviews could be carried out involving these people.

Beside the questionnaire, some in-depth interviews were carried out by ten researchers working at the same time in Rome and in Milan. Ten interviews were carried out in

Milan, fifteen in Rome. This instrument was aimed at gathering qualitative data capable of deepening the investigation into the Filipino communities living in Rome and Milan in general. Concerning FAOs, the in-depth interviews provided significant qualitative information about their features, objectives and activities, their relationship with the Philippine government, with Italian institutions and with the Consulate or Embassy, their capacity to become agents of change in relation to the home and to the host country, their interest, knowledge, opinions and previous experiences linked to co-development, the support they receive from the Embassy or Consulate or from the Philippine government in this field. The target of these interviews were some key informants, that is, people who could observe the situation of the Filipino community from a particular and privileged standpoint (Philippine Government Officials in Italy, members of the Filipino migrant community with a special profile or life experience, or Filipino or non-Filipino representatives of Italian institutions working in connection with the Filipino community). The strategies put into effect in order to trace these informants were several: the contact of single individuals or of associations provided by the Philippine Embassy and Consulate were used, as well as those found thanks to the directory of FAOs based in Rome which can be consulted on the website: [www.un-instraw.org](http://www.un-instraw.org) and those coming from the acquaintances of some of the researchers [for further details about the profile of the key informants, please refer to Report 1, II.C., *Methodological Notes*, Tab. II.C.2 and Tab.II.C.3]. The people contacted were usually willing to be interviewed: the interviewers reported that a lot of interviewees were happy to have the opportunity to express their opinions, concerns and hopes for the future of the Filipino community in Italy. Also in this case, the main difficulties encountered by the interviewers were the lack of time by their key informants and, in some cases, their mistrust probably caused by the involvement of the government in the project and by the absence of the expected tangible improvements in the conditions of the Filipino community after the previous research works conducted on this ethnic group.

Further details on the methodological aspects of this research activity are provided in Report 1, II.C., *Methodological Notes*.

### **III. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY**

#### **III.A. Filipino Migrants' Associations in Rome and Milan**

Our research, as has already been seen, is based on forty FAOs, twenty based in Rome and twenty in Milan. In order to have a quite significant group in numerical terms, our report will usually consider the FAOs in Rome and Milan as one single group. Only in a few cases will some remarks be made about some significant differences in the two contexts.

In order to have an idea of the rootedness of the FAOs interviewed, let's consider that 27.5% of them were established between 1987 and 1993, 15% between 1994 and 1998, 20% between 1999 and 2003 and 37.5% between 2004 and 2008.

Most of the FAOs' members interviewed declare that one of the main objectives of their group is: solidarity and social assistance, addressed, mostly, to their members or to Filipino migrants in general - legal, medical assistance, counselling or job referral, orientation and referring point - (50%), spiritual assistance and sharing the Word of God (42.5%), promotion of the fellowship among members through recreational activities such as recreational events or sports activities (17.5%), promotion of Filipino culture within Italian society and its preservation within the Filipino migrants' community, mostly among the second generation, (27.5%) and helping people in the Philippines (20%). Some other interviewees, not significant from a numerical point of view, cite as one of the main objectives of their FAO advocacy (directed to the Philippine or Italian government) or organization of awareness campaigns to promote immigrants' concerns, the promotion of information among Filipino migrants', mostly about their rights and opportunities, the creation of a network between all Filipino groups and the development of the potentials of Overseas Filipino workers (OFWs), mostly through the implementation of training.

The objectives of FAOs, as has been seen, are several, and they often overlap within the same FAO, which can, to give two examples which very often mirror the reality, deal with religious matters - evangelization, participating together in the Mass, reciting rosaries - and, at the same time, work for giving support to Filipino migrants and for organizing recreational events, or, instead, implement initiatives directed to local communities in the Philippines and, additionally, promote some socio-cultural events in Italy which also have the function of raising funds for the programs directed to the Philippines.

Moreover, we think it advisable to state that this division into different categories has to be considered as approximate, as, often, the explicit objectives of a FAO can be slightly deceptive with regard to the real activity conducted. For example, a lot of the FAOs which declare that they are working to give assistance to their members, pursue this objective in an informal way, that is by creating a social network able to sustain migrants in need. In this sense, the aim of giving support and assistance to Filipino migrants isn't really distinguishable from that of creating fellowship among members, that is, to create and intensify social networks through the promotion of social events.

Filipinos are socially oriented, that is why a lot of organizations or associations grew in numbers (...) It is also a venue to meet new friends and to forget the feeling of homesickness, a way to network to find work. Filipinos are fiesta-oriented (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2008)

At first we created the association just to be together, to know each other... So that, once, I can help another person for his job... anything... we know each other and we can help each other (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> July 2008)

Actually in Milan, in my experience, we are also like, we celebrate like Independence Day, we don't have any focus, but finally if someone needs some help, we are always there (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The latter objective also overlaps with that of promoting and preserving the Filipino culture: some of the associations interviewed, irrespective of their main explicit goals, in fact, organize activities of Filipino dances or music, directed mostly at young people, aiming at gathering the Filipino community, mainly the youth, for social and cultural purposes. The fact of spending time together helps Filipinos not to lose their roots and not to feel isolated in the emigration context.

The Family and Youth Commission is in charge for this (trying to solve the problems of the second generation of Filipinos) (...) The Youth Commission organizes some activities for Young People. Their spiritual education, in collaboration with the Commission for Education, and they form groups of young people, so that they can cultivate their spiritual life together. And also recreational activities, also for

enhancing our Filipino culture. Because they have to know that they are Filipinos, maybe they were born here in Italy, so they know the Italian way, but they are also Filipinos, in some way. They need to know this and to know the Filipino way (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

Moreover, the objective of sharing the Word of God and cultivating the spiritual sphere of members has to be interpreted taking into account one of the fundamental values of the Filipino culture, expressed by the Filipino word “makadyos”, which means devotion to God or deep and constant faith, which is perceived by Filipino migrants as one of the most peculiar and distinguishing features of their identity and which is one of the most effective social bonds in the Filipino migrants' community (Greco, 2004). Hence, once again, it is difficult, in some cases, to distinguish the aim of sharing the Word of God from that of preserving the Filipino culture in the emigration context. Besides, this marked religiousness which permeates Filipino community life is closely interwoven with another important value of this culture, which is sociality and the importance of community life. For this reason, most of the times, the idea of cultivating the spiritual sphere goes along with the idea of sharing convivial and recreational moments to be spent in community. This is why, very often, one of the main activities of religious communities, apart from the celebration of God and the teaching of his Word, is the organization of recreational and social events. This social activity, of course, is the basis for the creation of social networks capable of supporting the migrants who are in difficult circumstances.

Our objective is to enhance our faith in Italy, because of our situation, that we are far away from our mother Church, and we want to establish our faith, because we have our own way, Methodist way, and we are with the Italian Methodist Church, which has our way, so we are with them. Actually the Italian one is a Waldensian Church... We have activities together, but sometimes we have our own activities, our own celebrations, because of course the Italians can not understand our language (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

(Our objective is to) keep the Filipino culture and faith. To live together (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

The interweaving of the four dimensions of sociality, religiousness, identity and solidarity, as has been seen, is very close and is the basis of the Filipino associative life. Based on the criteria for membership, we divided FAOs in seven main categories. This division, of course, is arbitrary, but can give some deeper insights into the nature of FAOs. Most of the FAOs contacted declare to be open to everybody, regardless of his or her nationality, sex or religion, provided that he or she adheres to the principles of the

association, or follows the FAO's constitution, or has a good morality, or has the authentic wish to commit him/herself to the group. A few FAOs belonging to this category have some limitations linked to the age of members, who, sometimes, have to be adults (more than eighteen or twenty one years old). Even if Filipino nationality is not a prerequisite to be part of these FAOs, as we will illustrate further on, there are very few FAOs, also in this category, which include a significant number of members from other nationalities.

*What are the criteria for membership in your organization?*

Just working for the community. Not following any particular interest (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Because everybody is welcome in our Church. In other churches they want you to be baptized, to give money. No, In our Church no. In our Church the Pastor just tell anybody who want to hear the Word of God "come". You can sit, be an attendee, until the time when this person say: "I want to be a member", then you get baptized. Once you're a member I think we believe in the doctrines that we teach, but it is in their heart, we give him the freedom to decide (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

You just have to be interested in sports. Almost in basket ball which is the favourite sport for Filipinos (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The second, quite rich category is constituted by those FAOs which base their membership on a certain faith. Only in some cases do they combine this criterion with that of Filipino nationality, but the number of members from other nationalities is nearly always very restricted.

*What are the criteria for membership in your organization?*

We're all Roman Catholic from the Philippines, but it's open to other nationalities too (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Catholic Filipinos (Interview with XXX, 25<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

To be Methodists (he laughs), of course one is to be a Methodist, because... if you are coming from another faith, it is another way of worshipping, so you have to choose our way, and then you have to be dedicated. (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

Some of the FAOs – few, compared to the previous categories - declare that they accord membership to all Filipinos, sometimes with some age limitations (only to those who are more than eighteen or twenty one years old).

*What are the criteria for membership in your organization?*

Being Filipino (Being interested in our organization (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

(Being) Filippino, with good moral characters, 21 years above (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Some FAOs, moreover, are open only to Filipinos coming from a certain region or province of the Philippines – we are dealing with the so called home-town associations –. Sometimes the criterion of age is also taken into account: only adults can be included. Also this category, in our group, isn't very numerous.

*What are the criteria for membership in your organization?*

You have to be from Pangasinan. You have to be an Overseas Worker in Rome. And in addition to this, our organization is a non political and non religious organization. Members have to be 18 years old and above (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Members need to speak Bicol. Members need to be born in Bicol, Philippines. Or being daughter or son of someone born in Bicol (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Besides, a few associations are opened only to women. This criterion can be combined to others.

*What are the criteria for membership in your organization?*

Someone who adheres to the principles of the association: to be captive in the sense of social field, and really to commit for the organization, to push, improve it, someone who has the will to do it, every woman of this kind is welcome in the organization. It is open to other nationality, if they support the objective of the association, especially in terms of philanthropic activities (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

(We are very selective with our members. First they have to be women (University degree holders or high level students (with very few exceptions). Have a (strong intention to face the problems, in order to build social change (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

Subsequently we have some FAOs which accord membership only to those people who have undergone a certain kind of education program. Usually we are dealing with religious communities or associations, which provide a spiritual education to the people wishing to become members, before letting them enter the group. Also in this case this criterion can be combined with others.

*What are the criteria for membership in your organization?*

Just Filipinos. A six months training to learn our constitution and by-laws. After that there is a kind of ceremony where the member has to answer all the question about the association and our aims (Interview with XXX, 1<sup>st</sup> September 2008).

At least 6 months in the seminary, participation to meeting, being active (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2008).

Finally, we contacted some FAOs which are composed of a group of Filipino migrants belonging to a fraternity, whose base is in the Philippines and which is composed of a



very extended network of associations. In this case, membership is accorded only to those people who have undergone a previous, quite strict selection, which usually has the connotation of a sort of rite of initiation and which is carried out in the Philippines, by the officers of the base of the fraternity. In some cases, FAOs based in Italy are planning to put into effect a self organized process of selection, in order to allow some new people living in Italy to enter the fraternity.

*What are the criteria for membership in your organization?*

You can be a member only if you are in a college or university. You must be enrolled in university or college, you must start from a college or university. If you finish university you become a member of Alumni Alpha Phi Omega (Before entering the fraternity you have a lot to study. We have a brochure, something like: what is Alpha Phi Omega. We also have the loyalty pledge. And to be a member you have to pass... we have a screening committee. They will ask your notes. If you have low grades, you won't be accepted. They will ask you why you want to enter. If they see that you want to enter just because of the name, because this name is very famous, it is an international fraternity... so you won't be accepted. Here in Italy we are all Alumni, people who were resident before. In our by-laws we have associated members or honorary members. So new members can apply. If they have attended our services for two years, if they are following our by-laws, if they are.. but of course we will ask if they entered high school, if they didn't, we can not allow. But for the moment we don't have associated members. There are one, or maybe two Italians who want to enter (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

To be a Triskelion you have to be already registered in the Philippines. You need to have time, also, because we are here in Milan to work, but as a fraternity you must also share the main principles of the fraternity. Like having more than 17 years old, having a good moral character... to be healthy, mentally and physically, supported by medical certificate, you must be willing to undergo the membership requirements, you must not be sponsored by any other triskelion, you must not be a member of other fraternity which principles are different or incompatible with ours. If you are a member of Tau Gamma Phi, you are a triskelion. In the Philippines there-s a screening to become a member. In the Philippines it is very hard to be a member of Tau Gamma Phi. The members in Italy, if you are a member of Tau Gamma Phi in the Philippines, you can be a member here in Italy (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Thus, the criteria on which FAOs' membership is based are several, but the most important ones are a willingness to contribute and participate in the activities of the group and the religion. Of course we are dealing with the formal, explicit criteria for membership, but, as has already been mentioned, the real situation of FAOs doesn't always mirror the official membership criteria. As a matter of fact, even if the Filipino nationality is not one of the most frequent prerequisites for being included in a FAO, about three quarters (72.5%) of the FAOs interviewed are composed only of Filipino members.

Concerning the number of members for each FAO, 15% of the FAOs interviewed have less than 25 members, 12.5% from 25 to 49 members, 25% from 50 to 75 members, 10% from 75 to 100 members, 25% from 100 to 500 members and 12.5% from 500 to 1300 members.

Concerning the number of officers in FAOs, it can vary, but it is usually quite high – 55% of the FAOs interviewed have more than ten officers, 30% from 5 to 9 officers and 15% from 1 to 4 officers. Usually officers are chosen on the basis of their morality and willingness to get committed to the group and for their competence and capacity in terms of leadership. The fact of having regularly attended the activities of the FAO for a certain time is also taken into account, as well as the possibility to dedicate time to the needs of the group. In some religious communities, in addition to a deep religiousness and devotion to God, previous training on the Bible and other religious matters can be required. In a few cases Filipino nationality is required in order to become an officer, even if this is not one of the criterion for membership. In some other cases a regular legal condition in Italy or a clean criminal record are required. Sometimes there are limitations in terms of age: officers must be more than eighteen years old. The most frequent system used by FAOs in order to choose their officers is the democratic one: about 77.5% of the officers of the FAOs of our group assume their position by election. About 17.5% assume their position by appointment, mainly in religious, non catholic communities, where it is the leader of the Church, usually the pastor, who's in charge of judging who are the most suitable people for becoming a model and a guide for the rest of the group. In only a few cases (5% of the FAOs) do the officers assume their position based on a voluntary system.

Moreover, our research shows that most of the FAOs of our group don't collect membership fees (67.5%), while the remaining part (only 32.5%) do. Among the latter, 46.2% collect these membership fees monthly, quarterly, or every six months, 23.1% annually, while 30.8% ask their members for one time payment in order to enter the FAO. Most of the FAOs of the group (60%) have from 1 to 4 advisers, 10.5% from 5 to 9 advisers, 2.6% 10 or more advisers, and 22.5% don't have any adviser. A very large portion of the FAOs of our group (90%) have a constitution or by-laws, while the remaining part (10%) don't. As for the place where to conduct the regular activities, most of the FAOs interviewed (34.3%) use Church linked places, 11.4% the residence of an officer or member, 11.4% places arranged by other associations or friends, 8.6% public places such as parks, train stations or similar places, 5.7% the premises of the Philippine Embassy or Consulate, 2.9% hotels, restaurants or similar establishments, while 8.6% own an office or community center and 17.1% rent an office or community center. The latter quantitative data shows that there are only a few FAOs which have a

rented place to conduct their regular activities, and even fewer which have an owned one. As we will see further on, the difficulty in finding a place to carry out their programs freely and autonomously is perceived as a significant limitation by many Filipino migrants' organizations.

Moreover, the results of our research show that most of the FAOs contacted, about 70%, are officially recognized by the Philippine Embassy or Consulate, while only 37% are registered with the relevant offices in Italy and 27.5% with the relevant offices in the Philippines. We think it advisable to underline that these data should undergo further, more detailed analysis, as it would be interesting to understand which are, exactly, these relevant offices both in Italy and in the Philippines. For example we realized, while our research work was proceeding, that some FAOs claiming to be registered with the relevant offices in Italy were, actually, registered with some pertinent Church institutions, such as the Centro Pilipino of the Cappellania Filippina in Rome. Nevertheless, these quite approximate and coarse data seemed to us quite meaningful information, capable of suggesting some observations about the FAOs' relationships with their external context. Some remarks, in fact, will be made further on, using this data as an indication about a difficulty of FAOs in relating with Italian institutions.

Proceeding with our analysis, about 65% of the organizations contacted are based only in Italy. Of the remaining 35%, some are religious communities or movements, often non Catholic Churches (Evangelic or Jesus Is Lord Churches) which are all linked to other Filipino churches in the rest of the world, where Filipino migrants have founded them, and especially in the Philippines, where these denominations have deep roots.

We are part of the Evangelic International Church here in Milan, but in our organization we are linked all over Italy, Europe, and the rest of the world, especially in the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Some FAOs which are not only based in Italy, besides, are part of fraternities which are extended to many other countries of the world, mainly constituted by Filipinos living in the Philippines or overseas.

I'm the regional secretary, so sometimes I have meetings... regional meetings... APO (Alpha Phi Omega) in different area here in Europe. In Europe we call it administrative region of Europe, and we have officers of this administrative region, who belong to APO Milano, APO United Kingdom, APO Austria, APO Ireland... B. B. is the section 2 chairman, because Italy is part of section 2 of Europe. APO exists in Asia Pacific, in Europe, in the Middle East, here there are so many!, and in America. Every APO is connected to every other APO, because we have e-groups. We are all subscribed in this... like emails, we

communicate through this, all together (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

In addition, some of these FAOs are lay associations affiliated to lay organizations in the Philippines - such as Migrante International, which is an organization operating on a political level). These Filipino organizations are the landmark for many other FAOs based in all the countries where Filipinos have emigrated and settled.

Our organization is part of the Migrante International in the Philippines. Migrante International is joined by 86 organizations in the world. We joined Migrante Euro (Holland) too (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

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

The organization is organized in two sectors: one Italian sector, with 15 officers, which is in charge of organizing activities to collect money. One Philippine sector, with two volunteers, which is in charge to distribute the goods provided by the Foundation (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2008).

The quantitative data gathered show that nearly all the FAOs interviewed (94%) have recourse to membership contributions, which in most cases are voluntary, for collecting funds for their activities; 65% of them organize, to this end, fund raising activities such as trips, raffles, bingo or other social and recreational activities, mainly addressed to the Filipino community.

At the moment we are having a fund raising campaign,, which consists of a raffle: we are selling tickets. And then we also solicit funds, voluntary funds, from country-men, to finance our projects (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Moreover, a quarter (22.5%) of the FAOs receive donations from the private sector. Usually we are dealing with the Filipino private sector: Filipino shops, banks or business men who are contacted and who grant to some FAOs a certain contribution, not only in terms of money, but also of material goods, such as prizes for raffles, or other facilitations.

We are making contacts also with the Filipino business community. They give us prizes for the raffle, they buy tickets. (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

We have a membership card for discounts in some shops, also Filipino-shops. Even with banks: if you

send money home you have a discount (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

We have some sponsors in the Filipino private sector, because they give money and we prepare t-shirts which are like commercial adds (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Besides, only 5% of the FAOs interviewed receive funds from international organizations and 2.5% have grants from the public sector. Also in this case, as will be discussed further on, these data reveal some problems in the communication between the FAOs and the Italian public and private institutions.

### III.B. Present and Discuss Data based on Section C

In order to better understand the nature and functions of FAOs based in Italy, it is significant to observe which are their main activities and programs. Most of the FAOs, about 92.5% of our group, regularly carry out cultural, social and recreational activities. The organization of national and religious celebrations has a large space in the activity of most of the FAOs. In most cases, all these social activities have a twofold function: on the one hand they are important as a way of providing recreation for Filipino people – who spend a lot of time at work, often in quite difficult conditions of isolation – of preserving their culture of origin and of creating a network of self-help among migrants.

#### *Why do Filipinos form organizations?*

To be together, you feel part of a group. There's homesickness. If you are alone, you go crazy. If you stay with other Filipinos, in community, you don't feel far from your country. You speak the same language, not the same dialect, of course, because we have a lot of dialects, but the language is the same. With the groups we found, every Sunday we can eat Filipino food, we talk about the news from our country, we speak about the problems. Most of the Filipinos working for a family can't express what they feel. We always say: "Yes Sir, Yes Madam", while we are exploding inside. But when we are in community, we can say everything. When, every Sunday, we stay together, on Monday we feel that a new day have come. Being in community is a big help (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2008).

Every year the Consulate calls us to participate, we prepare cultural dance, every independence day, every Flores de mayo (Interview with XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

Almost all Filipino associations coordinated themselves because, you know, in general, we have done the Santa Cruzan festival, which is a very successful one, and we saw our unit, because the Holly Mass was celebrated in the Cathedral, this is a big, I mean, a big pride, a big opportunity for us, a pride for Filipinos.. In particular that was organized by the Catholic Filipino associations (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

We sometimes organize elections for Mr. and Miss Valentine (Interview with XXX, 4<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

We have birthday celebrations, every three months, for those who, the members, every month, all of them have a birthday during the three months we celebrate altogether, so we have to book a place, then the celebrants take food, and officers will contribute for the place (Interview with XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

On the other hand, these activities have the objective of collecting funds or of consolidating the cohesion among members, in order to reinforce other actions, such as evangelization, promotion of co-development activities and promotion of interventions for the improvement of the Filipino migrants' conditions in Italy.

In May we gave a party for the employers (about 300 came) to bring them the Word of Lord, thank them and tell them they can trust us (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

There is an organization who is organizing a big concert,, it is called Smart, it will be a very big concert, thousands of Filipinos will participate, from all over Italy. And I will keep peace and order during this event. It is a fund raising event (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

About a half (52.5%) of our group conduct religious activities, such as Mass celebrations in Tagalog, rosaries, prayers, Bible teaching and spiritual education. These activities have a social value too, as they have the function of preserving the Filipino culture, strongly linked to religiousness, and, hence, of helping people, mostly the youth, to avoid situations of maladjustment, loss of values and deviancy, in the emigration context.

We offer people trainings, seminars, for them to learn. All biblical basis, it's about all the Bible, the principles of the Bible , basic seminars for the Christians (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

It deals with the Pilgrimage of the Statue of our Lady of the Philippines. Our objective is to coordinate all the Filipino communities, and to organize the journey of our Lady through all the communities. During the visit, when the image visits a community, the statue is shown before the Holy Mass, and we have a rosary. One of the other objectives of the visitations in the communities, is to teach how to recite the rosary, and one other thing is to improve our culture, the Filipino culture, almost for young people. Because the committee is composed by the other communities. Now there are 50 communities. The members are the coordinators of some of the communities. Before the Mass we gather together with our group and with the other community, where the image is in visitation. Every Sunday we visit one community. Also whoever wants to get the image, they can also recite the Rosary in their house. It is difficult: we have a schedule with all the visitations: because every community has so many activities, so we have to organize when to visit every community, and to calculate the distances, because we don't have a proper mean of transportation! (Interview with XXX, 25<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

In addition, about a half (52.5%) of the FAOs contacted offer Support services and assistance (legal, health assistance, counseling) to the members or to the larger Filipino community.). In most cases, as has already been hinted at, these services are provided in an informal way, through the creation of a strong social network and, hence, of a rich social capital.

We share our problems, listen and try to help each other (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Once we provided free dental-medical check. We have some dentists registered in the Philippines that cannot have the permission to work as dentists here. We do it in the Church, so that the city police cannot enter. Then many people come, Italian too that now are friends of ours. We do blood-sugar test too, with machines you can buy at the chemist's (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

For the first 3 years we run a nursing house for Filipino girls victims of sexual violence, unmarried mothers who lost their job... now we don't have it any more because the funding coming from abroad lasted just 3 years. Now we're doing counseling service (all volunteering) (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

Our association is in contact with the trade unions (CGIL) to face the problems of people without documents (The association collect funds to send back to the Philippines the dead body when someone

dies) (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

The service of job referral is provided, usually in an informal way, by many FAOs. This is significant, as this service is a powerful way of perpetuating the professional condition of Filipino migrants, who are protected from unemployment but who seem to be unable to avoid the univocal occupation in domestic work. FAOs function and are used by Italian people as a repository of reliable domestic helpers.

We do job referral: so many Italians come to the Centro Pilipino if they need someone to work in their house (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

50% of the FAOs organize sports activities, which have an important function in providing recreation for and uniting Filipino migrants, in preserving the youth from solitude and maladjustment, and in creating contacts between Filipinos and people from other nationalities: Italians or other migrants.

We organized , in 2004, the Philippines national team and they played against the Italian national team. That was in July 2004. We had the Inter Europe tournament. And also the Peruvian team, against a Filipino Team. With the Community of Peruvians. And also Ecuador. Always a match. To reunite, to have... this organization focus on sports' development. Sport is useful to avoid drugs. Sports is a form of education (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

50%, moreover, carry out Information campaigns about the policies and programs of the Italian government for immigrants. Also in this case, we are not always dealing with real campaigns, conducted on a big scale and in an organized way. Sometimes, instead, we are dealing with a process by word of mouth, which is supported by the social network existing within the organization. It is the same concerning the 32.5% of FAOs which promote information campaigns about the policies and programs of the Philippine government for overseas Filipinos. In this sense we can also say that FAOs have the function of intermediating between the Philippine Consulate and Embassy and the Filipino community, as they spread, through their leaders who participate to meetings at the Philippine Embassy and Consulate, the information addressed to the whole Filipino migrants' community.

The pastors go to the Consulate meetings, are informed about the new laws, and then they talk about it in the Church (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Our objective is explaining the Italian laws, telling exactly what is happening here. We do intermediation between the Filipino community and the Consulate (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).



Our organization helps Filipinos, especially ill people. When they need to be taken to the hospital, or someone needs assistance, we are there. Mainly ill Filipinos (...). Not only sick people, when a magazine comes out or a brochure of our Embassy, we call people and we explain them what came out from our Embassy. If a new law on immigration comes out, our Embassy will call us and we will inform Filipinos. They will call us. Italian law: when an Italian law comes out (Interview with XXX, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Concerning the transmission of information to Filipino migrants, we identified some interesting experiences of radio programs in Tagalog, carried out by FAOs,.

The radio works. The information comes to anyone's home. They told us it's the first radio programme for strangers. It's popular among Filipinos (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

42.5% of the FAOs interviewed, besides, have youth related projects, mainly aimed at preserving the Filipino culture in the second generation and at preventing them from maladjustment and from deviancy. The issue of the second generation of Filipinos, with its specific problems, is of great interest to a lot of FAOs. Most of the FAOs interviewed intervene in order to improve the situation of young Filipino people by organizing recreational – sport, music, dance or theatre - or religious activities for them.

We have a Committee for the youth, in the organization. The youth, we are involving them to attend a service, a Mass, every Sunday, and after that they go to our meeting. And in the sports: they are responsible for the sports (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

We involve youths in the Church choir, to keep them away from the street (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Every year we do the youth revival, we organize some camping, (...). The Youth Revival is... We hold it in different towns of Italy. The latest one was in August, from 18<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup>, in Padua. And there are one hundred forty young people that attended the revival. The aim is to gather, also to teach them the Word of God. So there is moral, social and cultural development in this activity (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

Most of the time... they get together and they try to evangelize the youth, they go bowling, they go swimming, with the supervision of a member of the Church. We have a youth department, to keep the youth from... to grow hearing the Word of God, we teach the youth not, pardon me if I mention this, not to kiss in public (she laughs), and there should be no sex before marriage (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

Only a few FAOs, moreover, are implementing or are trying to organize more structured activities, such as trainings for creating better work opportunities for them, counselling and conflict mediation services, or useful structures, such as libraries where they can spend their time in a constructive way.

Computer course by young for adults (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

The youth and children Forum... before the sisters talk to the children, and we talk to the parents. And then, in the afternoon, they come together, and we talk together. In the morning they are separated. In the afternoon we come together, and we talk about the problems of the children. We say: this is why the child doesn't want to speak to you, and so on. For example I'm the child and my parent is there also. I can say to my parent: I never talk to you about my problems because you are always angry, you always shout, so I prefer to speak to my friends. And the parent can say: But the reason why I'm angry is that you come back late, and so on.... They say the reason why. And after the Forum we make a simple letter, children read it to the parents, for reconciliation. And then the parent pick a rose, and give it to the child (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

Actually, the project for the nursing school, is for the third generation. Because second generation is already here, they Are having children, they take them here in Italy, preferably, because most of them are migrating here, and they have their family here, so the children who were born here, or they take children here, and they are no more acquainted with the Filipino tradition and culture, so that's their main objective... Also to help the mothers, to let them work (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

We organize workshops for youth on education, to prevent them from criminality involvement (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

We are planning to create a youth organization and a Library (with Italian language courses) for them (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

Some organizations, moreover, have created or are organizing a group of young people, with a large space of autonomy, which can work for the improvement of its members' conditions.

Because there is a growing number of second generation. The objective is to transmit to the second generation the Filipino culture. We don't have Filipino lessons now, but it is our objective, our plan. Also our objective is to drive away young people's social vices, like drugs, heavy drinking, that's one of the objectives also. This group is one committee of the community. They are part of the community, but they also are autonomous, and the youth is the one organizing sport, now. Every month they sponsor the Mass, so it means they are the actors of the mass, the ones who read, who sing... once a month (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

One of the program which was adopted is to organize the women sector and the second generation. So we finished already with the women sector, and now we are starting with the second generation sector. Our main objective is to educate the Filipino youth here in Italy, to be a responsible youth, and to have a role in building a responsible community, Filipino community here in Italy (1).

The second generation is divided into two generations, let's say so. One is those who are born in the Philippines and then reunited here with their parents. Those who were born in the Philippines they had time to live in the Philippines and to study our own culture, literature, etc. etc. But the second one was born here, and if we are saying about the culture in the Philippines they are zero. And this is the responsibility of the second generation, and also of Lampada, that is to value especially the culture, to teach them, especially to those who were born here (2) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008)

Some pieces of research were also carried out by some FAOs with respect to the issues related to the second generation.

Because in 2005 we had a project with the Church, because I also work there, at the Centro Pilipino, at the family ministry. And we made this study about the Filipino youth, and we found out that so many Filipino young people here are experiencing many problems. I tried to identify some categories where to

put Filipino young people, and this was useful as input to plan some activities for the Filipino youth. We wanted that the study was not only a research that nobody will read, but it's important that this study is useful to inform the Filipinos, almost the parents, and the government, and the society. In the study we also suggested some activities to carry out, and our training about social entrepreneurship was an idea that came from this study. Also we had to conceptualize and to coordinate a big convention, a conference about Filipino Family and Youth, in 2006, December. Always in collaboration with the Embassy, Labor Office. This was another result of our study Enhancing young Filipino artists, and this is one of our objectives, to promote Filipino culture. Also we organized a culture contest, just to mobilize the Filipino youth, culture and talents. This is a bit of a fun as well (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

Nevertheless, even if the concerns about young people are very widespread and perceived as an essential matter by most of the FAOs, the initiatives in this regard seem to be at an initial stage and need to be enhanced and empowered.

Several migrants' organizations, moreover, promote trainings, seminars or forums in order to improve the Filipino community's knowledge on various matters and to enhance the reflection on Filipinos' conditions in the emigration context. The topics of these trainings are several: sometimes they focus on religious or moral matters;

We organize the leaders conference is when we gather, all the leaders from all over Italy and all over Europe, and we are having some speakers, we have a topic and they all discuss about this topic, so not only the Word of God but also how to manage the Church and the people, how to be together, you now, we are all Filipinos, we have to work comfortably for spreading the Gospel... this sort of things (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

We have a program for singles, a seminary for couples to explain what's the father's and mother's role towards children (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

In some cases are they about the problems linked to integration in the host country;

And then we carried out also a post arrival seminar in collaboration with the Embassy, the Labor Office. Because people who arrive, also young people of course, are not properly informed about the Italian reality. We developed a manual, which is available in our site (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

Eco Phil, that is three days summit to discuss on the integration problems of Filipino in Italy and Europe (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

During March 2007 we had a meeting of the Filipino communities. topics: UE enlargement (Bulgaria and Romania) and its impact on non-Europeans low-profit workers) (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Sometimes, finally, they deal with the themes of leadership or social entrepreneurship:

We are running a leadership and social entrepreneurship training. we have 51 trainees, this program started in April, and it will finish in April 2009. This is the result of a collaborative effort with our Embassy and with our Filipino Labor Office and Ateneo of the Manila University in the Philippines, which is giving the main module about social entrepreneurship. We invited Filipinos who were interested in an one year course, and we had some orientation seminars, and it took us a while to find people who were interested (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

There is a restricted number of FAOs working to improve the condition of Filipino migrants, through the implementation of projects of different kinds.

We have a Project for old people. We're trying to make it possible to send the retirement money to old people in the Philippines because we still don't have a bilateral agreement about it. At the moment you have to remain here until you die to get the retirement money. We're doing this in cooperation with FEDERPROPRIETA' and EBILCOBA. We work like a trade union for Filipinos trying to resolve problems and find them a job. We also fight against drugs (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Last summer Jessica, a Filipino girl was drowned by her employer. We are taking legal action and spoke in a local Filipino TV about that (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

We also rent one building in Torre Angela where in we are holding our Bible School for the members of the Church and also we are holding the Christian school for children, it is really an elementary school for different nationalities, it is in English, we are using the Christian books from Florida, and we have mainly three nationalities: Bangladesh, Africans, Filipinos... all children from the third world countries (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

Besides some associations, only a few, carry out an action of advocacy and international lobbying in order to promote immigrants' concerns.

There was a recent campaign that Lampada started, was the "Memorandum Circular n.4" from Philippine government, which says that the (employer in Italy), there is 5000 dollars representing repatriation fund, plus 3000 (???) fund, to be paid by the (employer), but in Italy, in the end, it is not the (employer) who will pay, it is the Filipino migrant, because first of all Filipino migrants want to be regularized, so that they can be reunited to their family, so they see these (quotas) as a good opportunity for them, but the Philippine government doesn't know this one, what the Philippine government knows is that he needs to extract this money. So what is different between us and other organizations in Milan or elsewhere in Italy, it is... we are glad, because now circular number 4 is under suspension (Interview with XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

International political lobbying. We participated in congresses/meetings organized by UN, in Beijing, in Austria... in order to force the governments to add in their activities also the migrant women (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

In addition, a very restricted number of FAOs are involved in research activities.

After the partnership with the UN and the European Community we have been invited many times. We are having success and our research projects too (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

A few associations (less than 15%)., moreover, have some other activities, such as the teaching of the Filipino language, the teaching of the Italian language, the promotion of business and investment in Italy and financial literacy programs.

Finally, there are some FAOs or bodies dealing with them which aim at coordinating and creating a network among all the FAOs, in order to produce, as a whole, a more organic and complete action addressed to the Filipino community.

Our programme is to coordinate the communities. Here we have forty Filipino communities. Once a month we meet. It's important to coordinate them otherwise anyone would work for himself and there would not be this sense of family (Interview with XXX, 25<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

We aim at building a net of associations to help each other (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

The issue of co-development, that is, of the involvement of FAOs in projects aimed at improving the conditions of the Philippine society, will be examined further on.

It is clear, considering all that we said about FAOs' activities, that their focus is mostly on enhancing social, recreational and religious activities. They also have an important function in terms of creating solidarity among migrants and intermediating between the Philippine Consulate and Embassy and the Filipino community. They are also starting to have different, more complex and structured activities and projects, but these need to be strongly enhanced and empowered, mostly in Milan, where the presence of such projects and initiatives is less numerous than in Rome.

The next two tables give information about the number of Filipino and non-Filipino participants in the FAOs' activities. What is clearly revealed by these data, is the fact that Filipino organizations are very seldom frequented by people from other nationalities than Filipino nationality.

**Tab. III.a – Number of Filipinos and no Filipino who participated in your programs in the past year**

	<i>Filipino</i>	<i>No Filipino</i>
None	2.6	23.1
1-99	13.2	66.7
100-199	31.6	5.1
200-299	15.8	--
300-399	13.2	--
400 or more	21.1	5.1
<i>Total</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

In fact, the FAOs' activities identified which are aimed at enhancing the contact and the integration between the Filipino community and Italian society are very few.

We received a certificate from the city mayor, for cleaning piazzas in Roma. The certificate was given by Veltroni (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

We are organizing an ethnic cooking course, addressed to Italians or to people from other nationalities (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

It is interesting, though, that since last year one of the objectives of the Centro Pilipino, the body which coordinates all the Catholic Filipino communities in Rome, has been to enhance the integration of the Filipino community into Italian society. Given the rootedness of this body in the Filipino community living in Rome, this action could produce some change in the situation of distance which characterizes the relationship between the two communities.

All Sundays Filipinos are together, but one Sunday every month we join Mass with them, with the Italian parish. We integrate with them. And even some other activities of the Italian Parish, we join them. We always collaborate with the Church, the Vicariate, and also with local parishes. Father R. wants every Filipino community to join, once a month, the activities of their local parish. We have to integrate, because we are here in Italy. Really, we must collaborate with them, because we are here. Some communities don't want, at the beginning, but they have to appreciate. Because sometimes they can not speak the language,, they speak English, but we are in Italy! Not all Italians speak English. They have to study Italian language, we have an Italian teacher at Centro Pilipino... Even in the job. Sometimes they can not communicate with their employer (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

This situation of distance is revealed also by our data concerning FAOs' collaborations with Italian public or private institutions or with international institutions based in Italy. Meaningfully, 42.5% of the FAOs contacted have no links with Italian institutions. Among those who have some collaboration with them (57.5%), 32.5% are linked to Church-based organizations, 32.5% to local government units, 10% to international organizations, 7.5% to trade unions and 7.5% to some bodies in the private sector. Moreover, only 47.8% of the FAOs in contact with these institutions declare that they collaborate always or often with them. Most of the closest collaboration between FAOs and Italian institutions concern local parishes, which provide the Filipino communities with a place to meet and conduct their activities.

And also during the Mass, every community collaborates with the Italian Church, with the Italian parish. Being here in Italy, under the jurisdiction of Italy, it is fine that we are accepted, religiously, that every activity we are being accepted. And also "Festa del Popolo", we are being together with Italians. And also Veltroni, so many times we have been together with Veltroni, and all of the communities were there (Interview with XXX, 25<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

Often this collaboration is not systematic, but just quite sporadic participation in conventions, demonstrations or recreational events promoted by some Italian institutions.

The Municipality of Milan invited us to a seminar on the rights of children. They talked about new immigrants too and gave a translation-disc for the most common words (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Once there was a party organized by the Municipality. We sent two singers (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

It's an opportunity to open ourselves up and stay with other groups. "Festa del popolo", concerts... (Interview with XXX, 25<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

However, it is sometimes a more regular collaboration, usually aimed at spreading information. Collaboration with some Trade Unions is quite frequent compared to that with other institutions such as, for example, NGOs.

They [Italian institutions] provide information because they know more than us (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

They [Fondazione dei Vasi: a trade union] give us the space to meet. Through the radio we can also obtain solidarity from Italians (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

In Rome, the contacts between FAOs and local government units are mediated by the presence of a Filipino Assistant City Counsellor, that is, a member of the consultative body aimed at giving advice to the local administration on issues concerning migration.

Every institution has its role... and every collaboration is a growth for us. Last time we visited a biological farm... maybe you know, A. O. This man you can see on the Internet. We are asking some information about the farm management. Because he has a farm, a biological farm. So that we can see the method and study it, to see if it is applicable, and if we can use it in the Philippines. We got to know him through the Filipino Women's Council, C. B. We are... we collaborate with them, but we are different organizations, different systems, with different objectives. You know that there is a counsellor for foreigners here in Rome. And we are collaborating with him. We tried to collaborate with IFAD. Also FAO: we have, there's a Filipino working there. They are trying to help me to find some funds (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

In a very restricted number of cases, emerging also from the qualitative interviews with key informants, some FAOs received grants from public or private Italian institutions or from international institutions based in Italy. All these FAOs, in our group, are based in Rome.

For example there's a project we wrote, and the province supported us, it was aimed at getting old people to know our Christmas traditions (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

We are closely linked to the Italian government, maybe we are privileged. We submit our proposals, when there are calls for proposals. Our nursing school, for example, is financed, for eleven months per year, by the Municipality of Rome. We have contacts both with the Municipality and with the Province of Rome, because we follow all the calls for proposals (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

The collaboration with Italian institutions is considered important by many FAOs, but they seldom manage to build a strong partnership with these bodies because of a series of difficulties.

It is very useful, because now we finally have this channel for being heard. There is a channel with the province, the Municipality and the Region. We want our needs to be considered because now the Filipino community is very integrated in the Italian society (There are many workers for families (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

It is essential to collaborate with the Italian government. We submit our projects to them, and thanks to them we have financing (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

First of all, the lack of communication with Italian public institutions is caused by a limited knowledge about their structure and functioning and, according to some informants, by a cultural tendency of Filipino people, linked to their colonial history and to the youth of the democracy in the Philippines, consisting of a certain lack of skill in dealing with democratic institutions.

Often people don't know where to go, who to address to have some support, sometimes they don't even know that they can be supported (...) We are ratepayers, so we have some money at the City Council, which we can use for associations and communities (...) The point is being able to manage the few funds we can have at our disposal (Interview with XXX, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008).

The limits are that they are probably not aware of the possibilities that there are for them on the part of the state, of the Italian administration. Hence also this type of association, for example, the one of those women I mentioned earlier, didn't know what to do to ask the institutions for the right to certain economic or legal facilities. Since they come from a colonial mentality very much linked to the Church, they refer much more to the traditional channels of the Church to ask for places or cheaper opportunities to organise their events, but they are unaware of what democracy is and thus of how to act within a democratic state and how they can utilise the services that the state puts at their disposal. There isn't an adequate awareness of the institutions. They don't act, or they act on the margins (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Another problematic aspect which emerges from the interviews with active members of FAOs is their lack of linguistic competence, which creates a barrier between Filipino organizations and Italian institutions in general, strongly restricting their opportunities of empowerment.



*What are the main difficulties you encounter in the conduct of your organization's activities?*

Lack of time to attend the meetings we're invited to and Italian language problems among members (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

*What are the main difficulties you encounter in the conduct of your organization's activities?*

Space, lack of time, Italian language (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

The difficulty is the language, first of all. Secondly many of them will not respond to the letters (solicitation letters asking for financial contributions), I don't know why, maybe there's a lot of associations and foundations asking... We are trying to send letters to Italian associations, and to all voluntary associations, ONLUS, but usually we don't have any answer (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2008).

Nevertheless, it is striking to observe, in this concern, that the quantitative results emerging from the survey don't go in the same direction: when asked to rate their level of competence in Italian language, most of the Filipino immigrants involved in the survey made intermediate assessments (Please refer to Report 1, III.C. *Life in Italy*), and didn't seem to have any significant problem in this respect. This divergence between our quantitative and qualitative results raises some questions about the actual level of Filipino immigrants' linguistic skills, and further targeted research would be necessary in order to give satisfactory answers. What we can hypothesize, however, by taking into account the overall situation of Filipino immigration in Italy, is that our interviewees' judgements diverge because they have a different conception of linguistic competence and of its use. Most likely, some rate their linguistic competence according to the use they make of this competence: as long as this use is merely instrumental – that is, aimed at allowing for daily survival: at work, in asking for information, in quick, superficial conversations in the street, reading a sign, etc. – Filipino immigrants have lower linguistic needs and, hence, tend to assess quite positively their knowledge of Italian language. If, however, this use starts to involve more complex needs – communicating about aspects of life implying a higher level of abstraction, writing a formal letter or reading the guides of calls for proposals – the assessment will probably become more negative, as the competences required are higher. Considering the few contacts which Filipino migrants in general have with Italians, apart from professional life, it is likely that their needs in terms of the Italian language are usually quite limited, and that their competence, though quite reduced, is sufficient to fulfil them. It is not sufficient,

however, to enable effective collaboration between FAOs and Italian institutions, as highlighted by some active members of FAOs.

On the other hand, it is likely that also on the part of Italian public and private institutions there is a lack of interest in involving and financing immigrants' organizations.

We are still at the beginning of this kind of activity, of collaboration and contribution. We are still at the beginning because the Filipino community, for the most part, is a self-governing community, which is concerned only about itself. There is no relationship or dialogue with institutions, no collaboration on projects or programs, maybe only referring to some events, but referring to projects and programs I can't see it yet. But we cannot blame only Filipinos for this (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

First of all they (Italian institutions) should give us more funding. They always finance the NGOs (that spend a lot for their personnel) or the Italian Caritas (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

Concerning the contacts between FAOs and associations of migrants from other nationalities, these are quite sporadic. Only 45% of the FAOs interviewed, in fact, have some form of collaboration with other migrants' associations, and, referring to this proportion, only 15% declare that they have this collaboration with a certain regularity. This collaboration can be of different kinds. In some cases it is not real collaboration, but, in fact, friendships between groups, usually sharing the same religious denomination or participating together in some cultural and recreational events such as the "Festa dei Popoli", organized by some immigrants' movements in collaboration with Italian institutions.

They [some immigrants from other nationalities, we are in contact with] are members of other congregations of the Methodist Church. Sometimes we meet with them, we exchange some ideas (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

During the "Festa del Popolo" every nation participates, two or three times every year (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

We have relationships with Africans. With associations, religious associations of Africans. And also the Sri Lankans, the religious associations of the Sri Lankans. We see them every Sunday. If we have a project, like, we go there with African groups. We know our names, you know... We also have projects together (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

In some other cases, we are dealing with collaboration for advocacy, lobbying and similar political goals, such as exchange of information about how to improve immigrants' conditions, more or less habitual participation in demonstrations or organization of demonstrations and campaigns.

Once we went to a demonstration, it wasn't a proper demonstration, but we gathered with other migrant groups and other Italian associations in a square to claim for immigrants rights, from the Italian government (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

We have been invited to some demonstrations, even by the trade unions (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

With the Comitato Migranti. To claim for residence permits for everyone. We met during the demonstrations (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

The issue of "pacchetto di sicurezza" (Italian act on security), we are working with other immigrant groups, from Africa... but it is better not to mention them. (Interview with XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

For exchanging of information. We are better placed, any time there's something concerning immigrant women. We meet with many groups (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

Most of the FAOs which collaborate with other immigrant groups declare that they are satisfied with this cooperation on a human level: having contacts with other cultures is an enriching experience.

It is an unforgettable experience to meet other people (Interview with XXX, 4<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Some of them find it useful to unite all migrants' forces for fighting for common objectives.

It is very useful because we know the realities of the other women in the other communities. It's a collective lobbying work. We always have a strong impact (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

Talking about human rights we have to unite our forces (not only Filipinos or MIDES community) to make our voice heard by the people responsible (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Only a few FAOs declare that participating in demonstrations aimed at promoting migrants' concerns is sometimes disappointing, as they are often exploited for political, sectarian objectives.

As in our Constitution and by-laws we declare ourselves to be apolitical and non-sectarian (that does not mean for an individual to be prevented from taking part in any religious or political community) when we arrived and found notices such as: house for everyone, no more people in prison... we went away. We don't agree, that's it (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Concerning the FAOs who have no contact with other immigrants' groups, they motivate this lack in different ways. Some of them declare they would like to put into effect such collaborations, but that they have had no opportunities in this direction.

We realized we need to try and get some contributions from the public sector, also in order to communicate with the Italian government, because maybe this would help us to link up with other immigrant groups (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

Some organizations, however, declare that they are not interested in such a collaboration, at least for the moment, because of a lack of common objectives.

*Why don't you collaborate with immigrants' associations from other nationalities?*

We lack common objectives. I never... for example, sometimes I also receive some e-mails from the Romanians, but I don't... I don't really care, so I immediately delete. Maybe one day... (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

It is likely that this unwillingness of some FAOs to have close contacts with other immigrants' groups is sometimes motivated by a sort of fear of becoming the target of some prejudice, addressed to other migrants' communities in the Italian context, and which do not involve, as of now, the Filipino community. Some words of our interviewees suggest that, maybe, there's a sort of jealousy and will to preserve the positive image which is assigned, in Italian society, to the Filipino community, and that this concern contributes to creating a distance between the Filipino and other migrants' communities.

I can say about our group... Regarding the spiritual condition, at least we know that we are teaching our people moral values, so that we can be a strength for the Italian government and not a deficit, you know. In the long run we can also change... the Filipino community could change the mind set of other migrants' communities. We have different ways of thinking, but we can associate with Italians, and if we consider moral values of the associations of Filipinos, this would have a good impact on the whole Italian society. You know, there are migrants who are violent. We can show that, you know, that we are happy, no matter what our situation is. And they can learn from us. Filipinos are content, no matter what they get. You can give us small salaries but we will keep on smiling, you know. And we try to do our best to have good relationships with our employers and to do our work properly, and if they see this, maybe we can be an example and they can follow us (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

Now that the new government law on security came out, also Filipinos, who are the most accepted community, who have less problems, they feel in danger (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

With regard to the collaboration between FAOs, the situation is quite different. 97.5% of the FAOs interviewed, in fact, declare that they collaborate with other Filipino organizations. Moreover, 69.2% of this large percentage collaborates with other FAOs

always or often. 94.9% of the FAOs having collaborations with other Filipino associations, in addition, think that this collaboration is useful or very useful.

The most frequent objective of the collaboration between FAOs is the organization of national celebrations.

*What are some examples of your collaboration with other Filipino organizations?*

We collaborate with various communities (especially Catholics) when there is a celebration or prayers (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Like for example here in San Lorenzo, when we celebrated our fiesta, they were there helping us with our program. Also the president of this estate association was there, and a choreographer... (Interview with XXX, 4<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

We organize Independence Day all together. Sometimes I go to some bingos or other things which some other associations have organized (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

This form of collaboration is usually promoted by the General Consulate or by the Embassy, which try to coordinate all FAOs by organizing monthly meetings of their leaders. Moreover, some FAOs organize and participate together in festivals, recreational events or religious celebrations.

Organization of the Independence Day: Filipino associations coordinate to let any of them bring a contribution (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

We participate in activities organized by the Embassy, for example Independence Day, or by the Chaplaincy (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Besides, there are forms of cooperation aimed at promoting forums and conventions concerning important matters of interest to the Filipino community.

We had a Forum, about family problems, in Rome. We organized it with other Filipino associations. And the people who participated, the associations who participated (each one takes part in the forum sharing its points to teach to the community) (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Moreover, there are associations providing services to other FAOs: information or support services.

Sometimes we organize medical missions towards other Filipino communities, because we have so many brothers or sisters who are dentists, or nurses... (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

In some cases, there are collaborations which have political goals: organizing demonstrations and lobbying campaigns addressed to the Philippine government, Embassy or Consulate, or to the Italian government. In this case, some organizations are trying to build a regular collaboration involving FAOs based in a broader area than the city itself.

For example if we're organizing a campaign we always try to have an alliance with other associations. We also organize meetings where we invite the leaders of other organizations, because allied work is part of our program. Lampada is a mass organization, not a sectarian organization. Then we have the program to expand our horizon, work, to inform that there's a campaign, so we must collaborate. And if you are asking about regular collaboration, we have this in Rome, in Florence, and now the new one is in Lombardy. And in the city of Bologna, Mantua, we are forming an alliance. We are in the process of building a broader alliance of Filipino associations in Northern Italy. But we are in the process, we would like to build a broader alliance between different Filipino associations. In December we shall have a congress for this alliance (Interview with XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

Some FAOs, in addition, have the aim of communicating with other Filipino organizations in order to address people in need to the association which can contribute in solving their problems.

We do referral service, for example, when we meet someone who has many problems, like for example (somebody dies), we refer to an organization to organize the necessary procedures (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

A few associations, finally, cooperate in order to collect funds for the promotion of some initiatives, usually aimed at supporting the Filipino communities struck by calamities.

We have collaboration in collecting funds for calamities (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

The bodies in charge of coordinating the Filipino community are, in Rome, the Centro Filipino, which deals with religious communities, the Embassy, and some FAOs which have as their main goal the creation of a network of FAOs.

Well, all the communities are members of the Centro Filipino, and we have meetings every first Thursday of the month. And they belong to the Pastoral Council (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

The net is one of our aims, as I explained before (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

In Milan, this body is the General Consulate, which, apart from organizing a monthly meeting for all the FAO coordinators, is trying, in collaboration with some FAOs, to create an organization constituted by all the leaders of the other FAOs in Milan.

The Consulate organizes a meeting to coordinate us. We have all phone numbers, if we need something we can call, for anything (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The Council of Advisers is the group of all the groups. They want to go together. We have just started. We still need to work. We have the meeting at the Consulate. The idea came from some groups which wanted to unify all groups (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Coordinating all the FAOs seems to be a work which requires a big effort, as, despite the frequent collaboration between FAOs, the self promoting attitude of many leaders and the conflicts dividing some organizations make it difficult to have a regular, well functioning cooperation of all the FAOs. The words of our interviewees reveal that, even if FAOs have many contacts at a superficial level, at a deeper level they are not organically coordinated and able to unite for a common objective. This remark seems to be more pertinent with respect to the context of Milan, as all the key informants referring to this issue are living in this area. In fact, the bodies in charge of coordinating FAOs are much more numerous and well rooted in Rome than in Milan.

Last year the Consulate tried to unite all the associations together and asked me for help, but I don't think that it will be a good idea to elect a president. Some people are carrying on very -very personal interests (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

We are connected to a wide range of organizations but we do things independently. More or less, all religious communities organize similar activities and we often celebrate big events, like Flores de Mayo, together... (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

The limitation (of FAOs) is that they govern themselves and manage their activities regardless of the rest, and for this reason there are already programmed decisions, and this is why it is difficult to work with the Filipino communities. I think that this is a period of transition for the Filipino community: they should reflect, at least here in Milan, about what it means to be Filipinos, so that all Filipino communities can recognize themselves in a vision statement, something saying who we are, what we are required to do and to be in this city. This is what the Filipino community is still lacking (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Moreover, a very large proportion of the FAOs interviewed (90%) collaborate with the Philippine Embassy or General Consulate. 83.3% declare that they have quite frequent collaborations (often or always). Moreover, 88,9% consider this collaboration as very important or important. Besides, 82.5% of the FAOs interviewed think that the support of the Philippine Embassy or General Consulate is important or very important for their association. This opinion emerges also from some qualitative data:

They call us for meetings, activities, they inform us on the government programs and trainings for various skills and competences (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Paradoxically, however, the qualitative data collected in this concern are not all so positive. Actually, the most frequent opinion of the interviewees about the General Consulate and the Embassy is that their main concern is organizing national celebrations through the collaboration of FAOs, and that these bodies ask FAOs for more than what they give back to them. Apart from the function of coordinating all FAOs, giving information to them, providing some training and representing, formally, the Philippine government in Italy— all issues which, in any case, are considered as quite important -, they seem to have a little role. Instead, they need FAOs, as they are intermediaries between them and the larger Filipino community.

I think we are dealing with a request for collaboration, that is, it (the Consulate) is interested in these associations when it asks for their collaboration for the organization and participation in some events. I think it is all about this. And also for an intermediation with the basis, for example bringing messages to the Consulate, giving information about the problems of people (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

They call us when they need us. We are recognized because we're able to do some work they're not able to do, for the women's rights and that's positive (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

A possible explanation for the discrepancy between quantitative and qualitative data is the attitude of deference that many interviewees showed towards the Philippine Embassy and Consulate, which led them to give, at first, answers which didn't imply any kind of critical remark. By delving deeper into their ideas and opinions, instead, these remarks were finally expressed. This ambivalent attitude emerges very clearly from the following interview excerpt:

For us (the support of the Philippine Consulate) it is very important, first because our respect is always there, because it is the government, and also, as long as there are some of our members who are at work from Monday to Sunday, they can't go to the Consulate, and through us, through the representatives who comes to our ... activities, on Sunday, they can ask, they can know... And also Independence Day, it is the Consulate that helps us coordinate for organizing this celebration. We can do it by ourselves, they are happy that we have an organization, the Consulate is happy, we have this organization, they are happy because we celebrated Independence Day, they need us, because we are the organizations, we help to organize, and we participate, and we take all the business men... so they earn money, they are happy that we have an organization, but we must do it by ourselves (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Our quantitative analysis gives some information about the problems perceived as the most constraining by the Filipino associations and religious communities based in Rome



and in Milan. Lack of finances is indicated as one of the main difficulties by 55% of the interviewees, absence of an affordable place to conduct the regular activities of the group by 17.5%, relational problems by 17.5% and lack of support by the organizations' members by 20%. Concerning this last point, many interviewees specified that the reason why members don't participate with a satisfactory assiduousness in the organization's activities is not their limited interest, but, instead, their lack of free time, caused by their very time-consuming work.

Members do not have time, because they are convinced that... they are here in order to work. We are... instead, we, the leaders, we think that apart from our job we also have the responsibility to help the others. It is not a matter of leadership, but a problem of lack of support from members. Once they come, the second time they don't come, because there's their job, they work until late, also on Sunday (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

On top of this, 25% of the interviewees declared that one of the weightiest problems experienced by their organization is the members' jobs, which occupy all their time and take many essential human resources away from the association or religious community. Many Filipino members of FAOs, in fact, consider the fact of earning money to be sent home as their priority. The time left for their commitment for the organization's growth is very limited.

Because most of us work from Monday to Saturday, so it is difficult to practice our faith. We work from Monday up to Saturday. In the Philippines it was different, not like here... we had more time for ourselves. And also the place, because some of us have to... they take one hour and a half to get to the Church... you know, Rome is a big city, and they don't have time... so it is difficult to reach the Church. And it is difficult to coordinate them, because sometimes they are free, one is free, the other is not... so it is difficult for me, really, to gather them (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

With regard to the working conditions of Filipino immigrants, another fact emerged from the interviews: by far the most frequent occupation of Filipino immigrants in domestic work, that is, in a low skilled job which often involves a condition of isolation from the public sphere and which doesn't require or stimulate intellectual growth or the effort to integrate into the institutional context of the host country, has negative repercussions on the human capital available within the FAOs.

I guess what they need is a recognition of the capability of the Filipinos working here, because other than being domestic workers they are capable of doing more, because majority of the workers are professionals, but for lack of opportunities... because they can not enter other fields of employment they

are forced to work as domestic workers, and they can do more. If Italian government could possibly consider to, you know, open their door... recognize... This would be helpful for associations also, because people, they could really be a voice in Italian society (1). They would have the confidence for being a voice... (2) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Concerning relational problems, qualitative data augment our knowledge about the nature of this difficulty. According to the interviewees, the associative life of Filipinos and, in particular, of the Filipino community living in Italy, is strongly affected by a cultural feature typical of this group, the “crab mentality”: the tendency of many individuals to search for social recognition by becoming the leader of a group, socially recognized within the Filipino community as an institutional one. Every association or community usually tries to show its superiority with respect to the others, an attitude which creates several conflicts between FAOs so as to obstruct their collaboration. Likewise, within a single association or community, a simple divergence in views can lead a member to break away from the group, by creating a new association, constituted of the other members sharing his or her opinions and recognizing his or her leadership. The result of this cultural tendency is the existence, within the Filipino community, of a plethora of small organizations with little collaboration among them.

And there is that “crab mentality” among its members and officers! (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Filipinos... they want to be president! So whenever there's a small group they form an association, form an association, form an association! (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

In the area of Milan there are about thirty or forty thousands Filipinos, every four Filipinos they create an association, where one is the president, one is the vice-president, one is the secretary and one is the treasurer, and that's it. And they stay there, they are not registered, they are nothing. Every association, I don't know, wants to tend its own little garden. Our difficulty is to reunite all associations, because as long as we're one thousand, one thousands and five hundred, we can't have a big impact, but if we were... (...). Union is strength (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Our main problem as an association is) jealousy. They think Landicho wants to be the king of the Filipino community, but we're just trying to build a net (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

The weakness (of FAOs) is the political factor. We call it Contest for Leadership, if you have one leader and it's election time and that leader loses the election he will create another group. You can see communities will divide and the followers will go with that leader, Even in the Philippines is the same. If you are the leader of a group and you put up a chapel, on election time, you lose, you put up another chapel just across the street. This is why they think Filipinos are very religious: there are so many chapels! But the truth, in fact, is the political interest underneath (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2/008).

Some key informants point out another important weakness concerning FAOs, that is, the lack of communication with Italian public and private institutions, a matter which we have already illustrated above.

In this concern, we think it advisable to add that many active members of Filipino associations expressed their willingness but incompetence in obtaining, for their organization, an official recognition in the host country.

We are working at this because we would like to be registered here, in the City Council, so that we can move freely. We are working with this, because we really wanted... we would like to cooperate with the City Council. Because we would like to cooperate with this “Holy Angels”, (...) They are a charity... some charity associations, in the night, especially in the Winter season, they give blankets, food, to poor people. We want to communicate with them, but we are not recognized, so we cannot go with them. Also these donations of blood. Only that we are not recognized, so I don’t know, I’m the one in charge of communicating with AVIS, but.. (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

This difficult communication with Italian institutions also affects the financial conditions of FAOs,. In fact, as has already been seen, their budget is very seldom augmented by some public grants or by other kinds of financing coming from NGOs or other institutions. The words of some interviewees are significant in this concern:

Writing projects... We can’t express properly in Italian, especially in written Italian, most of the times proposals are not accepted and financed, because of the problem of the language (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

Even if we have very good relationships with local bodies and institutions, we always have big problems, we never manage to participate, and it’s not only because of our lack of knowledge, but also because they are very well hidden, and you can never know where to look for them, the grants from the European Union, from the Region... I mean, it is incredible the way you are registered with the Province, and they never let you know about the opportunities you have (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

*Do you receive any grant from the public sector?*

Actually this is our problem, our purpose is to get the City Council to be able to help us in funding For the moment we do fund raising activities, such as Bingo Social, raffles... the prize is a return ticket to Manila... Because we are at the first stage (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

A need for new and young leaders is also highlighted by some respondents, who point out that all the current leaders belong to the first generation of Filipino migrants and that most of them would like to be replaced by new people, capable of bringing in new ideas.

The Filipino community needs some young leaders who know who to address (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

(For my association, in the next five years, I hope) that it will become stable, and strong, that we have leadership, and new leaders. The big problem that I see, is that lots of migrant leaders, also from other communities ..... is the lack of young leaders. We have our new president who is young, but we are not sure she will become president again... so leadership is a big problem, so I hope we will convince new Filipino women to join our group, and that they will become leaders (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

Finally, some key informants point out another weakness of FAOs, that is, their strongly prevailing focus on socialization and entertaining activities, and their incapacity to differentiate their programs and organizing well-defined activities capable of going beyond recreational objectives, so as to meet some other needs of the Filipino community living in Italy.

Here in Rome there are thirty-two communities but just 2 are registered. We are the only one really working, the others just stay together, sing and eat together, but they don't do so much for the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2008).

Filipinos need to feel part of a group, especially when they are away from home, but associations need to be more solid, in the sense that they cannot only provide for people's emotional security, but they also have to provide them with the instruments for future growth and this is what we are trying to do (...) (Interview with XXX, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008).

Clearly, this weakness is closely linked to the problems highlighted above, as socialization activities, unlike others, more structured and complex, require smaller investments in terms of time, finances or other competences. A need for a professionalization of FAOs is also perceived.

We are still in the process of formalizing the association, so we would like to become more institutionalized, so as to become more efficient. We would like more professionalization. And we would like to have a formal office (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

We need capacity building (...). We miss capacity building, we can give training to others but we should improve. The other associations would benefit from it so much, they have nothing but going to the Church on Sunday and have the Sunday meal (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

The other thing we need is to have a clear program on what we want to do, to have a structured program... we waste time to organize things because we don't know what we have to do (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Even in this case, the lack of time and the financial problems, hence of personnel and of possibility to attend trainings, make it more difficult to improve this aspect.

The most frequent system used by FAOs in order to make decisions, as well as for choosing the officers, as has already been seen, is the democratic one.

Each month we meet and discuss. Then we vote (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Some FAOs decide through consensus and some of them, mainly religious non-Catholic ones, assign to the leader, usually the Pastor, and its closest counselor, the task of guiding and deciding for the community.

The group of advisers discuss and decide with the consensus (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

If I have an idea, I cannot decide. I personally have the authority to help the pastor decide, because I'm one of the elders. We're the board of trustees. But if in one ministry they have an idea, they cannot decide themselves. We give him the respect to make the final decision. Also his wife, I also want the family of the pastor to participate (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Some FAOs who are affiliated with, or part of, international organizations have to take into account, in their decisional process, the opinion of the centre of the organization, which can impose or just give indications about the actions to be implemented.

We always decide as a group. We vote among members. Each month we call our general association in the Philippines to ask what is their project and what we can do (Interview with XXX, 1<sup>st</sup> September 2008).

Everyone has his space. The leaders propose the various possibilities and give their opinion, then they listen to the people. Some decisions are made among us, some need my agreement and all of them must have the agreement of the Mother Church in the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The most frequently used evaluation system is discussion among members in charge of the project at issue and the drawing up of a report.

We meet after each activity to discuss the realization of expected goals. We try to point out what was wrong (Interview with XXX, 4<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

A few associations use questionnaires in order to evaluate the impact of their projects. A few associations, besides, also envisage a long term evaluation, through discussion with, or a survey on, the beneficiaries of the project at issue, some time after its conclusion.

We have done the evaluation for the computer classes, and most of the trainees found it helpful. Through questionnaires. And we had a meeting about two months ago, with some trainees of the training, again for a survey, but I have not finished yet analysing the results of the survey. But it is very important to incorporate in the project the evaluation instruments (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

We've always done the evaluation of our activity. We write an obligatory report, then we can monitor it, we continue keeping in contact with the associations or the Filipinos who participated. They call us and come back then. This is our instrument of impact. Sometimes we just discuss among us, the report is not required for all the activities (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).



### III.C. Present and Discuss Data based on Section D

Let's now take into account the activities carried out in the Philippines by the FAOs interviewed. 75% of them conducted this sort of program, while 25% prefer to concentrate, at least for the moment, on their activities in Italy. 55% of our group conduct relief or calamity assistance programs, when necessary because of a natural disaster. 20% conducted, or have conducted up to now, feeding programs, and 17.5% scholarship grants programs. Besides, 15% offer medical missions, 12.5% religious activities, 10% donations of educational equipment, 7.5% livelihood assistance, 7.5% recreational, social or cultural activities, 5% donations of materials in general, 5% donations of medical equipment, 2.5% infrastructure projects such as houses, schools, hospitals or water wells and 2.5% knowledge transfer such as capacity building training.

Moreover, 22.5% of our group claim to have projects which support the process of development in the Philippines. When asked about the nature of these projects, 10% of these FAOs said they offered scholarship grants and 5% knowledge transfer and capacity building trainings. Moreover, 5% of the FAOs claimed to sustain the development process through relief or calamity assistance programs, 5% through cultural, social or recreational activities, 5% through projects for the business and investment promotion in Italy, 2.5% through medical missions, and 5% through projects for the support of infrastructures such as houses, schools, hospitals or water wells. 2.5%, moreover, declared that they promote religious activities and 2.5% projects for business and investment promotion in the Philippines and 2.5% for financial literacy programs.

A few FAOs, moreover, carry out information campaigns, mostly about the conditions of overseas Filipinos, in order to reduce emigration and foster initiatives for the promotion of human rights, research activities and lobbying initiatives.

We consider the development what we are doing, like organizing people, educating people... that's the main part of our development project, to educate and organize them. But regarding infrastructures, buildings, we don't have this. Since our coordination is mainly characterized organizationally with this Migrante International, so here we always find what is the problem. There was a case where OWA was shutting the door, they didn't help these Filipinos. What we did, we immediately called this Migrante International, then send this information and then Migrante International does the rest. It is very



satisfactory. It's pressure or lobbying methods to the govern or to other institutions in the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

At the moment it (our co-development activity) is just the research in cooperation with the associations there (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

We carry out campaigns for women's rights (with "Gabriela" association, and help the farmers there (with Migrante International association: Filipinos overseas assign their lands, which they can't cultivate, because they are far away, to some farmers who live in the Philippines and who don't have their lands. They have to pay a rent (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

As can be inferred from these data, the ways of supporting development in the Philippines are several, as well as the conceptions that our interviewees have about development. Actually, the fact of providing assistance in the case of calamity has a very different function and impact from, for example, education programs or intervention for building infrastructures.

Besides, 84.2% of the FAOs which promoted or are promoting some activities in the Philippines think that this experience is satisfactory or very satisfactory, as helping people in need is considered as a very rewarding activity. Many respondents, however, explain that their activity in the Philippines is at a first stage, that they would like to do much more, but that they are limited because of their financial problems in Italy.

Step by step... we have only 500 euro for the moment, and it is not enough. It's a little. We are making fund raising, we can collect small amounts, we put it together. We started this project... we will make it little by little (Interview with XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

For the moment we are at the first stage... we are working on training. In Italy, for immigrants The OFW caucus in the Philippines submitted a project to the IFAD, International Fund for Agricultural development. There's a lot happening back home, actually. What we are doing, for the moment, as an association, is our training program about social entrepreneurship. Because people, at the beginning, they send money to their families. If they earn more and save more, there's more possibility that they will donate their money for some good causes, or for causes other than the survival and the needs of their families (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

It's a good thing but still too little. We need more funding (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

In fact, many organizations, 55%, are planning to promote, within three years, a development project (the first one or one more with respect to the already existing ones) addressed to the Philippines. Some qualitative data give us an insight in the main plans of our interviewees in this concern.

We'd like to buy a big estate (one, two or three hectares) to build up a youth centre and an agricultural farm to help the Philippines to use their natural resources and improve tourism and self-production. As a

community we want to share knowledge for the development of our nation (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Because most of the immigrants are women, and most of those left there are the fathers. Usually the fathers are the ones who look after their children. So what we have... we would like to have an income generating project. For creating work for the fathers left there. And also to give information about our situation in Italy. To explain our situation to our relatives. If they had information about how we are living here, they would value the money that we send to the Philippines, they wouldn't just spend it somewhere else. And then one of... what we are thinking also, is how to... Migrating means losing family culture, in the Philippines we have a very close family culture, but as mothers migrate, we have all kinds of family problems, families are separated... so, while they are separated, how can they keep the close family values? We want to work at this, for the family (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

And a school, we would like to build a school, because in Mindanao the school has been destroyed by these... delinquents, so children there don't have a school, don't study. It is our project to build a school, just a little room in Mindanao... Because these children don't have a school, they will grow like those delinquents. We don't want this to happen (1).

Especially in Mindanao they are teaching, because they don't have any place where too... they are teaching under a tree (they laugh) (2) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

Moreover, 20% of the organizations would like to do the same, but are not sure they'll manage, because of their financial conditions which are not so positive.

We would like to improve Filipino export, but at the moment we are just planning. We are screening goods that might be brought here. Anyway we need financial help from the consulate (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Also most of those who don't have any development project, or who are not planning to promote one, motivate this choice by referring to their financial incapacity.

Development projects are too big. We'll help for calamities as we already do (that is not a proper development project, it's assistance) (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

A few points of view emerged of informants who don't agree with the concept of co-development. These people are very critical towards the Philippine government and think that every effort of the emigrants will be in vain if the main problem of the Philippines, that is, the corruption and malfunctioning of the government, isn't solved.

Because the Philippines is not a poor country, it's very rich. The problem is the corruption of our politicians. It's difficult to solve this, that is the real problem (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Some interviewees, in contrast, think that, just as the government can't be effective in promoting the development of the Philippines, because of its corruption, it is up to the

migrants to do so, with other economical resources than those paid to the government in the form of taxes geared towards the process of development.

So if the migrants are united, of course the migrants will give a lot of money, and the project will become reality, because the money won't be lost, won't be stolen. The migrants workers can put up a business to help people in the Philippines, the poor ones. Sometimes the problem is the government, so it is better that migrants think about this, of course there are also good people in the government, but it is a risk to give everything to the government, migrants must have a big role (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

In particular, some respondents highlight the fact that there are certain areas of the country which have never and will probably never become beneficiaries of aid and development projects coming from the government, as the focus of the latter is elsewhere.

Because now we don't have funding, we need to find funding to help those there... We're looking for something. Because in the Philippines, especially in Mindanao, there are many tribal areas there. Very very poor (1).

When helps are coming from another country it doesn't arrive in Mindanao, it stops in Louzon (2).

The president is from Louzon, teachers are from Louzon, the majority is from Louzon... Especially development projects, irrigation systems, hospitals, everything stops in Louzon... No, things coming from the government don't arrive... (1) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

In short, these interviewees think that, concerning the issues related to development, the immigrants should intervene in order to fill the gaps of the government's conduct.

Some interesting observations can be made concerning the institutions considered by our respondents as the most suitable for becoming their partners in the promotion of a development project. Nearly a half of the group (about 55%) consider the Catholic Church as a reliable partner, about one third the NGOs (35%), the private sector (32,5%) and non-Catholic Churches (30%). Only one quarter of our group, besides, would chose as a partner the relevant local government units (22,5%) or national government agencies (20%). In addition, some interviewees would rather refer to their local counterpart, that is, an association affiliated to their FAO and partnered with it for the implementation of development projects on a local level, or, otherwise, to the international association, based in the Philippines, that they are affiliated to. These people, in fact, don't trust any other partner than the latter.

In our opinion, in our own experience, it is much better to cooperate with the private sector, or directly to the person responsible, because if you operate with the government agencies, you don't even know where your help will go. It is much better for us to work through our members (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

And also we have our counterpart association in the Philippines, so I don't really need another partner (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

Finally, some respondents consider as reliable partners what they call "people's" or civic associations, that is, non-profit-making organizations working for the benefit of local communities.

In the Philippines we have this negative impression about NGOs. So we prefer what we call people's organizations. There are many of these in the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

What can easily be deduced from these data is the lack of trust towards the national government. This point is highlighted by many qualitative data. For example, when the question was asked about what kind of support the Philippine government should extend to overseas Filipinos and Filipino migrants' associations that are interested in supporting development projects, many people expressed their perplexity as to the possibility of a concrete, effective intervention of the government.

Actually if only the government would just be... I mean... not corrupt... really support, and just... I don't know, so many government officials, I don't want to judge... I heard, you know, if only the government officials were honest, we wouldn't be in this trouble. If the officials really wanted to help the people... the ones who really want to do so, they are burden (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

Maybe it is better international funds, NGOs... I think it is better (I don't trust the government, they're just working for their particular interest (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

First of all they should change their policies... The problem of the Philippine government, from the very low level, I think when I'm talking of the first one, the first that we mentioned was local government, it is better to stop on this level, the national government should make good policies, policies that are pro development, that there is no corruption. Only they talk about migrants as heroes, because they are interested in the remittances, but actually, they create programs that Filipinos have to pay... we don't even know where our money is going... If the government is involved, nobody will join the program. So let's stop at the local level (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

But I don't know... Because we really don't have anything from our government, so I don't know, I'm sorry, but... (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The government there is corrupt. They just should go away (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Actually, the fact is underlined by many interviewees that a part of the migrants' taxes should already be used by the government for implementing development projects in the Philippines, but that, as a matter of fact, the situation seem not to be improving.

Not the government... we know that the government is not helping us, with the funds we give them... For example, there is a sort of insurance, for the OFWs, but we pay a lot of money for this, but before we get the benefit we have to die... (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

Actually there are some development projects in the Philippines, from the government, but the problem is that sometimes they use this projects only for popularity, not really to help... Actually... I don't know what they should do. I have no opinion about this (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

Further answers to this question are given by respondents who suggest to the Philippine government that they should organize capacity-building trainings addressed to FAOs, provide them with financial support or act as a conduit of information, in order to communicate to Filipinos Overseas which are the needs of Philippine society and which are the most suitable local partners.

The government agencies, the Commission on Filipino Overseas is the organization that should identify the needs existing in the Philippines, and then that should become a conduit... Then they should communicate to immigrants who are getting more income, in the US, Canada, so... they call it... the most important contribution is the counterpart funding,, what was experienced by Mexicans... for every dollar that an immigrants' association or the home town association gives, the local government will give one dollar and then central government will give one... and then the money becomes enough to fund the projects. The government should give more information about what is happening at a local level to the group of migrants living in the US and in Canada, because, there, sometimes they become kind of detached... Here in Italy they know what is going on in their families... at local level. And also, for the immigrants in general, also here in Italy, the government should ensure that money doesn't get stolen. They must show a strong safeguard to the money which is sent...that the money will go to the right place (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

The government should link us to the right people to be able to communicate, develop and build up a cooperation project. They have an important role: they can introduce us to the right partners (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Well I guess, what is needed from the Filipino migrants, is technical support, in this... because there should be a training for the Filipino associations, for the associations of Filipino migrants, so that they will have the knowledge, to manage their association and undertake projects that will be for their own benefit, training, technical support, and financial support, of course! But first of all they need knowledge (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

In order to improve the communication between the government and the Filipinos overseas, it is suggested that the Commission on Filipinos Overseas should include, among its officers, some people who really are Filipino migrants, in order to better understand their needs and points of view.

There is a government immigrants' organization but they don't represent the migrants as they're not immigrants! There should be one or two of us inside that institution (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

Some respondents, besides, expressed their wish to promote, through their FAO activity, Italian tourism in the Philippines, and ask the government to contribute to this promotion.

I think, for me, the number one, the Philippines country is not only the government, it is a very beautiful country. I would like the government to push tourism you know, like now the Philippine government is really developing the tourist spots in the country, so we are immigrants in Europe, so we could push the development of tourism (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The need is highlighted to help Filipino migrants to reintegrate in their country, once they decide to go back, maybe in their old age. According to our respondents the Philippine government should make investments in this direction, financing those migrants who decide to put into effect an activity allowing them to reintegrate, from an economical point of view, in their country of origin.

You know, not all of Filipino immigrant workers are fortunate... some of them are, also in other countries, they go home and they have nothing. The government gives them a small amount of money, to put up some business and then...they have to give back that amount to our government. Giving money to those who are not fortunate when they go abroad, so that they can start something productive in the Philippines... The remittances these immigrants send already are supposed to be contributing through their taxes, or any tax applied to everything they buy in the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

Moreover, some interviewees express the necessity for capacity-building training addressed, in the Philippines, to their families left behind, who could, thanks to this, become able to manage, on a local level, the intervention financed by the migrants. Besides, an insurance system is needed capable of protecting the promoters of co-development initiatives in case of failure. Some measures are requested for preventing Filipino migrants who decide to invest in the Philippines from becoming victims of frauds.

They suggested to invest in the fishing sector, and in planting agriculture products that are for export, and then our relatives should manage this in the Philippines. But our relatives have no training for this kind of activity. So this is one thing they should do. Because our role should be co-financing. So someone has to manage the business that we are going to put up there. And they should help us in marketing the product. With the competition, for local products: because products coming from foreign countries are much cheaper than local products... so local products are not competitive. So the government should give information, what happens, protection in case the business fails, these things (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

They have to be honest. We're not enough protected from frauds (committed by Filipinos in the Philippines to those in Italy).. We cannot go back to take legal action because we lose our job then (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Many respondents add that their only real request to the Philippine government is to create work in the Philippines, so that people won't be compelled to emigrate any more.

The government... we contribute every year, I think, 14 billion dollars, and we don't know where they spend this money. This money should be invested to create jobs. To help migrants to be reintegrated when they go back home. But I think it is used to pay the foreign debt. Training skills, simplify the government regulation... for under the table... you call it... when someone has to back you up. Remove this (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

There should be a portion of the income from taxations from migrants that should be allocated for rural development (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2008).

They should support more projects to create jobs in the Philippines, so that they can stay in their country, they don't have to go away (Interview with XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

Well the Philippine government, I think, should give work and high salary. So that Filipinos will not leave the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

About two thirds of our group (67.5%) declare that the officers or members of their FAOs received training on how to manage an organization and its activities. Usually the topics of these trainings are religious and spiritual issues (for religious communities), leadership, community-building, conflict management, computer competences and how to organize activities, how to communicate with people and how to inform them.

We organize seminars about the Principles of the Bible, which are attended by all the participants at different stages of their route (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Our association, before you enter, you have a training about leadership. The chapters, or the regions, or our National Council, within our fraternity, you'll have this training, because leadership is one of our fundamentals (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Yes, I organize trainings, because officers must be upgraded, they need to have all information in order to run the organization. We do a research and organize trainings. About the organization, how it works, how to make analysis and visibility studies (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2008).

In some cases, they refer to training in financial literacy or social entrepreneurship.

I know OFSPES trainings or Embassy trainings on how to save money and make plans for the future (Interview with XXX, 25<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

The most frequent promoters of these trainings are, in Rome, the Philippine Embassy, the Embassy of the Holy See (for Catholic communities) and the Centro Pilipino, and, in Milan, the General Consulate.

We had leadership trainings organized by the Chaplaincy and the Embassy in the “Centro Pilipino” where there is enough space (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Yes they are all trained, by the Embassy of the Holy See, and by the Embassy at the Quirinale, also. When there’s an election, and there’s a new coordinator, he needs to be trained. we had a workshop here: we had been grouped, four or five, all of the coordinators had been grouped, and then the Chaplain priest told every group to solve, to discuss some topics: every group one topic. Problems of the communities. Problems we have encountered in the communities. And also there is the computer course, offered to all the community coordinators by the Embassy at the Quirinale (Interview with XXX, 25<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

Besides, some FAOs are indicated which often implement some trainings, addressed to their own members or to the larger Filipino community, usually collaborating with the previous indicated bodies.

Leadership training, we have a PowerPoint and some more documents. We found some materials from other organizations, we analysed them and we made our own training program. Our seminars have two parts: the input part and the workshop (Interview with XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

In some cases, however, the interviewees declare that the members or officers of their FAOs were taught how to manage an organization by their life and working experience.

I was enterprise general manager so I attended various courses about staff managing and motivation (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Only in one case is the involvement of an Italian institution in the implementation of a training program addressed to immigrants’ associations mentioned.

My husband and I attended one of the trainings given by the Embassy and an Italian school about the enterprises for the immigrants. Then we taught this to people. This was in 2005 (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

A large proportion of our group (about 80%), nevertheless, think that their FAOs’ members would need some more training about how to manage an organization. This widespread need in terms of education is revealed also by further quantitative data, concerning the educational needs expressed by the FAOs’ active members that will be presented and discussed in Report 3 [Cf. Report 3, *Training Related Report*].

It is not surprising, then, that the MAPID proposal, consisting of the opportunity to participate in a capacity-building training program aimed at enhancing Filipino immigrants’ role in producing development in the host country and, mostly, in their home country, sounds very interesting to a large percentage of our group: about 74.4%. The interviewees who show a marked interest towards the MAPID training program



account for this attitude by affirming that training is essential for them to start effective projects of development in the Philippines.

Because training is very good for our members, to be more useful to our community, also in the Philippines. Training is very important (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Because without a training, the project won't work (Interview with XXX, 1<sup>st</sup> September, 2008).

Besides, their wish is that, through this training, their opportunities to improve their professional and social condition in Italy will increase.

If there is the possibility to improve our social status, it's important (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Some of these interviewees, in addition, declare that their FAOs need some training in order to educate some new, young members.

They are used to trainings. This would be very useful because many young members didn't have a training. They need business trainings, but when they're organized by the Embassy they don't go, as they don't trust the government (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

About 15.4% of them, moreover, declare that they are somewhat interested, but that they have some perplexities linked, in most of the cases, to the absence of free time of the FAO's members, which would make it difficult for them to regularly attend a training program.

The problem is just the lack of time (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Nevertheless, some more cautious or mistrustful points of view are expressed, usually arising from the fact that the Philippine government is one of the partners in the MAPID project. Some interviewees expressed their fear that this training program won't be useful for fostering immigrants' capacity for being active agents of change, but, on the contrary, that it will lead them to be passive executors of the rules imposed from the top, by the people in power, and geared towards the interests of these few, already privileged people.

In this cases we have to check the situation. If it's well managed we can be interested (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

This close calls for our participation, but our participation as beneficiaries. But beneficiaries for whom? For you? (...). Because we encountered many experiences, many institutions, all over the world, offering help similar to this capacity building training, in the end it is not beneficial to the people. They contacted us just because they needed a beneficiary, which was required by the funding institution. That's why we are asking what the actual benefit of the immigrants will be. If the benefit is the knowledge, we already have this. We have our material. So if you're interested in supporting financially our program, maybe you can work on the existing program we already have (1).

Because here there's this document telling who are the partners, and it is mentioned the Philippine government (he laughs) Before getting money from the European Union, please give us this money! Because it is they who created the problems. And actually it is not this Commission on Filipino Workers who honestly has the intention of solving the problem. And they don't even have the capacity to address the problems of immigrants (2).

For example, in terms of capacity building: this is why we developed our programs. Because when we looked at the modules regarding capacity building which were offered by different institutions, we studied these, they are teaching the Filipino community to be a passive one. They are teaching the organizations to be passive organizations, to always collaborate, even if there's a policy which is detrimental to the rights of Filipino people, and you must always respect and work with the Government etcetera etcetera (1) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).



### III.D. Present and Discuss Data based on Section E

It is meaningful to analyse the functions that, according to our interviewees, the FAOs have for the Filipino community in Italy. It is clear, from their words, that the main role assigned to these groups, which are closely related to each other, is creating, for Filipino migrants, social belonging, recreational moments and occasions for celebrating together their faith, as well as generating a supportive network and a sense of solidarity among them.

Because Filipinos here want to have an activity. Because we have a lot of stress here, at work. But when we have an activity, like a beauty contest, we feel... relax, and forget, they feel sure, everyone has a very hard job, and doesn't feel sure, but for a little moment we feel sure, as if we were at home (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2008).

It is an opportunity for them to interact with other Filipinos. It's a form of social gathering. To provide social belonging... There are some associations doing something else, but most of them have this function (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

The Filipino immigrants need interaction. And all associations need collaboration between them. Because we need interrelationship. Socio-cultural activities together, to promote a deeper fellowship among us. We have to really know each other, and there's the necessity to help one another, we have to do so. Fellowship and assistance, to help one another (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

It is a big help, especially for those who are Methodists, that they have a place to go, especially which is not too far from their place. It is very important to gather, for Methodists, but also for those who are not Methodists, to have a place to go to worship the Gospel. This is our main objective: to share the Gospel. It is important to have a place to share the Gospel. We are active, I mean, we are a Church, so we deal with the spiritual life, but also other things, like the social... we don't deal with this, but this is very important too. Other associations are more on the social functions, socialization, other groups are more on this (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

In this interweaving of functions, there is another important element to be considered, that is, the role of creating a social control able to prevent Filipino immigrants from losing their culture of origin and from deviancy.

All the associations are very active on things regarding immigrants, workers, there will be projects intended to improve the conditions of immigrants. Also they have activities like social, cultural activities. Gathering and uniting Filipinos. It is important for them to be united, because here they don't have their family, and when you're alone you can fall into vice, and vice means crimes... and unity can prevent this (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Another function of the FAOs recognized by some interviewees is that of spreading information and of intermediating between the Philippine government (General Consulate and Embassy) and, to some extent, the Italian government, and the Filipino community.

We want to know what are our rights as migrant workers. Also to spread information (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

These associations are important because there is a group that becomes a contact point, a reference voice to communicate with the Italian and Filipino government (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Of course they give support, not only financial, but also moral support, because for instance, in cases where there is a problem in the family, of a Filipino worker here, then the association they normally give support, also for repatriating the remains of the worker, because the association is a support system, that's how the Filipino community benefits from associations. And also associations are a vehicle of information for the government, and vice versa, because for example the Consulate here in Milan cannot reach all of the Filipinos who are here right now, so it is through the associations that the government projects and services are delivered... the Philippine Consulate normally invites Filipino associations who are informed about what is interesting and important to know, living here, so that's how the Filipino associations contribute to the Filipino community (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

Some respondents, moreover, refer to some specific areas of action of FAOs, for example the promotion of human rights or the collaboration with trade unions for protecting undocumented Filipino migrants.

There are organizations, like FWC, for women's rights. Or there are organizations like CFNW, which deals with children. It is called "CFNW" (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

Our association is in contact with the trade unions (CGIL) to face the problems of people without documents (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

A few respondents also refer to the role of collecting funds to foster activities in the Philippines or to that of promoting human rights.

They provide support for work problems, illness, etc. We're promoting development but people are more interested in their job and family (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

They... for example when there is a calamity, a typhoon, you know we have this in the Philippines, so the communities can collect some funds to be sent to the Philippines, to help, or also used clothes, to send there, they do this sort of things (Interview with XXX, 27<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

Another issue probed by our research work is the requests that the active members of FAOs address to the Italian institutions, both public and private, in order to increase

their associations' capability of becoming truly effective as a voice of the Filipino community. The answers are very varied and the issues involved are numerous, but, in general, the focus is on measures and actions capable of improving the conditions of Filipino immigrants and of increasing their integration into Italian society.

A strong emphasis is placed on the possibility, for Filipino migrants, to have access to more skilled occupations than domestic work: a better professional condition would help Filipino immigrants to have the self-confidence which is necessary in order for them to commit themselves to the good of their community.

According to most of our interviewees, the Italian government should recognize the qualifications that Filipino migrants acquired in their home country.

I guess what they need is a recognition of the capability of the Filipinos working here, because other than being domestic workers they are capable of doing more, because the majority of the workers are professionals, but for lack of opportunities... because they cannot enter other fields of employment they are forced to work as domestic workers, and they can do more. If the Italian government could possibly consider to, you know, open their door... recognize... This would be helpful for associations also, because people, they can really be a voice in Italian society (1).

They would have the confidence for being a voice.. (2) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Besides, it is highlighted that the incorporation in the labour market is, and shouldn't be any longer, a problematic matter for the second generation, even for those who acquired their professional competences within the Italian education system. The root of this problem is identified as a form of discrimination that should be fought by the Italian institutions.

I think it's better to be... first of all... help us getting registered, become an ONLUS... Just to be an official association (1).

And also those who are qualified, to have a better job... Give us an assurance, so that we can trust, because there are some young people who have already finish their studies, but they can't find a job because we are Filipinos, to create trust, because there is discrimination, to fight against this (2) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

A quite marked concern is expressed, besides, for the situation of securitisation enhanced by the current immigration law. According to some of our respondents, racism is increasing in Italian society. In particular, the criminalization of undocumented immigrants promoted by the recent immigration law seems to be a relevant concern for Filipino immigrants.

We ask them to try to face the increasing racism and diffidence towards all the immigrants (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Also we ask to help immigrants without papers. To better protect them (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The housing situation of immigrants and the legal procedures which they have to undergo in order to preserve their regular legal conditions should be changed.

First, again, more information. Because we can only assert our rights if we know our rights. Then assistance, health, legal assistance. Then moral support. I think there should be more... space for us to go out, or to have, to go out from the domestic work. To use our education. Because there are a lot of graduates. And how can we use this? How can we be integrated...? The housing, the basing needs of Filipinos, of a person! We have this difficulty for paying rents. Most are complaining. Also in the Philippines, everything is increasing, so there is no income for the immigrants. There is no future for us, because everything tends to increase. Also the children... we used to send them to private schools... but finally they find no job! In the Philippines... How to project the future for the second generation... we ask this of the Italian institutions (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

In general, a more marked attention towards the concerns of immigrants is required on the part of Italian institutions: the identification of their real needs and the possibility to actively pursue their objectives in the public and political sphere.

First of all the integration into Italian society. There are still many foreigners, not only Filipinos, that have no documents. Moreover, when there is the residence permit to renew we have to wait even 1 or 2 years and the place where we renew looks like a prison, we wait 5 hours there... It's better to pass this to the City Council (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The projects have to be directed to the immigrants' employment problems (how to maintain the permits, how to face the employers, the laws regarding them...). They should check out the real situation, give money for the real problems. Then they should adopt a participative approach, a bottom-up approach. Because a person who doesn't feel he has a significant voice, an active role, doesn't get really involved. This way we'll never have social change. It has to rise from the base, through the involvement of people (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

We ask to legally recognize the Filipino community, the rights and the contribution of Filipinos. Make Citizenship easier to acquire (Interview with XXX, 25<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Our problem is money... maybe they could lend us some of their gyms... (His daughter adds:) We should have the right to vote and have a political representation, at least in the Municipality (respondent's daughter) (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

They should regularize all the migrant workers without documents. Give citizenship to the children (sons and daughters of immigrants) who were born here. Provide an Italian language teacher for foreigners in the Italian schools (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

The desire to have the opportunity to learn more about the Italian language, culture and institutions is strong, as well as the wish for a symmetrical interest by Italian people.

We hope for cooperation and information about the function each institution and member has. When the aim of the Italian institutions is clear, there is an improvement of every citizenship (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

We ask for Italian language and culture courses (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

We wish they would come to know us better and call us, to make our culture better known (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Another request expressed by our respondents concerns the possibility of being clearly informed, mostly about their status and rights as immigrants and about the details of the immigration law, which is perceived as too changeable and unsettled.

Oh, it is a nice question... and it is a very broad question. (she laughs). In some way... I think... to always have exact information... about the immigrants' status. Complete information about immigrants' status. Because every six months there is a change, and we don't even know which law we must follow, because it changes all the time... there's no... there's no... we are not established: our status is not established (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

More space to run our activities, more people explaining when the law changes, information (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2008).

Moreover, some requests of our respondents specifically concern FAOs. In their opinion, the Italian institutions should give more funding opportunities to immigrants' associations, as well as education and training opportunities.

Training and education at first, not just for the officers but for the members too. Then funds for the projects (Interview with XXX, 1<sup>st</sup> September 2008).

We ask for a little consideration for Filipino immigrants from the Italian authorities. I mean, I don't know, a little incentive for Filipino immigrants' associations, in order to implement their projects (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Another relevant concern is about the possibility of having, more easily than now, a place to conduct the FAO's activities.

To find a place. I have been two years searching for this place, but I cannot find one, because it is very expensive. We cannot afford it. Maybe the government of Italy can help us, To open a space for the Filipino community, to have a community centre. Can you help us? Because every group: the Chinese, the other immigrant orders, have community centres, only Filipinos have no community centres... In the Consulate... it is very small, the Consulate office. If you go there, there are so many applicants. Some are outside. It is not enough. And also training. It is essential to have educational training. Many of us need educational training, in professional life and in general (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2008).



We need another worship place, because that church is in a residential area and we cannot sing loud. Berlusconi's law is too hard: when we accept the immigrants without papers in our house, we are committing a crime, and this is very difficult for us, for pastors! And when people ask me for help, I don't know what to do! (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Three quarters (77.5%) of our group think that FAOs have a role in supporting development in the Philippines. The rest of our group (a very restricted number) think they do not have this function or are not sure. Considering our respondents' words in this concern, in any case, we realize that these data have to be reassessed and interpreted through a deeper analysis. In fact, among the people who think that associations have a role in supporting the development in the Philippines, many explain this opinion by referring to the important function that migrants have for the Philippine economy, through their remittances. The rhetoric widely promoted by the Philippine government which assigns to Filipinos overseas the role of national heroes, because, through their remittances, they sustain the country's economy, is mirrored in these answers and is clearly affecting them. As a matter of fact, while answering affirmatively to this question about the role of Filipino migrants' associations in supporting the development of the Philippines, some interviewees think of development as a process that single individuals sustain by sending remittances to the Philippine government, which should use this money to improve the national economy and social conditions.

Yes they have. The Filipino migrant workers give a big support to the Philippines. Because of our remittances. Our remittance sustains the economy in the Philippines. And do associations do something specific? Something more than individuals? No, more individuals (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2008).

*Do you think that associations have a role in supporting development in the Philippines?*

Actually no, I mean, individuals, because you know, what Filipinos send to the Philippines, the overseas remittances, composes... one third of the government revenues, so we're a big big help to the Philippines' development Associations, through coordination, in case of calamity, individuals, Italians, and other organizations... one association can do a campaign, in case of calamity, and join individuals, other associations, individuals, Italians, and help the Philippines (1).

And also associations... they can do more than individuals, of course, because an association is some individuals together... and I guess that the association should be involved more than individuals in development projects, it's a coordination (2) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Moreover, many affirmative answers, if explained in detail, appear to be referring to an ideal situation, and not to the current conditions of FAOs in Italy. Our respondents, both those who answered affirmatively and those who answered negatively to this question, seem to widely share the conviction that associations could and should contribute to the

development of the Philippines, by improving the political situation in the Philippines through lobbying campaigns, coordinating some fund-raising activities, setting up businesses which could create employment in the Philippines and promoting tourism and transnational investments concerning both Italy and the Philippines, but that, actually, only a few of them do it in a meaningful way, as their most frequent activities in the Philippines consist of assistance activities or donations, all interventions which are not able to produce an endogenous change on a local level.

Of course. We are the number one supporters of the Philippine government, through our remittances. Yes, But do you think that an association can do more than individuals? It depends. If an organization works as part of its agenda for the benefit of immigrants and their families, then it can give a good contribution in supporting development in the Philippines. As long as they are not organized, because associations, the character of the Filipino associations, in the Filipino community here, as we have said before, they are more of a cultural concern, their only interest is backward cultural aspect of the Philippine system, but if you're talking about a progressive organization such as Lampada, it can do a lot. For example information campaigns, conveying what is happening in Italy regarding immigrants' concerns, this is a source of information for the Philippines, telling their families there, and this is important, so that also institutions there will be informed about what it is going on here (Interview with XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

They could do a lot, but how? I tried. How can I start? I got headache (Interview with XXX, 9<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Not in general, not all associations. But for us it is our target.

*So you think that in general they do not do this, but do you think they should? That it would be useful?*

If all associations become one, and their aim is to support development in the Philippines, yes, I think they can. All working together (Interview with XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

(They help) to develop the Philippines, to create employment, which is the biggest problem in the Philippines, to create business activities in order to create employment. Employment projects. So if the immigrants are united, of course the immigrants will give a lot of money, and the project will become reality, because the money won't be lost, won't be stolen. The immigrant workers can set up a business to help people in the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Yes because the Philippine government has many problems and maybe some other organizations could help to eliminate this corruption (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Filipino OFWs help financially. The associations are not doing so much for development, but they help for calamity emergencies (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

This conviction as to the potential of immigrants' associations in supporting the development of the immigrants' home country is supported by the knowledge of some positive experiences carried out by some FAOs based in other countries, such as the USA and Canada.

In Italy not too much. I'm in contact with) immigrant associations in other countries, they have a different situation. They have philanthropic projects, they build schools, hospitals. They're always Filipino Americans... it depends on the context. In the United States they have this culture of giving. An American person will give ten dollars to their Church, for a mission in another country. And Filipinos who live in United States get used to this and do the same for their own country (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

Some interviewees, who answered negatively to our question, try to explain the incapability of FAOs based in Italy to meaningfully contribute to the development of the Philippines, by taking into account the social and professional conditions of Filipino immigrants, who, because of all their daily problems in fulfilling their basic needs, don't have the time, the economic capital and the opportunity to acquire the competences for putting into effect a meaningful initiative of co-development.

But in Italy there are few of these who are doing this, only a strong group, a sort of family clan in Torino, they are regularly contributing, financially contributing to the development of their town of origin. They are the only one that I found out in my research (The Italian policies have an influence too. We have to consider that) in Canada, in the United States, Filipinos are not domestic workers, they are professionals. Here in Italy, the impact of our action on the development in the Philippines is so low, despite the fact we are the third biggest community emigrated from the Philippines, in terms of remittances, but the impact of our remittances doesn't seem to contribute to the development of the local communities. This is what we found out. We have to consider the issue of living as domestic workers, you don't have time... we would need support, from the government, for the empowerment of our capacities (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

I think yes. But most of the immigrants helping in this are not in Europe, but in the Middle East. Number one to support development in the Philippines is in the Middle East, I think because of the conditions in the Middle East. Yes, because we said that here in Italy there is discrimination, but we are lucky also, because here, in Italy, because we are free, working... (1).

But in the Middle East it is worse, and Filipinos are very united. So the focus of immigrants in Saudi Arabia, in the Middle East, is to get united to ... most of the workers there are members of organizations, seriously, not like in Milan, where there are... we are thousands of Filipinos and hundreds of associations. And in the Middle East they support government projects, I think not like in Europe. Here we are more divided (2) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Besides, the lack of interest of Italian institutions in providing trainings and financial support to migrants' associations is blamed. Finally, the lack of unity and coordination among FAOs based in Italy is considered as a cause of the incapability of most FAOs based in Italy to contribute effectively to the development of the Philippines.

And also contributing... we can't do it alone. We need resources. Associations must be stimulated, to be involved in projects that receive contributions from the Italian institutions. Otherwise there won't be a real change in our attitude, because a lot depends on Italian policies and institutions (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

Some affirmative answers, nevertheless, have to be taken into account, which consider FAOs as really contributing to the development of the Philippines, mostly by promoting transparent information about the real situation of Filipino overseas workers. Such campaigns could, according to our interviewees, contribute to changing the mindset of the Philippine population, which, mainly as an effect of the rhetoric promoted by the government, think of migration as a heroic, indispensable act, capable of solving all the individual, family and national problems, without considering all its psychological and social costs.

The association might become a promoter for tourism in our country too (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

In terms of remittances the Filipino associations have done a lot for the development of the Philippines. First of all the associations including different nationalities (e.g. Italian-Filipino) contribute with their know-how to improve knowledge for various nations outside the Philippines helping people that want to invest in the Philippines or to come to the territory, giving a general and an up-to-date survey. For example we are thinking about how many Filipino companies want to come here to join or invest for the “Expo”. We are trying to build up an information service (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Of course. Actually our programs basically have the same objectives as other Filipino associations here in Rome. There are associations who are supportive of these kinds of projects. Educational programs, like scholarships, or feeding programs (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

We know what’s happening here and we study in detail the economic situation, so we can tell the truth about immigration problems (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

In conclusion to our interview, our respondents were asked about the objectives they hoped to fulfill within the next five years. The answers were diverse, but they mostly refer to the empowerment of the association based in Italy, by increasing the number of its members, its financial conditions, its collaborations with Italian institutions and by finding a place to conduct its activities.

Triple our membership. To have a broad alliance among different Filipino organizations. And to maintain our association as the centre of the defence of the migrants’ rights (1). There should be an Italy-wide alliance, among the OFWs (2) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

I hope we’ll find the place, budget and time to do more activities and help more (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2008).

I hope the community will get bigger and remain harmonious. If we keep it for a long time our children will find it and our culture will not be lost (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

That our association can help, through a big project, that we can help a lot of people, in five years from now. That the association is already big, and that some other NGOs can help us. NGOs here in Italy (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

The hope that new, young leaders will enter the FAO is also expressed.

That it will become stable, and strong, that we have leadership, and new leaders. The big problem that I see is that a lot of migrant leaders, also from other communities, is the lack of young leaders. We have our new president who is young, but we are not sure she will become president again... so leadership is a big problem, so I hope we will convince new Filipino women to join our group, and that they will become leaders (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

The goal of this empowerment is, in general, to augment the opportunities of the FAO's members - or of Filipino immigrants in general -, and to contribute effectively to the development of the Philippines.

We need to become a successful foundation, and to have many projects. In the Philippines to establish a foundation building, for the Filipinos here to have a community centre (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2008).

We want there to be a school in Bicol, a building, because recently a typhoon destroyed the school... Now they don't have a place for studying (1).  
I already have one classroom, maybe in five years it will become a school (2) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

First of all we must train well on how to manage these services (medical missions addressed to the Filipino community living in Italy) to Filipino people, then we want to give more help to the Filipinos here and in the Philippines. Before we have to help the Filipino people working here, like with this medical mission, because if Filipino people won't be helped to work, they won't work, and they won't be able to help the Philippines, the economics (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Some respondents highlight that they hoped to be able, through their association, to improve the professional conditions of Filipino immigrants in Italy, especially with regard to the second generation.

For the next 5 years our aim is for the new Filipino generation: we don't want them to work as domestic workers but to study in Italy and to have a job related to their university or school competences (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

To change the kind of job that Filipinos still do thinking about the second generation. We want to support the education of our youth (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

I hope we will manage to give the retirement money to the old workers who go back to the Philippines and also Integration of our children (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Some interviews show a desire of improving the conditions of the Philippines specifically in order to turn migration from a compulsory act into a volunteer act.

Our objective for the next five years... To be stronger among members, to have stronger relationships among members. To help more people, but the main objective is this scholarship, because we do believe that finishing studies will be the most helpful thing for our nation. We want the next generation to come from APO. Do you think it would be useful to give scholarships to young Filipino people who would like to study here in Italy? ... maybe. But... sometimes we should be nationalistic too. Sometimes... because you know, if you look at other countries, rich countries... they are nationalistic, they love their own country, their own traditions. They don't leave their country (she laughs). But because we do believe that studying there, finishing there, working there, maybe it will help for our government, to upgrade the Philippine government, because we believe that the young minds have not yet been corrupted (she laughs) (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

I hope my community... I hope that all the members who are planning to go back, when they leave Italy, they won't have any regrets, they will be reintegrated in the Philippines. And for our children, that they will find a good job here, out from this kind of job, no?, and that the government will no longer encourage emigration, because of the social costs, the family breakdowns... and so on. I would like emigration to be an optional emigration, not a forced emigration (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

Besides, the interest for a possible reintegration of migrants in their country of origin is expressed.

Because we want to... most of the migrant workers here, they came here many years ago, and we want them to establish... I mean... their faith. Just as if they were in the Philippines. So we have to establish a Filipino church here, with a Filipino Pastor (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

Furthermore, some FAOs showed to be concerned with the possibility to create, within the Filipino associational life, some spaces for young people.

We would like a serious youth organization within five years (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

Finally, the religious communities' most frequent objective is consolidating and enhancing the faith within the Filipino community

My dream is to see the Filipino community listen and be closer to the Word of the Lord, who makes us stronger. Many of us do make mistakes, I wish everyone to be closer to the Lord (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

## **IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

As has been shown by this analysis, the stabilization of the Filipino community in Italian territory and its transition to more mature phases of the migratory cycle has not up to now gone hand in hand with a corresponding evolution in its associational life. In fact the main aims of FAOs, albeit the quite significant length of stay of this ethnic community in Italy, still are aggregation, support to first migrants and, in general, compensation for the difficulties of being far from home in circumstances of unease and threatened by the risk of uprootedness, rather than mobilization for the development of the conditions of Filipinos in the host and in the home country.

The visibility of FAOs, albeit quite large within the ethnic community, where, often, the effort for gaining it is the source of many conflicts between leaders and the obstacle to building solid collaborations among them, is very restricted with respect to the external local context. The collaborations with Italian institutions, apart from some partnerships with Church-based organizations, are sporadic and not very constructive in terms of aims and achievements. The above mentioned few exceptions to this situation, however, show that, by activating in order to have access to the financing opportunities provided by the institutional local context, a big step forward can be taken.

An interesting aspect to be remembered in this conclusive section is the ambivalent attitude of FAOs' active members towards the Philippine government, and, even more, towards the Philippine Embassy and Consulate. On the one hand, a sort of deference is shown, and the widespread conviction of having the necessity of being supported by the diplomatic bodies representing the Philippine government in Italy. On the other hand, however, many criticisms are expressed concerning these diplomatic bodies, which, according to many of those interviewed, need FAOs as intermediaries between them and the larger Filipino community, but don't really give them, in return, any substantial support.

Furthermore, it is meaningful to observe the lack of commitment in associational life by the second generation, mostly of the second generation in the narrow sense [please refer



to Report 1, III.C. *Associational Life*]. While first-generation immigrants create, within the associations they belong to, groups of members of the second generation, usually directed and led, at least partially, by some adult people, in order to avoid the loss of the culture of origin by young people, the autonomous mobilization of the latter is practically absent. This is even more striking if we consider that in these last years, in Italy, the second generations of different origins are setting up many initiatives of mobilization, for example the creation of the G2 network, which links together people of different origins and which is mainly aimed at obtaining, for them, a significant political role within the life of the Italian country. Besides, if the Filipino “impure” second generations, that is, Filipino people who arrived in Italy during their adolescence, participate in large number in the activities organized for them by the adults, the participation of the second generation in the narrow sense or of the “impure” second generation is more restricted. This could be explained by considering that the need for which FAOs are created is, mainly, the compensation for the stress of emigration, a need which, obviously, is not perceived by “impure” second generations or second generations in the narrow sense in the same way as by first-generation immigrants.

A further consideration we would like to add is that, even though our sample is not statistically representative, the information we gathered suggests that there could be a slight difference between the Filipino associational world in Milan and in Rome, which could be motivated by referring to the different length of stay of the two communities. In fact the Filipino community in Rome, also given its longer stay in Italy, seems to be a little further than that in Milan in the evolutionary process of its associational life. The bodies coordinating and fostering collaborations among different FAOs are more numerous and effective in Rome than in Milan, as well as the collaborations with local Italian institutions, also in terms of financial support, and the cases of constructive mobilization in the political or social field. Another differentiating factor is the presence, in Rome, of a Filipino assistant counsellor, that is, a Filipino member of the local consultative body. This presence seems to be an element of strength for the FAOs in Rome, as, through this person, a lot of information about the laws, the local institutions and the opportunities provided by them are more widespread within the Filipino community and, hence, among the members of FAOs, who have a better orientation in the institutional field.

Finally, given the aim of the project which is the framework of this study, we would like to concentrate on the issue of co-development and on the opinions, ideas and experiences found within the world of FAOs. Although the interest in the possibility of helping the Philippine society is strongly perceived within the Filipino community and is indeed one of the main reasons why some FAOs were founded, structured projects are almost absent from the experiences of the FAOs contacted. Most initiatives are focused on assistential, sporadic interventions, mostly in the cases of natural disasters. Technical skills and lack of finances seem to be the main obstacles to the starting up of continuous projects, able to produce endogenous change in Philippine society. Even though the most widespread idea is that FAOs should and could be relevant stakeholders in the process of development in the Philippines, very few people appear to have a precise idea about what their actual role and action should be and how this desire to help Filipino people could be put into practice.



# Report 3

## Training Related Report



## A. Introductory Notes

In this report we will provide some indications and suggestions concerning the capacity-building training program which we are planning to organize in 2009, addressed to Filipino migrants and, mainly, to active members of FAOs (Filipino Associations Overseas) living in Italy and aimed at enhancing their role as agents of development in their host country and, mostly, in their home country. As an introduction to this report, we think it advisable to indicate some quantitative data about the preferences expressed by the active members of FAOs concerning their organizations' needs in terms of education.

55% of the FAOs contacted express their desire to participate in leadership training, 50% to reinforce their knowledge about how to link up with other overseas Filipinos, 47.5% to investigate the issues linked to the second generation of Filipino migrants, 45% to improve their capacity in project planning, management, implementation and evaluation, and 45% to learn how to work with government institutions and NGOs in Italy. Besides, 42.5% of the FAOs' active members interviewed think their organization would need training in how to form partnerships with Philippine institutions to promote development in the Philippines, 37.5% in how to promote immigrants' concerns, 37.5% in how to work with government institutions and NGOs in the Philippines, 32.5% in how to acquire the Italian citizenship, 30% in business and investment opportunities in Italy, 27.5% in business and investment opportunities in the Philippines and 27.5% in community building.

As has been seen, the needs in terms of training expressed by the FAOs interviewed are very widespread and diversified. It would be unrealistic to hope to completely satisfy all these needs thank to our training program, and this is the reason why some choices have to be made. To this end, we will try to concentrate on those topics, which are considered by FAOs as useful, specifically, in order to produce development in the Philippines. Nevertheless, as we will illustrate further on, this objective also implies a preliminary development of Filipino migrants' and FAOs' conditions in Italy.

In order to understand in a deeper way the quantitative information previously referred to and to be able to select the most urgent needs of FAOs for an empowerment of their initiative for co-development, we will analyse some more quantitative and qualitative

data provided by our research activity, which has been described in detail in the previous reports, and, on this basis, we will give some suggestions for the implementation of the MAPID training program. Firstly we will focus on the problems, which emerged as the most relevant for these organizations, paying special attention to those which put obstacles in their way towards the realization and implementation of development projects in the Philippines. As a second step, we will report some suggestions indicated by the interviewees as useful for overcoming these weaknesses and, hence, proposed as possible elements to be introduced in the content of the training program. Subsequently, we will report some logistical devices, again inferred by the research activities, for a more effective promotion, organization and dissemination of the training program. Finally, we will underline the most urgent needs of FAOs emerging not only from the indications of the FAOs' active members interviewed but also from an overview of the findings inferred by the whole MAPID research activity.

## B. Opinions and Orientations of Key Informants and Other Respondents

First of all, we will briefly give an account of the most constraining difficulties of FAOs, which emerged from the interviews with the FAOs' active members and with some key informants, and which have already been analyzed in detail in Report 2.C.

Lack of finances and lack of time are without doubt the problems which appear to be perceived as the most serious for FAOs. The absence of free time, caused by the necessity to send remittances to the Philippines, and, hence, to work as much as possible, prevent many Filipino immigrants from regularly attending the FAOs' activities, and, therefore, causes a further problem for FAOs, which is lack of support from members. These difficulties are followed by the absence of an affordable place to conduct the regular activities of the group and relational problems both inside the association and among different associations. In particular, given that having the leadership of an association is often considered also as a means of obtaining social recognition within the Filipino community, the conflicts for leadership are many, as well as the conflicts among leaders, which make it difficult for FAOs to create solid collaborations.

Another obstacle for FAOs is the low-skilled job of the large majority of their members, that is, domestic work. This occupation, which often implies a condition of isolation from the public sphere and which doesn't require or stimulate intellectual growth or the effort to get to grips with the institutional context of the host country, and hence has negative repercussions on the human capital available within the associations, acts as a weakening factor for FAOs).

Another important weakness concerning FAOs is the lack of communication with Italian public institutions, caused by a limited knowledge of their structure and functioning, by the scant competence of Filipino immigrants in the Italian language and, according to some informants, by a cultural tendency of Filipino people, linked to their colonial history and to the youth of the democracy in the Philippines, towards a certain lack of mastery in dealing with democratic institutions. Besides, only a few FAOs among those contacted, are officially registered in Italy, and many of their active members expressed their willingness but incompetence to obtain, for their organization,



official recognition in the host country. This difficult communication with Italian institutions also affects the financial conditions of FAOs, as their budget is very seldom augmented by public grants or by other kinds of financing coming from NGOs or other institutions.

A need for new and young leaders is also quite strongly perceived by FAOs, as most of the current leaders belong to the first generation of Filipino immigrants and many of them would like to be replaced by new people, able to bring in new ideas.

Finally, another weakness of FAOs is their strongly prevailing focus on socialization and entertaining activities, and their incapacity to differentiate their programs and to organize well-defined activities capable of going beyond recreational objectives, so as to meet some other needs of the Filipino community living in Italy. A need for a professionalization of FAOs also emerges very clearly from our research activity.

Concerning the difficulties specifically related to the possibility to promote co-development initiatives, our interviewees refer to their FAO's lack of financial means, of human resources, of technical training, of competence and well defined programs differentiated in terms of objectives, and, in general, to their necessity to strengthen the organization in Italy before starting up such a demanding activity in the Philippines.

We would like to start a scholarship program, but we have to discuss this, because it is a very big program, we need money, and we don't have fund raising activities here in Italy... so it will come from our pocket... (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

It's difficult to get organized and we don't have the personnel required yet, but it'd be helpful to have a radio in the Philippines too, for women, to face the problems of criminality there... (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

If an organization works as part of its agenda for the benefit of migrants and their families, then it can give a good contribution in supporting development in the Philippines. As long as they are not organized, because associations, the main feature of the Filipino associations, in the Filipino community here, as we have said before, they are more on cultural concerns, their only interest is backward cultural aspects of the Philippine system (Interview with XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

Well I guess, what is needed from the Filipino migrants is technical support, in this... because there should be a training for the Filipino associations, for the associations of Filipino migrants, so that they will have the knowledge of how to manage their association and undertake projects that will be for their own benefit, training, technical support, and financial support, of course! But first of all they need knowledge (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

We would like to help people in there. But the problem now is to get the association bigger here in Italy. I would like it to become bigger also in the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Also, the unity among Filipino migrants' associations and communities is considered as

a necessary prerequisite, currently unfulfilled, for the implementation of effective development projects in the Philippines.

We have this “crab mentality”: there is envy among the associations, and this destroys the capacity to send (Interview with XXX, 1<sup>st</sup> September 2008).

Number one to support development in the Philippines is in the Middle East, I think because of the conditions in the Middle East (1). Yes, because we said here in Italy there is discrimination, but we are lucky also, because here, in Italy, because we are free, working... (2).

But in the Middle East it is worse, and Filipinos are very united. So the focus of migrants in Saudi Arabia, in the Middle East, is to get united to... most of the workers there are members of organizations, seriously, not like in Milan, where there are... we are thousands of Filipinos and hundreds of associations. And in the Middle East they support government projects, I think not like in Europe. Here we are more divided (1) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Moreover, some remarks of our informants highlight the fact that, in order to become agents of positive transformation in the Philippines, Filipino migrants would have to start by improving their own conditions of life in the migratory context.

First of all we must train well on how to manage this services to Filipino people [services provided to Filipinos living in Italy], then we want to give more help to the Filipinos here and in the Philippines. Before helping the Filipino people working here, like with this medical mission, because if Filipino people won't be helped to work, they won't work, and they won't be able to help the Philippines, the economics (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

I don't want to be negative, but we always have to consider the availability of people, and the economic situation of people now is so complicated... they can't find a job, they have to take irregular jobs, they don't have protection, then... I can not blame the members who are not available... the majority of these people have to earn money, because they have to send, and the cost of living in Italy is so high. And this influence also our capacity to contribute to the development in the Philippines. When in Church they ask for money, nobody wants to give, because they want to save every single cent. This is my fear... Even if you give them leadership trainings and other trainings, if they don't have other sources, we are talking of bubbles (...). “Development in the Philippines is so low, despite the fact that we are the third bigger community emigrated from the Philippines, in terms of remittances, but the impact of our remittances doesn't seem to contribute to the development of the local communities. This is what we found out. We have to consider the issue of living as domestic workers, you don't have time... we would need a support, from the government, for the empowerment of our capacities. And also contributing... we can't do it alone. We need resources. Associations must be stimulated, to be involved in projects that receive contributions from the Italian institutions. Otherwise there won't be a real change in our attitude, because a lot is depending on Italian policies and institutions (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

Further weaknesses, moreover, are pointed out by our respondents, with specific regard to FAOs capability of supporting the development process in the Philippines.

Some informants cite the absence of transparency by some migrants' associations, which collected funds for development projects and never gave a precise account of the use of this money. This attitude has created certain mistrust in the Filipino community, which has negative effects on the current fund raising campaigns geared towards co-

development activities.

The result are never known: the reason why others don't get involved. They don't trust the way it is being organized, and there's lack of transparency in terms of accountability (Interview with XXX, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The role of associations in the realization of projects of co-development, moreover, doesn't appear to be very clear to the active members of FAOs. On the one hand, the quantitative data emerging from our survey on Filipino immigrants and from our research work on Filipino associations show that the role of FAOs in supporting development in the Philippines is considered as very significant in the Filipino community [Please refer to Report 1, III.D. *Associational Life*, and to report 2.D]. On the other hand, however, the qualitative data shed light on some opinions and ideas, shared by quite a large number of FAOs' members, which contradict this role of FAOs or make it quite muddled. A very widespread idea, for example, is that supporting development in the Philippines simply means sending remittances or starting up an individual business.

*In your opinion, should FAOs have an important role in supporting development in the Philippines?*

Yes they have. The Filipino migrant workers give a big support to the Philippines. Because of our remittances. Our remittance sustains the economy in the Philippines.

*And do associations do something specific? Something more than individuals?*

No, more individuals (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2008).

We are euro earners and support [the Philippines] financially. But mostly as individuals (Interview with XXX, 29<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

Besides, according to some key informants, most of the actions realized to help the country of origin are sporadic and are not inscribed in a well defined, continuous project able to create a real endogenous change.

Some church-based organizations send material aids to victims in calamity stricken areas but mostly are one-time projects that are not followed through (Interview with XXX, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

It [the Filipino society] is a society made of classes. A paternalistic mentality is much more frequent than a mentality of social development. The idea of helping a poor person, and then the idea of a sporadic intervention, is much more popular than the idea of a permanent intervention, with a real project behind (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Finally, a certain mentality of Filipino migrants living in Italy, that leads them to take care of their family rather than of the whole community back home, is blamed by some

respondents for the restricted diffusion and effectiveness of the development projects carried out by groups of Filipinos based in Italy.

I'm in contact with immigrant associations in other countries, they have a different situation. They have philanthropic projects, they built schools, hospitals. They're always Filipino Americans... it depends on the context. In United States they have this culture of giving. An American person will give ten dollars to their Church, for a mission in another country. And Filipinos who live in United States get used to this and do the same for their own country. But in Italy there are few of these who are doing this (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

On the other side, probably, they are much more concentrated on their work and on the requests coming from their families. Filipinos are very conditioned by the economic requests coming from their families of origin. The Philippines are a young nation, which hasn't developed a real democracy yet, so the citizen doesn't usually feel responsible for his community there, he usually feel responsible just for his family (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> June 2008).



## C. Some Proposals for Topics to be Covered

Analysing the qualitative data collected through the interviews and the questionnaires, some suggestions can be made about how to contribute, through a training program, to overcome the most constraining obstacles of FAOs.

First of all, as an answer to the most constraining problem of Filipino migrants' organizations, that is lack of finances, a financial literacy program and training on fund-raising could be provided. The words of many respondents go in this direction, highlighting that the financial problems of Filipino migrants and of FAOs could be lightened by a more aware management of the available funds and by more enterprising fund-raising initiatives. Filipino migrants are described as culturally non prone to making investments: their search for financial security and their duty to send remittances or to buy material goods to be consumed by their families that have been left behind, as well as their lack of knowledge of how to get acquainted with the banking system, are considered as the main causes of this behaviour. This feature of individuals also affects the conditions of Filipino organizations, which, on a financial level, are mostly dependent on members' contributions and donations, as they are not informed and competent about other opportunities for collecting funds.

What topics or areas of competencies would you suggest to be included in the training program?

Saving money. If we send it all over to the Philippines we are left with nothing. We must be concerned with the future. At the end of the month we are left with zero as we try to help everybody, but you have to provide for yourself as well (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

They [Filipinos] are not very interested in becoming entrepreneurs, they don't try to put up shops, do you see them, around? What are they doing? Domestic work. Do you know why? It is not because it is the only available job, but because it is easier, safe, they have a second family helping them and they are all right. Seldom they face the risk of putting up a business. Filipino people are quiet, they don't want so much, they don't think too much to their future. Someone of course is different, but really it is a culture like this. Who wants to put up a business doesn't come here (Interview with XXX, 14<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

*What topics or areas of competencies would you suggest to be included in the training program?*

Changing the mindsets.. The expectation that a person working abroad must provide for its family, not only his closest family members, but also the extended family. It is an everlasting duty. In a meeting, at the Embassy, we talked about this, about the mentality which underlies migrations. It is the mentality of both: who leaves to work abroad and who's left behind. They should lower their expectations and we should be brave enough to say "no", that they can't be depending on someone else all life long. At the same time, also relatives need to be educated, they need to understand that money aren't earned just like this... so easily. Often they think that coming abroad means making a fortune, making enough money to meet the needs of everybody. It may sound meaningless, but it I think this is the starting point of all immigrants' problems. Every time we call home there's something to be solved, to be repaired. An intervention of psychological nature would be necessary (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

We also offer financial management programs to orientate people in their investments and savings, as most of Filipinos here spend more than they earn, probably as a way to compensate for their emotional absence when it comes down to families and for single individuals they still do not know how to save the money they earn (Interview with XXX, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008).

We also have to teach people how to manage their funds. Most of them are spent not invested (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

*What topics or areas of competencies would you suggest to be included in the training program?*

I'm thinking of some topics like for example how to put up a business, how to obtain a loan, which is not easy (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Our main program is to convince Filipinos of the value of savings. The majority of them does not have a saving account. We always advise them to open an account for the savings, we ask them to think about the future (...). Business classes would be very helpful. Filipinos must learn how to manage their money and how to invest them (Interview with XXX, 15<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

We also need to be trained on handling business here in Italy so that we can put up our own business (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

*Do you see FAOs as a potential partner in promoting national development in the Philippines? Local development?*

Yes sure, although I believe the associations need to be goal-oriented which means their aim should be to empower Filipinos to increase their productive incomes, savings and investments which would lead to enhance their remittances to their families and their investments and donations to their communities with the underlying objective of promoting the progress and the development of Philippine society. I believe the main issues of Filipino community regard education on economic and financial matters (Interview with XXX, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008).

Reintegration could be possible if the Filipino migrant workers have actually acquired/saved sufficient capital to put up their own business. Most of all, if there's proper planning, including a serious training on how to manage businesses (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

The possibility to address some bodies capable of giving FAOs consultancies, facilitations and further training on a financial level should be indicated during the training program. It would be useful to identify some of these institutions, such as consultancy agencies, banks foundations or NGOs, through a research on the Internet, or by asking the institutions which have been indicated by our respondents for information of this kind.

We [the BDO Remittance – International Operations in Rome] have a program that has lots of packages that help Filipinos here in Italy and their families in the Philippines (Interview with XXX, 15<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

I've participated in the Entrepreneurship Training Program continuously organized by the Fondazione Risorsa Donna in the Province of Rome. I was a participant to one of the initiatives, as a scholar, I would say, as recommended by the Filipino Women's Council. It was aimed to provide women migrants with some practical knowledge of business planning and management, to work in partnership with other women migrants and Italian women as well. For those who want to pursue and present good project proposals, they have access to micro-credit facilities and free technical and professional counselling on how to put up their small businesses in Rome (Interview with XXX, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

*And other personal difficulties, like for example in putting up your business (in Italy)?*

Yes... this was really difficult. I've been planning to put it up for two years, but it took me months to have a loan, no bank wanted to grant it to me. But finally I made it.

*How? May I ask you how you were able to manage it?*

I went through an agency called "Rete per Angela" which gives advice to entrepreneurs and helps in getting financing (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

Besides, it would be interesting to discuss, during the training program, the specific role of associations in making investments and setting up businesses aimed at improving the economic conditions of the Filipino society. In fact, as the previously reported fragments of interviews have shown, the focus of the interviewees is very often on the individuals' possibilities to put into effect entrepreneurial initiatives, while a direct intervention of FAOs in this direction is very seldom taken into account. It is very likely, instead, that FAOs, as institutionalized groups of individuals, would be more effective agents in the process of development than single individuals themselves.

*Do you think that FAOs are agents of development, or rather that individuals, single immigrants, are more effective?*

Actually no, I mean, individuals, because you know, what Filipinos send to the Philippines, the overseas remittances, composes... one third of the government revenues, so we're a big big help to the Philippines development Associations, through coordination, in case of calamity, individuals, Italians, and other organizations... one association can do a campaign, in case of calamity, and join individuals, other associations, individuals, Italians, and help the Philippines (1).

And also associations... they can do more than individuals, of course, because an association is some individuals together... and I guess that the association should be involved more than individuals in development projects, it's a coordination" (2) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Even the Embassy and the Consulate appear to be very concerned about the importance of promoting entrepreneurship among Filipinos living in Italy, but also in this case the programs put into effect by the Consulate and by the Embassy to that end are very often addressed to Filipino migrants in general, and seldom, specifically, to the members of FAOs, who would need some particular information, for example about the opportunities provided to associations by Italian institutions. In fact, the Consulate and the Embassy tend to consider FAOs as contributing to the development in the Philippines only in an indirect way: by providing support to the Filipino migrants living in Italy, mostly on a moral and psychological level, they have the secondary effect of enhancing their capacities, as individuals, to become agents of development in the Philippines.

And the OWWA grants money to the family left behind, so that they can start their businesses. There's a Chinese Filipino entrepreneur, forty years ago he started this business just selling shoes, but this Chinese business man was so good at his business that he foresaw the money that would be earned by the



Filipinos, and now he's a multi-billionaire and he banks on the Filipino inclination to buy goods whenever they have money, so he has one of the biggest malls in Asia, in Manila, so this is why we're trying to change the attitude of the Filipinos from just buying consumer goods into invest it. So we hope that with all these projects they can start thinking to how to save money and how to invest it wisely (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

*Which kind of empowerment do you make for Filipinos in the Philippines? Economic...?*

Economic and social. There are some interventions, like business counselling, savings modernization, community organization, and so on and so on. So you have to mobilize them, organize them, we have a specific program to teach them how to run their own business, so that they can be self-reliant. Because employment overseas is temporary... (Interview with XXX, 17<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

We have this welfare program for Filipino workers, we call it "Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) welfare fund", that lasts two years and it is a kind of insurance for a minimal fee of 16 or 17 euros where benefits include having a loan if you wish to open a business in the Philippines, if they really want to go back so they do not have to be tied up with the work abroad (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Indeed, the direct role of FAOs themselves in this concern should also be taken into account and enhanced through the training program. If some active members of FAOs participating in the training program are to be in close contact with the Embassy or Consulate, it would be important to advise them to consolidate this idea also in this context, so as to augment the activities and programs of the Embassy and Consulate which already exist for enhancing entrepreneurship among Filipinos with a relevant new component.

Organizations and associations contribute a lot to the development in the Philippines by giving support to every single member, as mentioned before. When the person is fine, is good, then he or she is able to be productive, to send money, to invest in the Philippines, so that's the silent role that associations play. Now some associations are setting up foundations, so that activity is a more direct activity that contributes to development in the Philippines. Foundation such as Balikatan, there's an association here in Milan, which is primarily geared towards helping orphans in the Philippines, orphan children. They set up a group. The main aim of this group is making money, they are ONLUS and send that money to the Philippines to their foundation, for their orphan children. So I think they should work on different levels, some of them directly, towards development, helping, others working silently, giving support to them (Interview with XXX, 20<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Moreover, deep reflection should be devoted to the significance of the concept of development and co-development. The necessity to identify the real needs of the Philippine society through suitable instruments, and to plan for continuing initiatives capable of producing real endogenous change, together with the importance of avoiding the risk of increasing the dependence of the Philippine society on migration and remittances should be highlighted.

So, in my opinion, the point isn't so much about technical competences. What is necessary is the sensitivity to be willing to understand what is needed. For example, it is clear that music works well with young people, and what else? And what with parents? It is necessary to understand (Interview with XXX,

14<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

To be honest I have not heard of any development project. Associations raise money, try to help Filipinos in the Philippines for an imminent problem, they are focused on it. Anyway we are working on this direction, we want people to invest for their future (Interview with XXX, 15<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The description of some of the best practices in the field of co-development, put into effect both by Filipino migrants and by migrants from other nationalities, maybe living in the same area of the host country, could be of some benefit. The opportunity of meeting the founders of such successful initiatives could be an incentive for the creation of networks for the exchange of ideas, opinions and information. In this concern, it would be important to indicate the networks which already exist, such as Filipino Women in Europe, a network of Filipino migrant women residing in Europe, and the OFW Caucus, an informal transnational group of Filipino migrants living in Europe which is working to promote initiatives of co-development in the Philippines.

There are a few associations which come up with projects to help back in the Philippines as it is in Mexico with some associations. In the Usa where a large percentage of Mexicans are, they have fund raising schemes which they send back for development projects in Mexico and they have been able to negotiate that for every dollar they raise, the local government gives another dollar and the Mexican government gives another dollar, so that if you raise let's say 10.000 in the end you make 30,000 (Interview with XXX, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2008).

We started this OFW caucus for sustainable development. It's an informal network of Filipino migrant groups in Europe, and part of the work we are doing collectively is how we can strengthen local economic development in the Philippines, as migrants. Through home town associations and migrants' remittances. In Italy this is just starting (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

Only a strong group, a sort of family clan in Turin [has this kind of philanthropic projects], they are regularly contributing, financially contributing to the development of their town of origin. They are the only one that I found out in my research (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

The financial burdens of FAOs could be lightened also by providing, during the training program, some knowledge of Italian institutions – mostly public institutions, their structure and functioning, the opportunities they give to associations and the way to be informed and to benefit from these opportunities. Such information would be useful not only on a financial level, but also in many other fields: by collaborating with Italian institutions FAOs would meaningfully widen their power and action within the host society, and, subsequently, within the society of origin. The conditions of Filipino migrants and FAOs in the host country, in fact, are closely connected to their possibility to contribute to the development of the country of origin, as we have previously argued. A relevant instrument which is necessary to FAOs in order to empower their

collaboration with Italian institutions is the Italian language, of which Filipino migrants don't often have a good command. As in this training program it would be difficult to include a complete and effective language course, we suggest that, at the very least, information should be provided about the centres and institutions which work towards improving the linguistic competences of foreign people and that the importance of a good command of the Italian language for the empowerment of FAOs should be strongly pointed up.

*What topics or areas of competencies would you suggest to be included in the training program?*

I think it is necessary to find the right channel towards the government, an training providing information on Italian politics (...). And the Italian language is essential (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Because you know, we want to be part of collaboration with the Italian government, for immigration as well as for the Italian community. What we can do for the Italian community? Because I believe that there is... I want to learn the language, Italian, because I believe it is just fair to do something good for the Italian community, and also for other immigrants (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

We are trying, with the Comune, but there are many documents, and... we have also to go up to, to have some information, before we have the chance... we have to support, we have to write, to be able to get the funding. We're doing a training with Gabriella, she's called, with an organization which is called "Sistema", there in Romolo. It is a... an NGO, I think (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

*Which topics would you suggest to include in the training programme?*

What it means to live in a democratic state and what the concepts of right and citizenship mean, and the way institutions can collaborate with citizens and provide them with various services. The way of behaving with institutions and who to address, with which kind of question, and which resources should be used in order to fulfill objectives considered important (Interview with XXX, 19<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

Another way to improve the communication between FAOs and Italian institutions would be to facilitate their formal registration, by explaining to them the procedures for obtaining this official recognition. Such procedures, as previously illustrated and shown through fragments of interviews, create quite a lot of problems for FAOs, which cannot find their way around in the world of Italian bureaucracy.

The lack of free time, which is, on a quantitative level, the most significant difficulty of FAOs after the financial shortage, and which contributes to other problems such as lack of support from members, of personnel and, more indirectly, of training and of professionalization, is a complex problem to be solved, linked to the condition of migrants and of Western society in general. Nevertheless, by improving the financial conditions of FAOs, associations and religious communities could afford to give an economic award to the people working on their programs and activities or participating in training programs and, hence, reinforce the participation of members and encourage

their training and professionalization. This would also create greater opportunities to pay the rent for a place to conduct the FAO's activities.

Filipino migrants' associations are not as strong as they should be. Their weakness lies mostly in their lack of funds for its sustenance, as those involved are mostly voluntary workers, contributing only outside their usual paid working hours, therefore there are many loopholes thus resulting to lack of consistency in their programs (Interview with XXX, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Also we don't have the culture of investing some hours of our time for education or training (...). Nobody has time, because everybody is under pressure because of the need to earn money. Why, in your opinion, is the training programme promoted by the Embassy (computer training) a success? Because it is "sellable", it answers to the requirements of the western culture, while other kinds of training don't have participants, because nobody wants to invest, or rather nobody can invest, its time in other things (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

There is a lot of potential (in FAOS). Their limit is the lack of finances, necessary to support their activities and whoever works for implementing them (Interview with XXX, 11<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

The necessity to professionalize the functioning of FAOs and to differentiate their activities, moving from the nearly univocal focus on socialization and recreational activities, is perceived as more urgent by some groups than by others. Usually it is perceived with more urgency by those groups which have already started this sort of growth, but that wish for further improvements. Usually lay associations, that is, institutionalized groups which arose for different aims than worship, tend to be slightly more evolved in this direction and to express this need more strongly than religious groups. On the other hand, religious communities outnumber lay associations and are usually larger in terms of members.

One of our interviewees, an active member of a lay association which has a higher level of formalization and professionalization than many religious communities, explained to us that the president of her association also belongs to a religious community and, through this double presence, managed to speed up the progress of the latter, by proposing in this context the ideas developed within the association. She also highlighted that one of the ways in which her association tries to spread its objectives and ideas and to promote its activities is by creating close contacts with religious communities, which are a repository of human resources.

Closer collaboration between lay associations and religious communities could become a sort of strategy to be suggested during the training program, in order to empower the numerous religious communities and to tap the great potential, in terms of human resources, that they contain.

For example Victor (our President), he's in a community, and this, little by little, had evolved, because he does, within the community, what we do in our organization. For example, he organized in the community this group of young people, as we would like to do with the organization. And this is why we want to go in the communities, in order to give them... to push them to have this growth (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> October 2008).

The necessity to empower the collaborations among FAOs is expressed by a lot of interviewees, who blame the “crab mentality” of Filipino people for the weakness of the small, very numerous groups existing inside the Filipino community living in Italy, who are not able to unite their strengths for common aims. Also inside a single FAO, there may be various conflicts that slow down the implementation of the activities. The suggestion which emerges from the interview and which could be useful for the organization of the MAPID training program is to include in its content some modules on community-building, conflict management and leadership. The usefulness of such topics for reinforcing the effectiveness of co-development initiatives is underlined by several interviewees. In particular, the necessity for leadership training is considered as very useful, also in order to renew the current group of leaders by introducing into the Filipino associative life new, young leaders, capable of collaborating and interacting with Italian society and institutions and of contributing to a professionalization of the FAOs' action.

*So you think that in general FAOs don't do this [promote development projects], but do you think they should? Would it be useful?*

If all the associations become one, and their aim is to support development in the Philippines, yes, I think they can (1).

All working together (2) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

We need leadership programs. We have internal conflicts and it's hard to make decisions among leaders... also between the Italian and our priests and also among our people internally...these problems slow things down... (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

It would be necessary to provide a leadership training, as we are doing with the Pilipinas OFSPES (Overseas Filipinos' Society for the Promotion of Economic Security), to train young people in order to teach them how to become good leaders. It's necessary to train some leaders on the issues of migration. Currently, the leaders of the Filipino community are those of the first generation and there's nobody who's able to replace us. It's necessary to address the young ones, teaching them also how to communicate, and the Italian language is essential. A leader has to inspire confidence and reliability, he or she has to behave in a certain way. Then I hope that the new leaders will be taught to collaborate among each other, to be united and to have as their first goal the good of the Filipino community, putting aside their personal envies (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Leadership is another issue. There are the same leaders as 20 years ago. Organizations need to be transformed into a group that has an objective and it's not just a social group and if leaders are not trained on this it becomes very difficult to change the situation. We need the organizations to be more dynamic (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Another important issue that emerged from the interviews is the importance of enhancing the professional opportunities of Filipinos living in Italy, as a way for giving more strength to FAOs in general and to co-development initiatives in particular, in terms of economic and human capital. The wish to find a way of differentiating Filipinos' occupations, especially concerning the second generation, is very strongly perceived. As an answer to this need, the MAPID training program could give indications about the bodies which, in Italy, work in the field of professional training and empowerment (public and private institutions and associations). Besides, the previously mentioned module about entrepreneurship could also be useful in this concern.

Then, if I think about it, for my nephews who are growing up an orientation to work would be necessary. They don't want to be domestic helpers (Interview with XXX, 18<sup>th</sup> May 2008).

What we are doing, for the moment, as an association, is our training programme about social entrepreneurship. Because people, at the beginning, they send money to their families. If they earn more and save more, there's more possibility that they donate their money for some good causes, or for causes other than the survival and the needs of their families (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

Finally, in order to encourage the participation of the Filipino community in the fund-raising activities promoted by FAOs and geared towards the realization of co-development initiatives, some training should be provided to FAOs about how to implement an effective monitoring activity. The importance of showing to the people who contributed financially to the putting up of an intervention of co-development is crucial in order to create trust and willingness to participate within the Filipino community. The results of the monitoring activity must be clear, transparent and submitted to the attention of all the donors. These results, of course, are also useful in order to adjust the intervention according to the feedback given by the previous actions and its consistency.

Here we collect funds during some events such as the "fiesta" of the Filipino music, then we send everything to our country of origin. Some don't get involved in this sort of things because of all the things that happened. Some collect funds, then pocket them, for their personal interests. Instead we want to be sure that this money will arrive in the right place (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2008).

The Associations could be development partners, but for projects that are clear and transparent and addressed to everybody, so that all can make use of them (Interview with XXX, 11<sup>th</sup> June 2008).



## D. Suggestions about the Training Venue and Schedule

First of all, for the promotion of the MAPID training program both at the pilot phase and at the dissemination phase, some opportunities emerged from the research stage. One of the active members of the Kapakanan association in Rome, one of whose activities is the broadcasting of a weekly transmission in Tagalog, proposed to us to promote the MAPID training program through this means. Also some people we talked to, working for the Sentro Pilipino, an institution linked to the Church which coordinates all the Catholic Filipino communities in Rome, offered us the possibility of addressing this centre in order to make our program well known within the Filipino population. Also the Embassy in Rome and the General Consulate in Milan declared themselves willing to work in this direction.

In Milan we identified an association, called “Council of Advisers”, which is the result of an effort of the Consulate and of some FAOs in order to coordinate and to create a net of all the FAOs in Milan. We tried to contact this association, but we had no success. Anyway we would like to suggest this body as a possible landmark for promoting our programme. Also in Rome we contacted an association called “Filipino Alliance in Italy”, which aims at networking all the FAOs based in the city, and, hence, which could be useful for the promotion of the MAPID programme.

Moreover, some Filipino magazines and websites were identified, which could publish some information about the MAPID training program, such as the magazine Pinoy Patrol, which can easily be contacted through one of our interviewees, or the Site of Filipinos in Italy: <http://www.pinoyitalia.com>. The OFW Caucus, a transnational informal group of Filipinos living in Europe and working for the promotion of development in the Philippines, could also be useful for this promotion, as well as Filipino Women in Europe. To this end, we also suggest referring to religious leaders, who are in contact with a great number of Filipino migrants and, in Rome, to the CSI (Centre for Services to Immigrants), putting to good use the contact we created with a Filipino cultural mediator working for this institution. Moreover, through our interviewees, we collected a list of potential participants to be contacted both in Rome and in Milan.



With regard to the period when the training program should be organized, we will refer to the quantitative data collected in this concern. We asked the FAOs' active members interviewed to indicate some of the most suitable months of the year, when the participation of Filipino migrants in the training program could be at its highest. Here below we will provide a list of the months of the year: beside every month, an indication will be provided as to the percentage of respondents who declared that this month was one of the most suitable for favouring the participation of Filipino migrants.

- August (42.5%),
- July (40%),
- January, February, March, April, May, June (22.5%),
- September, October (20%)

These data would suggest that the training program should be implemented in July and August. Nevertheless, from qualitative information we infer that, during the Summer, many Filipino migrants are not in Rome or in Milan: they are often back in the Philippines, on holiday, or at the seaside or in the mountains with their employers. This is the reason why some interviewees specifically advised us against providing the training during the Summer. The indications collected as to the best period of the year when the training program should be implemented are, thus, quite controversial.

Summer is the most difficult period (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> June 2008).

I cannot say the period in the year, the month. The Filipinos work a lot here in Italy, so I would say that Summer would be good, but a lot of Filipinos then go away, on holiday, with their employers, the other days, I... not only... just if there is a holiday, two days in a row, if there's not, we can't do anything. Only the period where there is a two-days holiday in a row (Interview with XXX, 30<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

Though, after indicating some preferred months as requested, our interviewees often proposed alternative ideas, such as providing the training during the evenings, during a two- or three-days holiday (such as the first days of November), or, more often, during the week-end, mostly on Sundays, irrespective of the period of the year. Many recommendations were made to give notice of the dates and program of the training well in advance, in order to give to the people interested the possibility to get organized with their employers. Moreover, suggestions are given that the training should be very intensive and concentrated, as the time that Filipino migrants can have off work is very

restricted.

July or August, or on Saturdays and Sundays (Interview with XXX, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

But the training must be provided on Sundays, anyway. We never managed to involve anybody in other days than Sunday (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

Evening-time course, whenever in the year (Interview with XXX, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

We must know well in advance which is the program, so as to talk in advance to our members, explain to them that this training will take place, and get organized. Not July and August, anyway (Interview with XXX, 28<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Our Sentro Pilipino will extend its full support for the betterment of the lives of our fellow Filipinos. For example, we can even provide a venue for such initiatives, provided it is scheduled ahead of time. We could also promote the activities within the groups under the Chaplaincy (Interview with XXX, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2008).

Please let us know well in advance, and please only during non-working days and not for a long time as we have other commitments to fulfill. Otherwise, it will be difficult for me or for others to join (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> September 2008).

You know, a problem I can see about these training programs is Filipinos' availability. I myself would be more convinced of a training which is done one time and it is very intensive. My concern is that it has to be contiguous and intensive but I say again that for Filipinos to participate to these programs it would take time away from work. And they have only Sunday as a free day to carry out their activities and if they become too many they might find it difficult to deal with all of them. I appreciate you have come for this. It is a very promising program because we need it. The only problem is how to get participants. The training should be designed but it should make the most of their time as they do not have much of it (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

In order to avoid dropouts and to foster a regular attendance during the training program, a certain amount of money could be collected from participants at the beginning of the course, that would be given back only if their presence were more or less continuous (say 75% of the time).

Another thing is the cost. Our computer training is free for example. If it is free Philipinos do not give so much importance to it and they feel they do not have to attend. No money, no commitment. So It is much better to ask for a certain sum as a guarantee, let's say 50 euros, which is given back only if they finish the course (Interview with XXX, 8<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

Moreover, in order to encourage active members of FAOs to participate in the training program despite their necessity to work to earn money to be sent home, a payment for each participant could be envisaged, to be provided at the end of the training along with the refund of the deposit.

In addition, concerning participation, we would like to give some suggestions as to how to select the people that will attend the training program. As we have previously hinted,

a list of potential participants has been created, supplied with some indications of people with a profile which we consider as particularly suitable for this training program. We think it advisable, moreover, to select the participants with a view to creating a good balance between immigrants belonging to the first and to the second generation. The involvement of each of these groups in the training program, according to the words of our interviewees, presents some different, specific advantages in connection with the implementation of co-development initiatives. While immigrants of the second generation are usually planning their future within the host country and, hence, are interested in fostering their integration into the Italian society, the immigrants of the first generation often plan to spend their old age in their country of origin, and, hence, are interested in developing initiatives able to give them an income and an occupation in the Philippines. As interventions of co-development have a transnational nature and are based on a multi-situated action both in the host country and in the country of origin, the two groups identified above could have a complementary role in their implementation.

It's important for Filipino migrants to have the capacity to plan their future in the Philippines, and for their sons to have more knowledge in order to get better integrated here (how is politics and culture in Italy (Interview with XXX, 5<sup>th</sup> November 2008).

The importance of involving the first generation also depends on the necessity, expressed by many interviewees, to train new, young leaders (members of the second generation in particular), in order to renew the associative life of the Filipino community living in Italy.

Concerning the language to be used during the training program, we will refer, once again, to the quantitative data collected. We asked the FAOs' active members interviewed to indicate one or more languages to be used during the training program, choosing among Italian, English and Filipino. Filipino was chosen by 75% of the respondents, English by 55% and Italian by 27.5%. As can be inferred by the percentages provided, most of the interviewees indicated more than one language. In fact, many interviewees declared their preference for a mixture of the three languages, in accordance with the culturally determined attitude of Filipinos to easily shift from one language to another (from their local dialect, to Filipino, the national language and to English, the language spoken by many Filipinos due to the cultural colonization of

the Philippines by the United States and to the fact that it is highly considered within the school teaching curriculum). Speaking Italian during the training would be useful for teaching some new words to people who don't master the language, speaking English to facilitate the comprehension for those who are more fluent in their local dialect than in Filipino and speaking Filipino for those who easily understand this language.

Something must be in Italian, otherwise they will never learn, for example the terms linked to the laws, this kind of language. But they must understand as well, A mixture! (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

A risk highlighted by some informants is that the MAPID training program will not have any real effect on the life of FAOs, as, after its conclusion, participants will be inundated with their daily economic problems and the requests coming from their heavy jobs.

Well, they (Embassy) have sponsored and given some training programs like leadership and entrepreneurship. I attended one of those training programs; and I've been contacted individually by the Filipino Women's Council also to help them prepare and assist in an Entrepreneurship Training Program. But that lacks continuity, and lacks campaign and advocacy that might convince the Filipino migrants to explore other opportunities. After the training, the participants stop learning –, they go back to their domestic work. There are no follow-up projects from the part of the Philippine government representation office in Italy (Interview with XXX, 10<sup>th</sup> July 2008).

To prevent this risk, some kind of follow-up should be envisaged. An idea could be to offer every participant, after the conclusion of the training program, the opportunity to receive some mentorship for writing and putting into effect a concrete project of co-development. Considering this subsequent phase of the training program, during its implementation each participant could be invited to start building the draft of a project, based on the knowledge acquired from each module of the training. In order to give continuity to a training program which will probably be divided into several modules held by different experts, a constant presence should be envisaged, capable of becoming a landmark for the participants and of working as a bond among all the modules. The latter could be in charge of assisting the participants in drafting their project and, subsequently, of putting them in touch with the institution able to give them consultancy for the implementation of a concrete intervention. Some research should be carried out in order to identify such institutions (for example some NGOs experienced in the field of international cooperation, some trade unions, some entrepreneurial associations or

some chambers of commerce. Subsequently, a sort of partnership should be build with the most suitable bodies identified. During our research work, we were able to get to know some of these organizations, who declared themselves to be willing to collaborate with the MAPID project.

Another idea for ensuring some follow-up, which is consistent with the whole structure of the MAPID project, is the involvement in the dissemination phase of the MAPID project of the participants to the first MAPID training programme. In fact, this training programme has been conceived as a trainers' training, that is, a training aimed not only at conveying a certain knowledge to some community leaders, but also at giving them the capacity to transmit this knowledge to their community. to this end, the participants who will be willing to be involved in the dissemination phase, should be provided with the competences, the materials and the financial support which are necessary to concretely carry out or participate in the implementation of training programmes which will follow and replicate – at least partially – the first one. In general, a participatory involvement of the Filipino community in the MAPID project, through the request of its active intervention both in the training and in the dissemination phase, would be advisable, because, as has been underlined by one of our interviewees, this is the only way to produce a real, long term change in the community itself.

The projects have to be directed to the migrants' employment problems (how to maintain the permits, how to face the employers, the laws regarding them...). They should check up the real situation, give money for the real problems. Then they should adopt a participative approach, a bottom-up approach. Because who doesn't feel to have a significative voice, an active role, doesn't get really involved. This way we'll never have social change. It has to rise from the base, through the involvement of people (Interview with XXX, 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008).

With respect to this, another opportunity that emerged from the research is the proposal of some FAOs who are interested in collaborating at the organization and implementation of the MAPID training programme. Some of these organizations have some experience in offering training programmes to the Filipino community living in Italy and, moreover, have some materials, which they are willing to exchange with us, concerning the issues of leadership and social entrepreneurship.

Actually there are three separate main objectives of the Lampada. One is educational (1). Because this organizational, educational and campaign objectives are related, but the educational objective is the most important. To inform and educate the OFWs, the Filipino migrants here in Italy, about what is happening here in Italy, and issues, problems experienced by migrants, and also the issues and problems concerning our families in the Philippines, how can we deal with these problems. Then the

next step is how to get organized. So you can see the relation. The first step is to educate them. For this we have a lot of materials, powerpoint documents, for capacity building, leadership trainings (2).

We have to become partners! (1).

How to manage an organization, how to organize, phase by phase... (2) (Interview with XXX and XXX, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2008).

We are running a leadership and social entrepreneurship training. we have 51 trainees, this programme started in April, and it will finish in April 2009. This is the result of a collaborative effort with our Embassy and with our Filipino Labour Office and Ateneo of the Manila University in the Philippines, which is giving the main module about social entrepreneurship. We invited Filipinos who were interested in an one year course, and we had some orientation seminars, and it took us a while to find people who were interested, then we found many many interested. When we started the training in April we had just 30, then by the second section, because it is one Sunday a month for the formal training, and then when we had the second Sunday in May we had about an extra 50 people who expressed interest, and finally they are 51 attending the training. They have to pay 50 euro, and we will return the 50 euro if they will complete the training. We decided to have a mentoring programme, we assign people, Filipinos also (Interview with XXX, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2008).

Finally, we think it advisable to involve the Philippine Embassy and General Consulate as closely as possible in the training program. The ideal thing would be to involve some active members of FAOs who also work for these institutions. In this way, the Philippine Embassy and the General Consulate would act, concerning the promotion of financial literacy programs, entrepreneurship training programs and initiatives for the development of the Philippines, in a complementary way to the MAPID training program, so that the joint action of all these interventions aimed at the same objectives would be more effective.



## E. Final Considerations

In conclusion to this report, we think it advisable to underline some of the main suggestions emerging from our research on FAOs and to complete them with some further indications inferred by an overall consideration of the main problematic issues on which the whole research activity presented in these reports shed light.

Firstly, a great need for financial literacy training was revealed by all our research activities. Such training should empower Filipino migrants and FAOs' members capacity to use some basic financial instruments, in order to direct their expenses in the most profitable way and enhance their savings and their capacity to make constructive investments. Some elements of family economy would be essential, as well as all the aspects concerning financial management in general (how to use insurance policies, what the principle of mutuality is and so on).

Moreover, it would be of great importance to tackle, during the training programme, all those aspects linked to the Italian institutional context which are in relation with migration and, mostly, with associational life. Many holes, for instance, have been found in the Filipino migrants' knowledge of the migration law and of the regulations which rule the acquirement of Italian citizenship (or dual citizenship).

Furthermore, the importance and usefulness of obtaining an official recognition of FAOs by registering them with the pertinent Italian institution has to be strongly enhanced, and, at the same time, light must be shed on the procedures to be undertaken in order to carry out this registration and on the structure and functioning of the bodies concerned.

The information and technical skills which are necessary in order to find and participate in calls for proposals, mostly those which, more and more frequently, are called by public local institutions, NGOs or other private institutions, are also essential knowledge to be conveyed to active members of FAOs during the MAPID training programme. Actually these aspects, according to the findings of our study, are very seldom mastered by Filipino FAOs' members, who are thus often excluded from many opportunities of financing.



Another lack which appears to be quite constraining for FAOs based in Italy is their incapacity to obtain visibility within Italian society. Their action, if any, for enhancing their visibility, is nearly always addressed to the Filipino community, but, mostly because of the lack of knowledge of the Italian institutional context, only a few, sporadic initiatives are promoted in order to make FAOs well known by local government units, trade unions, NGOs or other private associations or institutions. The MAPID training should try to fill these gaps, also providing some competence and skills on how to build a website, which could become a very powerful instrument of visibility for FAOs.

Furthermore, we would like to focus attention on the fact that Italy has a significant tradition of interventions of and studies on local development, a tradition which should be enhanced during the training programme. It would be interesting to promote, during the training, the exchange of best practices in local development, trying to involve the promoters of both national and transnational initiatives. This could be the occasion for activating a network involving both some Filipino migrants interested or involved in co-development initiatives and some significant Italian stakeholders such as trade unions, scholars and agents of local development, aimed at facilitating the continuous exchange of information, ideas and experiences. Through this research, we had the possibility to have some contacts with such Italian institutions, which expressed their willingness to collaborate with the MAPID project.

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Annex

Voices of Philippine  
Government Stakeholders

*by* Maruja M.B. Asis *and* Golda Myra Roma



## I.A. International Migration and Development in the Philippines: Situating the MAPID Project

The Migrants' Associations and Philippine Institutions (MAPID) Project across the three sites – the Philippines, Italy and Spain – sought to pursue two general objectives:

1. to advance the understanding of the migration-development nexus among migrants' associations and Philippine institutions; and
2. to promote cooperation between migrants' associations and national and local government institutions in the Philippines

These objectives are specifically aimed at building the capacity and partnership between migrants' associations in Italy and Spain, and key national and local Philippine institutions in promoting development in the Philippines. As the homeland counterpart of the MAPID Project, the Philippine component focused on one critical stakeholder – Philippine government institutions.

Although the Philippines has been hailed as a model of migration management, this accolade pertains mostly to the country's success in securing labor markets for its nationals on the one hand, and promoting and protecting the rights of Filipino migrant workers on the other (e.g., Asis, 2008; 2006). As to whether this approach has contributed to sustainable development is another story. In fact, it seems that the Philippines does not figure much when the discussion turns to the contributions of international migration to development.

With an overseas population estimated at 8.7 million (stock estimate as of December 2007), which corresponds to about 10 percent of the Philippine population, it is easy to appreciate the possible links between international migration and development. Different kinds of migration invite different reactions in Philippine society. In the 1960s and 1970s, concerns and debates over brain drain emerged with the emigration of Filipino professionals, mostly doctors and nurses. The migration of political figures and the middle class in the wake of the declaration of martial law on 21 September 1972 (mostly to the USA) was regarded by those who remained in the Philippines as "betrayal" or "leaving a sinking ship." A reprise of this kind of migration occurred after

the assassination of Benigno Aquino, Jr. in 1983. A different regard and sentiment is associated with labor migration. In fact, the migration of overseas contract workers or OCWs (later, the term “overseas Filipino workers” or OFWs gained currency) from the 1970s generally evokes sympathy and concern. It is a migration that is imbued with sacrifice in the minds of many Filipinos because migrant workers leave their families behind and toil abroad to support their families back in the Philippines. In recognition of their contributions to the economy, President Corazon Aquino started the rhetoric of OFWs as the country’s *bagong bayani* or new heroes.\* Of the different types of international migration from the Philippines, international labor migration has attracted the most comment, the most research, and the most policy response. Other international migrations are underway, but they have received far less reflection and action. Hence, Philippine migration policy is largely labor migration policy. *A comprehensive migration policy implies paying attention to other types of international migration, including international migration to the Philippines.*

To date, the development impact of labor migration from the Philippines has been seen mostly in terms of remittances. These inflows are generally regarded as making an important contribution to the economy, especially during economic downturns. The share of remittances to GDP (13 percent on average) suggests the critical role of remittances in propping up the Philippine economy. Another direct and obvious beneficial impact is the contribution of remittances to the country’s foreign reserves. In the absence of significant foreign direct investments and in the face of modest official development assistance, remittances are the primary source of foreign reserves for the country. The development impact of international migration is most palpable at the level of families and households where remittances have been shown to result in better housing, better educational opportunities, ownership of consumer durables, business enterprise and savings among the more successful OFW families. Findings from other studies counter this more sanguine outcome, suggesting instead that remittance-receiving households tend to use remittances in unproductive ends and family members become dependent on remittances. Methodological issues partly explain these conflicting results; some recommendations for future research are suggested by Orbeta (2008).

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\* See Asis (2008, 2006, 2005) for a discussion on public events honoring OFWs and their contributions.

Similarly, programs to enhance the development potentials of migration focus mostly on financial literacy programs to provide OFWs and their families the necessary information to make sound decisions on the use of remittances. While this is important, there are many other factors and many other windows of opportunities that the government needs to explore to reap the development potentials of international migration. Also, the government and other stakeholders have to be equally mindful of the risks and threats to development prospects that accompany international migration. The social costs of migration, which are difficult to measure and quantify, can be considerable and if left unattended, they may outweigh or blur the economic gains of overseas employment. *The challenge is in understanding and responding to maximize the benefits to development and to minimizing the risks, threats and social costs.*

The November 2007 conference on international migration and development, which was spearheaded by the Scalabrini Migration Center, provided an overview of the understanding of the migration-development nexus by officials and key staff of migration and/or development agencies (including government, NGOs and international organizations) in the Philippines (*see* Asis and Baggio, 2008). The various roundtable discussions with major stakeholders revealed that migration policies and development policies are pursued independently and that stakeholders in these two sectors do not necessarily converse with each other, a situation that speaks more of a disconnect than a nexus (e.g., Baggio, 2008). MAPID- Philippines is an attempt to address this disconnect and to build the capacity of government institutions to chart the country's development, mindful of the benefits and costs of international migration, and engage and partner with overseas Filipinos in promoting sustainable development for all.

#### ***a. Organization of the MAPID-Philippines Research and Methodology***

Data collection for MAPID-Philippines was organized into two parts. Research involving national government institutions was undertaken by SMC and CFO. Building on the results of the 2007 conference, the study sought to follow up on issues that needed further discussion or elaboration. Data for the national context were obtained from reviewing new literature, reports and data and interviews with representatives of

migration and/or development government agencies, NGOs, academe, and the private sector.

**Tab. I.A.1 – The Research Team and Areas Covered: MAPID-Philippines**

<b><i>RESEARCHER</i></b>	<b><i>INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION</i></b>	<b><i>REGION (S) &amp; PROVINCES COVERED</i></b>
Alicia Follosco	University of the Philippines Baguio	<i>Cordillera Administrative Region &amp; Cagayan Valley</i> (Cagayan, Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya & Benguet)
Nenita Villarama	Don Mariano Marcos State University – La Union	<i>Ilocos Region</i> (Pangasinan, La Union, Ilocos Sur, & Ilocos Norte)
Ildefonso Bagasao	Economic and Resource Center for Overseas Filipinos	<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> (Camarines Sur & Albay)
Alan Feranil	University of San Carlos	<i>Western, Central &amp; Eastern Visayas</i> (Iloilo, Negros Oriental, Cebu, Bohol & Leyte)
Chona Echavez	Xavier University	<i>Northern &amp; Southern Mindanao &amp; Socsargen</i> (Misamis Oriental, Davao del Norte, Davao del Sur and South Cotabato)

SMC cooperated with a team of researchers to carry out the study in the different regions in the country. The seven interviewers in the Philippines covered 12 out of 17 regions in the Philippines and 29 out of 81 provinces. Regions and provinces in the three major island groupings – Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao – are represented in the study (Figure 1).

The data collection in the regions and provinces involved the review of secondary data (development plans, annual reports, etc.) and the collection of primary data through interviews with representatives of government agencies and local government units. The data collected in the Philippines are expected to provide a better picture of migration and development policies and practices at the sub-national levels, i.e., beyond national policies and programs. Part of the data collection involved the documentation of examples of development projects supported by overseas Filipinos, investments by overseas Filipinos, and examples of cooperation between local institutions and overseas Filipinos.

The provinces in each region were identified as major origin provinces of OFWs (based on membership data of the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration).<sup>†</sup> The identification of cities or municipalities within provinces which are major source communities of OFWs was a challenge as there were no readily available data that identify such places. Also, information on investments, development projects and models of cooperation which involved the participation of overseas Filipinos were even more difficult to come by. Researchers were provided with a list of projects supported by overseas Filipinos through CFO's LINKAPIL Program.

Another useful starting point was the mapping of diaspora-supported projects in the Philippines undertaken by Opiniano (2005) and the projects profiled in ([www.ofwphilanthropy.org](http://www.ofwphilanthropy.org)). The study built on these earlier endeavors. Researchers used the preliminary information as leads to explore further details. For the most part though, they sought to gather primary data through sheer legwork and inquiries. These inquiries were time consuming; at times, further inquiries did not yield useful information.

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



Fig. IA.1 – Regions (\*) and Provinces (•) covered by Mapid-Philippines



The study was undertaken from June 2008 through January 2009. Most of the data collection was completed by October and the rest of the time was devoted to the preparation of the reports. Some problems were encountered during field work, which

caused some delay in completing the reports. The delay was due to several factors. Finding few materials and documents on the topic of migration and development specific to the region or provinces of interest meant that the interviews with key informants were the primary source of data. Most researchers covered 4-6 provinces. In the case of three researchers, they covered more than one region, which implied more coordination with an array of potential respondents in various locations. It was challenging to set up appointments, and even if appointments had been obtained, they were frequently reset. Weather conditions were another cause of delay. The data collection period coincided with the rainy season in the Philippines. Typhoon Frank devastated Western Visayas in June 2009 and the researcher had to wait for the province of Iloilo to recover from the calamity before resuming the interviews. The Ilocos Region was also affected by several typhoons. In Mindanao, data collection in South Cotabato was adversely affected when conflict broke out between government troops and the MILF over the contentious issue of the Bangsamoro Juridical Entity. Two members of the research team met with staffing-related problems.

Interestingly, one of the unintended contributions of the study was raising awareness about migration and development among the respondents.



## I.B. Summary of Major Findings

### ***a. The National Picture***

#### ***Government to facilitate OFW deployment***

The 2008-2010 *Updated Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan* (MTPDP) states that as part of the strategic framework, the government shall continue to facilitate the deployment of one million OFWs per year. Earlier, the 2004-2008 MTPDP specifically mentioned a target of deploying one million workers every year (p.8). Overseas employment, thus, continues to be regarded as one solution to the limited job opportunities in the country. Overseas employment is seen not only to fulfill the mandate of employment-generation, but also as a means of poverty alleviation. Officials of migration agencies echo this view, considering their role as facilitating the overseas employment of those who wish to seek jobs abroad. Other key informants – including those outside of government or those in government agencies not directly involved with migration – also anticipated more migration in the near future. One of the factors contributing to the inevitability of migration, especially among young people, is the onset of a culture of migration.

The present and future prospects of nurse migration have received the most attention when it comes to highly skilled and professional migration from the Philippines. One major concern about continuing nurse migration is the loss of experienced nurses and the loss of mentors. Also, other health professionals are also leaving or are considering leaving the country. The departure of the highly skilled and professionals (i.e. other than nurses) is readily perceived to lead to brain drain. Citing a study by Pernia, the departure of workers was found to cause some disruptions in the workplace while vacancies are being filled. Moreover, even if replacements can be found, the country stands to lose the better trained and experienced workers (E-mail communication from NEDA, September 24, 2008). It has also been argued that the departure of professionals does not necessarily lead to brain drain. The migration of teachers, for example, is not the reason for the shortage of teachers in public schools. The country, in fact, has a surplus of educators. The main problem lies with the limited items (plantilla positions) that keep the Department of Education from hiring more teachers.

***Government migration policy viewed as limited***

In terms of responses to the lure of international migration, several key informants suggested alternative strategies or approaches to provide options to migration or to encourage return migration. Human resource development is critical in empowering people to be productive members of society. In this regard, the scientific talents who are now based abroad may be encouraged to share their expertise through such initiatives as the Balik Scientist Program.

There is also a sense that the management of migration thus far is limited to economic considerations and is myopic of other concerns and dimensions. One government official remarked that government policies concerning overseas Filipinos are “reactive” and that the critical factor behind the country’s economic problems (which compel Filipinos to work elsewhere) can be traced to lack of good governance, a theme that ran through the roundtable discussions with stakeholders (Asis and Baggio, 2008).

Also noted was the need to expand beyond the deployment orientation of the country’s labor migration policies. Negotiations with destination countries can also include provisions for the latter to share the costs and benefits with the Philippines. The memorandum of understanding (MOU) signed between the Philippines and some provinces in Canada (Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Manitoba and Alberta) is a step in this direction. Aside from specifications concerning the deployment of workers, the MOUs also include a provision to support human resource development in the Philippines. However, as the statement below suggests, the human resource development provisions of these agreements are practically geared to meet the needs of the destination countries. While they contribute to cementing the Philippines’ capacity to supply workers for the global labor market, the impact of such assistance to the country’s development is suspect.

Outside of the national framework, international migration issues are not quite within the radar of regional agencies and local government units. Migration issues have not been discussed in the meetings of the League of Provinces of the Philippines (LPP) nor has the League of Cities of the Philippines (LCP) drawn up a clear cut policy on migration. The League of Municipalities of the Philippines (LMP) is an exception because it recently started an initiative to promote the protection of OFWs. In 2007, LMC launched an advocacy program to enjoin municipalities to protect the OFWs

coming from their areas – the initiative carried the message, *Sa mga mahal naming OFW, may munisipyo na gagabay sa inyo* (To our beloved OFWs, there is a municipality that will guide you). The three leagues invariably indicated their interest in the MAPID Project and the planned training programs. The LPP and LCP were interested in partnering with SMC and CFO to pursue migration and development issues in their respective constituencies. Similarly, the LMP saw the migration and development platform as a rallying point for advocacy among municipal governments.

***Migration, especially remittances, important to the economy***

The National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) expressed optimism about the growth prospects for the country. In its assessment, prospects are brightest for the growing service sector, which is currently the backbone of the economy. In the short-term, i.e., over the next three years, the business process outsourcing (BPO) industry is one of the primary growth drivers in this sector. The current global financial turmoil may even expand this sector as companies in the developed countries may turn to emerging economies, like the Philippines, in order to save on operation expenses. In the industry sector, the growth in construction is expected to speed up with the government's focus on infrastructure development and high demand in real estate. At least for 2008, the agriculture sector is expected to perform well because of more government support via the FIELDS program (Fertilizer, Irrigation, Extension, Loans, Dryers and post-harvest facilities and Seeds of high-yielding, hybrid varieties) and favorable weather conditions this year. The hike in food prices, the volatile world oil prices and the global financial crisis can weaken the performance of the agricultural sector. OFW remittances are expected to shore up the national economy. The real estate sector is expanding on account of high demand for dwellings from remittance-receiving households.

Global conditions and trends can affect domestic conditions. The gains in recent years may be seriously undermined by the global financial crisis which started in 2008. According to NEDA, the volatility in world oil prices, higher food prices and slowdown in exports are among the challenges in attaining the 2008 target (E-mail communication from NEDA, September 24, 2008). Filipino exporters will have to contend with increased global competition; the need to diversify innovate, develop new products and

services with higher value-added; and the necessity to expand their markets. OFW remittances are also expected to be affected by the global financial crisis.

As stated in the MTPDP 2004-2010, ‘One of the realities that the Philippines is facing that characterize its international environment is that overseas Filipinos will continue to play a critical role in the country’s economic and social stability.’ The MTPDP 2004-2010 (particularly the chapters on Labor, Foreign Policy, Culture, Trade and Investments; Basic Needs; and Science and Technology) is committed to promoting and protecting the rights and welfare of OFWs.

Civil society organizations concerned with the adverse impacts and social costs of international labor migration tend to view the government as promoting the export of Filipino workers. The government, for its part, says that as a matter of policy, it only aims to manage overseas employment in a manner that is consistent with the national development objectives. Labor mobility is provided in the 1987 Constitution and RA 8042. In the MTPDP 2004-2010, the policy towards OFWs is centered on the ‘facilitation’ of overseas work, i.e., fast processing of papers, and a reintegration program designed to assist returning workers, etc. The Plan is also emphatic on the protection and welfare of OFWs, considering this as a core principle in promoting markets and cultivating bilateral ties with labor receiving countries. For this purpose, government shall pursue the forging of bilateral agreements, in cooperation with the private sector, to secure the employment, security and protection of OFWs.

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

On the other hand, respondents expressed concerns that dependence on remittances can give rise to a culture of consumerism and create a moral hazard problem. The widening

disparities between remittance receiving households and non-recipients can also pose problems. Data indicate that families receiving remittances are from the top income deciles. In 2000 and 2003, 19.5 percent and 20.7 percent of the 9th decile and 17.2 percent and 20.3 percent of the 10th decile received remittance income, respectively. In other words, the top two deciles tend to be remittance-receiving households, which imply widening income disparity with non-recipients (Tullao, Jr., Cortez and See, 2004). Moreover, more remittance-receiving households are in regions with lower poverty incidence which may also create a wider income gap in the country (Email communication from NEDA, September 24, 2008).

### ***Economic benefits and social costs***

The Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (BSP) has been at the forefront of introducing policies and interventions to facilitate the inflow of remittances, measures which have increased the use of formal channels. Aside from banking systems, formal channels have expanded to include remittance service providers such as LBC and money telegram. Banks are also actively promoting their remittance services by establishing tie-ups with non-bank financial institutions. Furthermore, rural banks now accept dollar accounts which have expanded overseas Filipinos' options and mechanisms for remittance transfers. The increased participation of highly skilled workers in labor migration also contributes to increased remittances. While highly skilled migration may mean more remittances, on the other hand, it erodes the country's stock of qualified human resources. BSP's four-fold approach concerning remittances include: (1) to increase competition through transparency; (2) to improve the settlement/payment schemes to facilitate the transfer of moneys from one point to another – this will further reduce transfer costs; (3) to improve the quality of service, i.e., to speed up the transfer of remittances; and (4) to allow the use of technology to facilitate the transfer of remittances.

The infusion of migrant investments in China and India is one of the arguments pointing to the beneficial impacts of migration on development. The goal to attract investments by overseas Filipinos is in fact one of the motivations for the passage of the Citizenship Retention and Reacquisition Act of 2003. However, data on investments by overseas Filipinos are not available; also, there are no data thus far suggesting increased investments on account of the dual citizenship law. The Board of Investments (BOI)



had assisted a few overseas Filipinos in selling or disposing assets, but most of these are not investment-related. Most overseas Filipinos want hassle-free investment where they will just put in their money and be guaranteed of earnings. Overseas Filipinos are wary of making investments not deemed ‘popular’ or ‘surefire.’ Most overseas Filipinos tend to invest in real estate and condominiums, investments which do not generate employment. There is also a lack of information or advocacy about possible investments they might want to invest in. There is a need to convince overseas Filipinos to invest in existing national or regional businesses. The best example is through the Department of Trade and Industry’s OTOP (one town one product) program. In the early 1990s, the BOI had a program to promote investment among OFWs; currently there is a plan to revive the program. The BOI has been tasked to develop investment programs for overseas Filipinos.

The economic benefits of migration do not provide the complete picture. The separation of family members and fears over marital discord, the breakup of families, and the adverse impacts on children are associated with the downside of overseas migration. Although altered relationships and family roles resulting from overseas migration are not exactly harmful, these may give rise to conflicts affecting family unity and the children’s well-being. Remittances are feared to result in laziness and moral hazard. Anxieties over the migration of women – which are intimately connected to the welfare of young children – have led to considerations of restricting women’s migration.

### ***Cooperation between overseas Filipinos and Philippine government institutions***

The research has highlighted on-going best practices of cooperation between Philippine institutions and Overseas Filipinos for local development, like the LINKAPIL Program. LINKAPIL, an acronym for “Link for Philippine Development” was launched by the Commission on Filipinos Overseas in 1989 to harness the resources and capabilities of overseas Filipinos to meet the needs of disadvantaged sectors in the Philippines. It was designed to facilitate the transfer of various forms of assistance from Filipinos or other donors overseas to support various projects and services. It aims to provide a system to facilitate the flow of assistance from overseas to specific beneficiaries in the Philippines; provide a mechanism for better coordination and feedback among overseas donors, government agencies and beneficiaries; promote confidence among overseas donors through an effective and responsive monitoring and feedback system; and

espouse genuine collaborative partnerships between overseas Filipinos and those in the Philippines to achieve national development objectives.

Traditionally, the DOLE is very much associated with the management of labor migration, and its engagement with OFWs along the lines of deployment facilitation and protection of workers' rights overseas. It estimates that there are some 12,000 Filipino migrants' associations in the different regions of the world. Recognizing the potentials of overseas Filipino communities as partners for Philippine development, the DOLE spearheaded tapped overseas Filipinos to support the "Classroom Galing sa Mamamayang Pilipino Abroad (CGMA) Program" to support the basic education agenda of President Gloria Arroyo. In 2007, the DOLE inaugurated the National Reintegration Center for OFWs, signaling a new approach to the reintegration challenge. While the Center's rationale has a decidedly development-oriented agenda (see below), to date, it remains to be seen how the brain gain potentials of overseas employment can be realized.

A vehicle to promote and facilitate the transfer of knowledge to the Philippines is the Balik Scientist Program (BSP), which was introduced in October 24, 1975 by virtue of Presidential Decree No. 819 (BSP brochure). The Department of Science and Technology is the lead and implementing agency of the BSP. The Department of Health (DOH) currently does not have a mechanism yet in place to tap Filipino migrants' organizations for purposes of skills transfer. The Philippine Nurses of Association of the United States, for example, is willing to participate in the skills transfer programs. Also, the DOH does not have a mechanism yet to tap OF organizations to donate to public hospitals. It expressed interest in partnering with the CFO wherein the DOH will identify the areas in most dire need of financial and material assistance, while the CFO will meet those needs with available resources from the LINKAPIL program.

The Technology Resource Center, previously known as the Technology Livelihood and Resource Center, was established in 1977 with the mandate "to make technology easily accessible to the poor and readily applicable for business use." A government corporation now attached to the Department of Science and Technology, the TRC sees its role as serving "the public through the acquisition and promotion of technology and livelihood skills and information for Filipinos worldwide"

### ***Cooperation between Overseas Filipinos and NGOs***

NGOs and the private sector have also successfully engaged with overseas Filipinos in undertaking development projects. Until about the 1990s, and years before the migration-development nexus (re)gained currency, several NGOs started to explore addressing the cyclical nature of migration - and the approach taken was to empower migrants economically by preparing them for their return and reintegration in their home countries. The Asian Migrant Centre ([www.asian-migrant.org](http://www.asian-migrant.org) – based in Hong Kong), the Migrant Forum in Asia ([www.mfasia.org](http://www.mfasia.org) - with headquarters in Quezon City), and Unlad-Kabayan Migrant Services Foundation ([www.unladkabayan.org](http://www.unladkabayan.org) – based in Quezon City, with offices in Davao City and Iligan City) started organizing migrants to form savings groups while they were working abroad and to offer training programs on financial management and entrepreneurship. Parallel programs were offered for the families of migrant workers in the home countries. In the Philippines, Unlad-Kabayan went into social entrepreneurship, providing mentoring to support the social enterprise ventures of return migrants, or migrant-supported investments in selected communities. In the Philippines, the continuing challenge of effective reintegration programs is another compelling reason to engage with development questions. The current interest on migration and development has inspired some migration-oriented NGOs to include the development agenda in their work. Atikha ([www.atikha.org](http://www.atikha.org)), for example, has added engagement with overseas Filipinos as potential sources of assistance to support social enterprise and local development in the Philippines.

An interesting development in the NGO community is the coming together of migration-oriented NGOs and development NGOs. The Philippine Consortium for Migration and Development (Philcomdev) was formed in 2007. It is a consortium of three networks: INAFI Philippines, Philsen and Migrant Forum in Asia-Philippine members. Another milestone transpired in October 2008, with the formation of an alliance of several stakeholders into one entity called Convergence - Philcomdev, several local governments and the Asian Institute of Management formed a multi-sectoral body to coordinate migration and development projects. As migration-oriented NGOs venture into development, it is interesting to note the new alliances and convergences that have occurred in a span of a short period of time, an indication that

the field of migration and development is indeed multidimensional and involves the participation of many stakeholders.

### ***Cooperation between Overseas Filipinos and the Private Sector***

The call for social responsibility has been a driving factor in the involvement of the private sector in promoting development. Ayala Foundation ([www.ayala.foundation.org](http://www.ayala.foundation.org)) of the Ayala Groups of Companies is one of the long-running foundations engaged in socio-cultural development. The foundation went transnational in 2000 when it created Ayala Foundation USA (AF USA) to mobilize Filipino communities in the United States to support development initiatives in the Philippines. A US-IRS registered public charity organization based in San Francisco, California, AF USA serves as a bridge between Filipino-Americans and Philippine-based non-profit organizations. In its initial years of operation, AF-USA was fairly “donor-driven,” with most contributions directed towards the preferences of individual donors. In 2005, it began campaigning among the diaspora for support of a specific program of national importance, the GILAS (Gearing up Internet Literacy and Access for Students) initiative. AF USA has raised about US\$4.2 million from 2000 to 2007.

## ***b. Regional and Local Contexts***

### ***Lack of data on international migration***

Across all regions, data on international migration are not produced by regional and local government agencies. That is, data on international migration come from national government agencies, mainly the Commission on Filipinos Overseas, the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration, and the National Statistics Office. The POEA and OWWA are sources of data at the regional level on OFWs. Even provinces that have long been involved in international migration do not collect data on international migration. Thus, information on cities or municipalities within provinces that are known to be major sending areas is based on reputation rather than empirically-founded. Data on the composition of migrants (gender, age, skills) and destination of migrants are also largely known through the reputational approach rather than data-based. The lack of interest in collecting migration

data may stem from the tendency to view international labor migration as a *national policy*. The study also endeavored to explore views and perceptions about migration and development. This was not easy. Not a few interviewees expressed that they were not knowledgeable about the issues. There were also instances when researchers were passed on to other personnel or officials; and there several occasions of resetting the interviews, only to be cancelled at the last minute.

***International migration not mentioned in regional and local development plans***

An examination of regional and local development plans reveals the absence of consideration of international migration in policymaking. The lone exception is the development plan of Region 6 (Western Visayas), which refers to the contributions of OFWs. Among local governments, one development plan of the province of Batangas (2004) is also exceptional in acknowledging the contributions of OFWs via their remittances. Across all regions, key informants concurred in citing jobs generation as the primary challenge facing the regions and local governments. The search for employment was, in fact, cited as the main reason as to why Filipinos continue to migrate in large numbers. Although they identified certain areas as growth prospects, they remarked that the employment possibilities were not sufficient to meet the needs of their working populations. The growth prospects tend to be similar across the regions – agriculture, tourism, and services. The role of manufacturing as an employment-generating sector has receded from the picture.

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

***Few structures dedicated to international migration***

In the regions and LGUS, there were few existing offices or desks that were dedicated to migration-related issues. The typical approach was to integrate international migration-agenda in existing structures. For example, the holding of jobs fairs, including information on overseas jobs, may be coursed through the public service and employment offices (PESOS). Another example documented by the study was the coordination provided by local governments to medical missions organized by overseas Filipinos. Among the existing structures are those formed by LGUs for the purpose of responding to the concerns of OFWs and their families – e.g., the Migrants’ Desk in the province of Isabela and the OFW Council formed in Tacloban City are some examples. In some LGUs, there are discussions or proposals to establish an office to take care of migration issue. Thus far, these structures were conceived to handle the protection of migrant workers. At the time of data collection in 2008, such proposals were under review in Rizal, which, upon the prompting by the Diocese of Antipolo, set out to organize an interagency council concerning OFW matters. The provincial government of Bohol set up a structure to deal with migration and development issues. Another example, at the municipality level, is a similar structure formed by the Municipality of Bansalan (Davao del Sur). One reason why local governments appear reluctant to set up a migrants’ desk has to do with funding and staffing requirements which they may be unable to meet and/or sustain.

***Positive vs. negative impacts of migration***

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

costs stemming from migration. These dualistic notions of the positive and negative impacts of migration came up frequently in the assessments of informants.

### ***Overseas Filipinos as development partners***

Key informants were divided in their views about the idea of overseas Filipinos as partners in promoting development in the Philippines. Some informants felt that they can be development partners, while others felt that it was entirely up to overseas Filipinos to decide whether they wish to support development projects in the Philippines. The latter view implies that overseas Filipinos do not have an obligation as such to contribute to the country's development project. All concurred that overseas Filipinos are endowed with resources. Aside from financial support, overseas Filipinos were regarded as possible investors and sources of expertise on certain areas of knowledge. A commonly held perception as to why overseas Filipino was interested to support projects in the country was the notion of sharing one's blessings.

Asked about the *tres por uno* program, virtually all respondents were unaware about Mexico's model of cooperation between Mexicans abroad (through the hometown associations and federations of hometown associations) and different levels of the Mexican government. Many informants expressed an interest in knowing more about the model. On whether the model may be replicable in the Philippines, many informants qualified that this needed further study as there may be conditions in the country which may not make it workable.

### ***Examples of migrant giving***

Migrant giving to support development projects is not uncommon in the Philippines. Many such examples – individually and collectively – were documented by the study. These donations had been taking place, even in the absence of government involvement for the most part. Lacking records and written reports, the identification of projects supported by migrants were put together based on the information provided by informants. The information provided depended a great deal on the knowledge and memory recall of informants. The projects identified by MAPID are far from comprehensive; nonetheless, they provide a fair indication of the range, diversity and nature of support extended by overseas Filipinos to their communities of origin.

An examination of the projects supported by overseas Filipinos in the study areas bears a strong resemblance to the profile of projects supported by overseas Filipinos under CFO's LINKAPIL Program. Across the regions, migrant giving was evident in support of humanitarian projects (medical missions are very common), disaster relief, community celebrations (e.g., town fiestas), medical missions, educational-related projects (scholarships, book donations) and equipment donation (e.g., computers or medical equipment for health centers or centers). Less popular projects were those pertaining to infrastructure and the least popular was support for livelihood projects. Typical examples of infrastructure projects are the construction or renovation of classrooms and school facilities (i.e., outside of the CGMA Program), churches, health centers, or training centers. In recent years, overseas Filipinos have been drawn to support Gawad Kalinga's housing project for the poor. Thus far, migrant giving tends towards communities of origin (mostly hometown ties) or institutions (such as schools) with which migrants have some connections. The development impact of diaspora philanthropy has also come under question because the projects tend to be high-impact and short-term (in some cases, they can be as short as one-shot projects), which do not substantially improve the life chances of the local population. Projects that aim at generating jobs are rare. In fact, even the celebrated *tres por uno* model has just recently moved in the direction of income-generating projects.

Based on the data gathered by MAPID, most of those who engaged in migrant giving were Filipinos based in the US, who are mostly permanent migrants. Aside from hometown or place-based associations, it is also worthy to mention that alumni associations are a vehicle for collective remittances. This was highlighted in the resources transferred by the alumni of Silliman University – book donations, scholarship support, sponsoring leadership awards, donations to the University building, and infrastructure (building construction). According to key informants, the ties that bind the alumni to the University can be traced to the "Silliman spirit," which has not been extinguished by time or distance. Apart from financial and material support, there is also some evidence of transfer of knowledge with the participation of some alumni (notably in the College of Nursing) in curriculum and mentorship.

Examples of migrant giving by OFWs were also documented. An example is the toilet construction project of the Piat Overseas Workers Association (POWA) of Hong Kong. Through their fund-raising activities, domestic workers in Hong Kong were able to raise



P50,000 in 2007, which they donated for the construction of public restrooms in Maguili Junction, a stop area for travelers. The total construction cost was P80,000; the P30,000 was the counterpart of the municipal government. At the time of interview in 2008, discussions were underway between the association and the municipal government of Piat to cooperate on another project – the expansion of the public cemetery. According to key informants in Piat, the community appreciates the contributions of the OFWs – that although they do not earn much, they support projects that would benefit the community. Another group of domestic workers in Hong Kong, the Bohol Hong Kong Association, has been supporting charitable work, medical missions and scholarship programs in various communities in Bohol.

There was only case of knowledge transfer which was documented by the study – the case of Dr Norberto Ison, who was affiliated with the University of the Philippines Baguio under the Balik Scientist Program (BSP). Thus far, this is one of very few institutional approaches to encourage transfer of knowledge. CFO's LINKAPIL Program also includes knowledge transfer, but this has been limited thus far to lectures given by renowned overseas Filipinos.

### ***Examples of migrant investments***

Unlike migrant giving, migrant investments specifically refer to businesses put up by overseas Filipinos. Migrant investments were extremely difficult to trace and track down compared to migrant giving. Similar to migrant giving, there are no records or database to draw from, hence the cases documented by MAPID were products of asking around and following up one leads. In general, migrant investments are less common (or less commonly known) than migrant philanthropy. The documented investments are largely those that were identified with known migrants. It is possible that MAPID was not able to document businesses wherein migrants were partners. Another caveat that must be mentioned is the delimitation of considering migrant investments to those that generated some employment. Given this criterion, investments such as variety stores, tricycles and jeepneys were not considered. The study took note, however, of the groceries program, which was often mentioned by OWWA informants. Another form of small-scale investment overseas Filipinos engage in is pawnshop business.

Like migrant giving, most migrant investments were made by permanent migrants, mainly those from the US. Most of the larger businesses (in the sense that they require

considerable capita) initiated by Filipinos were individual rather than group investments. The businesses they have started are commercial buildings (including apartments), hospitals, schools, review centers, and hotels/resorts. The foray of migrant investments in hotels and resorts is an interesting development and it can be read as a variation of investing in commercial buildings for rental or lease. From what can be gauged from the motivations of investors, they also want to provide the community with amenities for recreation and venues to hold social events such as weddings. Also, hotels/resorts generate job opportunities. In Nabua, Camarines Sur (Bicol), the Macagang Business Center, an investment by a US-based migrant, is a welcome facility in the community (*see* [www.macagangbusinesscenter.com](http://www.macagangbusinesscenter.com)), providing facilities for conferences, social events and recreation.

An example of a successful migrant investment that combines income generation, jobs generation, use of indigenous and local materials, and concern for the environment is the Bohol Bee Farm, established and ran by Vicky Wallace, formerly a migrant to the US and erstwhile nurse. Upon returning to the Philippines in 1996, she started organic farming with just four workers and from capital drawn from the household budget. Her farming venture has grown and expanded to include a bee farm, restaurant and bed and breakfast place ([www.boholbeefarm.com](http://www.boholbeefarm.com)). As of 2008, the venture employs 128 workers and is worth about P10-15 million. The business also demonstrates good practices in inculcating work ethic and solidarity among the workers.

Myrna Padilla of Davao City is an example of a former migrant worker who was able to start and sustain a business that provides local employment. As a domestic worker in Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong, Ms Padilla availed of various training opportunities in order to prepare herself for reintegration in the Philippines. In Hong Kong, her place of employment for 12 years, she was the Convener and Founding Chairperson of the Mindanao Hong Kong Workers Federation (MinFed), one of the largest federations of migrants' associations in Hong Kong. MinFed includes 12 associations composed of Mindanaoan OFWs based in Hong Kong. The organization worked not only to advance the rights of OFWs, but it also evolved into a charitable organization providing support to various projects in the OFWs' hometowns. She was introduced to the IT world when her employer gifted her with a laptop, an Internet connection and a phone line, in order to help her with her advocacy work. Through self-study, she was able to explore the many uses of the Internet. She "stumbled" into bug-testing when she sent her detailed

comments about the problems she encountered and offered suggestions on how to make the website more user-friendly. She got a reply from the company thanking her for her comments and an offer to work for them. She declined because she had no experience and she was not even sure how the work will proceed because the company was US-based. The company persisted and this introduced her to online job possibilities. She decided to return to the Philippines when she was diagnosed with an illness. With her separation pay from her employer, she opened Mynd Consulting, an information technology consulting business, in Davao City ([www.myndconsulting.com](http://www.myndconsulting.com)). She met some problems initially, but she was able to weather them. Her company provides bug testing services and has expanded into website development. She also opened a portal, [www.bangonfilipino.com](http://www.bangonfilipino.com), to provide a platform to exchange ideas with overseas Filipinos. For her many achievements and inspiring example, OWWA honoured her with a Most Outstanding OFW and Achievement Award in 2007.

Other remarkable examples of former OFWs who succeeded in establishing a business in the Philippines include Norberto Bajenting, also of Davao, and his efforts in establishing the Southeast Mindanao Transport Cooperative, or the long-running *Kamiseta ni Julio* built by Julio Lozada, of Tacloban City. These and other case studies, including an example of a failed multi-million investment, are detailed in the regional reports. In the case of OFW-investors, a common thread in their stories is the attention and focus they have given to their business – which was possible because they are back in the Philippine and can therefore be hands on.

### ***Examples of modes of cooperation***

Two important findings that emerged from the MAPID research are: (1) the variety of modalities of cooperation between overseas Filipinos and local or Philippines-based institutions, and (2) the variety of counterpart arrangements in these partnerships. Particularly as regards development projects, receiving communities or institutions in the Philippines are not just passive recipients of resources coming from overseas Filipinos, but they also contribute to the project, either financially or in kind. These will be shown in the examples below. The following types of cooperation and partnership have been noted:

1) *Overseas Filipinos and LGUs*

An example is the Ormoc City E-Learning Resource Center: the partners here are Mr Baylon, a US-based Filipino, and the local government of Ormoc City. Mr Baylon, in one of his visits to his hometown, noticed the lack of access to Internet resources by students from public schools. In order to enable public school students access to Internet resource, he wanted to have a facility which will not be housed in a particular school. This was also to avoid the transfer of computers for students' use to other uses. In a discussion with the city government, he was able to secure the following commitments: space, personnel to staff the center and to maintain the equipment, and payment of utilities. For his part, Mr Baylon committed to donating 50 computers. The E-learning Resource Center was launched in 2007, equipped with 20 computers and related equipment (printers, etc). Students can avail of access to Internet, use of computers and printing their papers, free of charge. Some 60-70 students come to the center during school days. In order to ensure the continuation of the project, the city government of Ormoc passed Ordinance 136, which provides that the initiative will be sustained even with the change of officials.

2) *Overseas Filipinos and Universities/Academic Institutions*

A good example of this partnership is that between the alumni associations of Silliman University and their engagement with their alma mater (as discussed in a previous section).

Individually, overseas Filipinos have given donations to their former schools. An example is the support provided by Diosdado Banato, a successful technopreneur in Silicon Valley, California, to the public school where he came from, Malabac Elementary School, in Iguig, Cagayan. An IT center was constructed in the school, computers were donated, and the school's library received books in science and math – these donations were also made possible by the networks and contacts of Mr Banatao. In these cases, the implementation mainly lies with the receiving institution. In the case of Malabac Elementary School, the local government was also a partner and it committed to paying for the electricity costs.

3) *Overseas Filipinos and Media Partner*

This is illustrated by the partnership between the Ilonggo Association in Southern California (ISCA) and Bombo Radyo in their endeavor to provide assistance to the victims of Typhoon Frank, which battered the province of Iloilo in 2008. ISCA collected clothes, wheelchairs and walkers for distribution to the needy in Iloilo. The group approached Bombo Radyo to take care of identifying the beneficiaries. They partnered with Bombo Radyo because they were assured of transparency in the donation process. To identify beneficiaries, Bombo Radyo asked interested parties to send a letter to the station and to state why were to be considered. Once the recipients have been identified, the wheelchairs and walkers were distributed to the chosen beneficiaries on November 8, 2008, the same day as Dugong Bombo (blood donation campaign) of the radio station. According to the station manager, they will consider participating in similar partnerships in the future as part of their public service.

4) *Overseas Filipinos and NGOs (including the Catholic Church)*

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

The Catholic Church can also play a role as a support or linking organization or as a catalyst. The Amus na Kita Oasnon (ANKO), an association of residents of Oas, Albay who have immigrated to the US, worked with St

Michael Archangel Parish as their local partner. ANKO is cooperating with the local government on several projects: “Foundation 1000: Oas Library Museum” or “Oas Quadricentennial Library Museum” (OQLM), Oas Microfund Project (OMFP) and Participatory Governance in the Internet Age (PGIA). The last project is an interesting initiative which shows the contribution of overseas communities in local governance. ANKO lobbied with the local government to come up with an *Ulat sa Bayan* report. The acceptance of the local government to produce the report encouraged the group to support other community projects.

5) *Overseas Filipinos and the Private Sector*

The example of the Ayala Foundation USA’s engagement with Filipino-Americans has been presented earlier. Another variant is the case of Robinson’s “giving back” to migrants and their families by providing a service to them, considering that as a sector, they are important clients. Robinson’s opened up an OFW Center in their malls in Imus and Dasmariñas, Cavite.

In all of these partnerships, the role of overseas Filipinos has been recognized by the receiving communities or institutions. In the communities, especially during town fiestas, a special time, such as *Balikbayan Night*, or a special program, such as *Balikbayan Forum*, is set aside to engage with overseas Filipinos. The visits made by overseas Filipinos to the Philippines have been occasions to determine the needs of local communities, or where projects have been underway, to monitor and to assess how their projects have been implemented. Also, where resources or opportunities permit, representatives of local institutions visit Filipino communities abroad. In general, however, the efforts have been spontaneous. A more reflective approach in acknowledging the transnational dimensions of Filipino society and possibilities for cooperation with overseas Filipinos need to be undertaken.



## I.C. Conclusions

The MAPID research provided an excellent opportunity to address the knowledge gap on policies concerning international migration in general and the migration-development nexus in particular at various levels: national, regional and local. Furthermore, the research had the unintended (but salutary) consequence of raising awareness about international migration-related issues among the key informants.

The migration-development nexus is not clearly understood and as a result, migration policies and programs are not linked or integrated with development policies and programs; also, development policies and programs are not informed by international migration realities. The disconnect is also apparent in the lack of coordination among government agencies. This is true at all levels: national, regional and local. The need for policy coherence and more interface among government agencies is urgent. The lack of data on international migration in the regions and provinces has rendered overseas Filipinos “invisible.”

The following observations are flash points to consider in thinking of the training program and future initiatives:

- Existing initiatives confirm the interest of overseas Filipinos to contribute to the home country, especially to their hometowns or institutions (e.g., universities) with which they have links.
- Migrant-giving has been largely donor-driven. To respond to the development needs of communities or groups, there is a need to develop educational programs for donors indicating where needs are the greatest. Ultimately, the final decision rests with migrants.
- Transfer of knowledge is rare (or not documented?). The Balik Scientist Program is the only scheme recorded in the study. There is a need to develop other schemes and twinning approaches to encourage and facilitate more meaningful targeted transfer of knowledge schemes. Links to industries and/or links to LGUs should also be considered.



- In general, local partners often have counterparts or contributions to migrant-supported projects. Aside from contributing resources, Philippine-based institutions also need to involve overseas Filipinos in project development, implementation and assessment.
  
- In general, there are many possibilities to enhance cooperation between overseas Filipinos and local institutions. The national government and LGUs have to be more proactive in exploring transnational cooperation for development may be achieved.

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