

## **POPULATION PROCESSES AND PHILIPPINE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS: A REVIEW OF EXISTING LITERATURE ON THE IMPACT OF FERTILITY AND MIGRATION ON THE FAMILY, THE POLITICAL INSTITUTION AND THE CHURCH**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This paper reviews the literature on the consequences of fertility and migration on selected social institutions, as part of a larger research project aimed at examining the interaction between population processes and socio-economic development. Using an institutional framework, the paper synthesizes the findings of population and related social science studies along their explicit and implicit formulations about the consequences of these two demographic processes on the family, the political institution, and the church. The review also identifies the limitations and gaps in the literature which have implications for future research and policy directions and suggests a guiding framework and methodology for assessing varying impacts of demographic processes on different groups and geographic communities.

### **INTRODUCTION**

International concern over the constricting effects of population growth on Third World economic development in the 1960s and 1970s triggered a barrage of demographic research in the Philippines. Reflecting the overall worldwide 'explosion' in population-related literature, this period produced a plethora of local studies aimed at contributing to the formulation of appropriate family planning programs and policies.

While mortality and migration as demographic processes had a share of the literature produced during this period, the bulk of the researches focused primarily on fertility. Mortality remained the limited concern of medical researchers and epidemiologists up until the mid-70s and the 80s when health became a social science issue to be explored in relation to, and apart from, fertility. Even at present, those who conduct studies on child mortality, foetal loss, tropical diseases, and so forth, constitute a minority of demographers and social scientists, compared to nearly every demographer, sociologist, and communication researcher who dabbled in fertility-related research during the heyday of population studies in the 70s.

Migration research in the Philippines can be traced to a slightly different developmental route. As in other countries, concern with internal migration was an offshoot of the problems accompanying urbanization and decentralization planning while sporadic interest in external migration in the 60s

and 70s was spurred by brain drain and the one-way movement of Filipino migrant labor to specific areas where their services were demanded: Hawaii and California in the early decades of the century; Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand, and Guam in the 1960s; and for professionals, the US and Canada from the 50s to the 70s (Arcinas, Bautista and David, 1986). The growth in the literature on the temporary migration of overseas contract workers in the 1980s, however, resulted from: 1) the rising demand for such labor in the Gulf region, Europe, Japan, Hongkong, and Singapore; 2) the many tales of exploitation at each phase in the odyssey of migrant laborers which need systematic documentation; and 3) the policy of encouraging the export of Filipino labor to generate revenues for the state and to mitigate the problem of unemployment.

A review of Philippine population studies indicates not only the preponderance of fertility-related researches but also an emphasis on antecedent conditions and determinants of population processes relative to their impact and consequences. Many of the studies conducted in the Philippines have tried to analyze, through multiple regression techniques, the various sociological, psychological, economic and demographic influences on fertility levels and differentials (Ruprecht and Jewett, 1975).

Herrin (1982) notes this state of affairs, particularly the limited number of quantitative studies on the consequences of demographic changes in

the Philippines. He attributes this to the: 1) lack of adequate and reliable data that would allow such analysis; and 2) "persuasive rhetoric of the 1960s regarding the adverse consequences of rapid population growth."

It should be noted that the relative neglect of impact studies is not unique to the Philippines. Berelson's review (1976) of the research needs raised by various authors, working within and outside international organizations, reveals that unlike our knowledge of socio-economic and cultural factors influencing demographic change, the state of knowledge on the consequences of population processes is grossly inadequate. McNicoll (1984) provides a partial explanation to this. He states that one of the reasons for the little attention given by demographers to "consequence" studies is the "subject is not quite part of demography proper but rather of other fields concerned with understanding social, economic and environmental change."

### Focus of the Review

To assert that the effect of demographic variables on socio-economic and cultural factors is not well specified does not mean that the existing literature has nothing to say about some of these effects. A few studies draw attention to the impact of population changes on specific sectors or on substantive areas of interest (e.g., assessments of effects of

fertility changes on family structure, functions, dynamics and on women's status). Some consequences of such changes can also be abstracted from researches which are mainly concerned with determinants of demographic processes and from state-of-the-art papers on women, the family, the church and migration.

This paper aims to describe the socio-cultural and economic impact of population processes particularly fertility and migration on specific Philippine social institutions namely: (1) the family, (2) the political institution, and (3) the church, through a review of the literature focusing on the consequences of the demographic processes on these three social institutions.

Figure 1 describes a framework of how the demographic processes of fertility and migration affect the three social institutions. The circular-relationship is broken down into sub-groups to show the general influences of the two processes.

Discussion of the consequences of fertility and migration for the family includes effects on health and nutrition, decision-making, roles and status of women, husband- wife communication, values and norms, values of children, policies and programs, while that for the political and religious institutions revolve around implications for the urban poor, ethnic tribal groups and grassroots organizations.

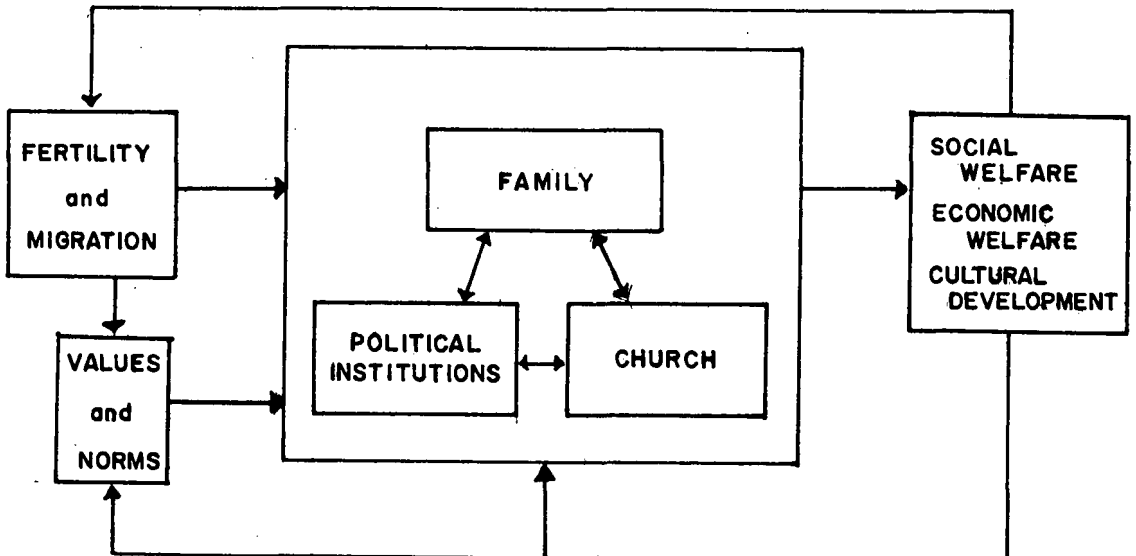


FIGURE 1: Structural Framework on the Impact of Fertility and Migration on the Family, Political Institution, and the Church

## ● IMPACT OF FERTILITY

### A. *Impact of Fertility on the Family*

#### *Effect of Fertility on the Welfare of the Family as a Whole*

##### 1. *Health and Nutrition*

The life cycle approach examines the economic position of the family at points in time over its life cycle using data obtained from detailed longitudinal studies. The economic position of the family is viewed as a function of its consumption needs and productive performance. Thus, in the early years of the family, consumption needs increase as children are born and grow. Family production rises continuously until the middle years of the family life cycle. In the later years both consumption and production diminish as children leave to establish new households.

Parity analysis examines the level of certain economic, health, and social variables for various family sizes, parities, or birth orders. It seeks to discover how the level of certain critical variables such as consumption nutrition, savings, labor force participation, education and health, change as the number and spacing of children change over time.

Studies on malnutrition in India and the Philippines illustrate this approach. These studies reveal that as family size increases, the daily protein and calorie intake per adult decreases (Ruprecht and Jewett, 1975:4).

Studies of the first type, i.e., life cycle approach, reflect the intersection between family sociology and demography. Most of the researchers' interest under this type was in ascertaining the family-related determinants of fertility as these bear on women's labor force participation, family-decision making, processes of attitude formation and change.

Studies of the second type, i.e., parity analysis, consists of descriptive studies on structure, composition, welfare situation of the family in the rural and urban settings.

Findings of Peek (1974) from the data of the Bureau of Census and Statistics Philippine Statisti-

cal Survey of Households (PSSH) rounds 1961, 1965 and 1971, drew these conclusions:

1. Gross dependency burden (not taking into account the contribution of the dependents on the family income) has a negative impact on the savings rate which is only to a small extent offset by economies of scale in consumption; and
2. There is a negative life cycle effect on savings and in terms of expected dependency burden, which more than offsets the positive economies of scale effect of savings (Herrin 1982:313).

Tan's and Tecson's (1974) analysis assesses the effects of family size on level and composition of expenditures among families belonging to different classes and types. They imply that for Philippine families, standards of living decline with increases in family size and a substitution of some items, those considered as luxury, with those deemed necessary. They also point out that in so far as housing is concerned, the number of rooms occupied by households is determined mainly by income, not by the size of households. The number of rooms does not vary with size of households, if variations are examined for each income class. Castillo (1977) concludes that the larger the family size, the lower the quality of life.

A study conducted in Laguna (Evenson, Popkin and Quizon, 1980) which focused on dietary intakes and time allocation discloses the following specific impacts on health and nutrition of the family members:

1. Family size significantly affects nutrient adequacy ratios: mother's education and time spent on food preparation has positive effects on nutrient intakes, holding food expenditures constant.
2. The effect of mother's employment on the quality of diet is negative, but income, wealth and mother's education are all positively associated with nutrient intake (Herrera, 1977 cited by Evenson, 1980). Engagement of mothers in income-generating activities was associated with decreases in the child's nutritional status.

A study of Layo (1977) on health and morbidity documents the effect of family size on total illness in the household particularly the number of household members under 6 years of age and the number of older members, 45 years and over. Castillo (1979: 140) cites the studies of the Food and Nutrition Research Institute (FNRI) and the Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP) on the relationship between childbearing and nutri-

tion. According to the FNRI study, the mother suffers most from malnutrition, which is most acute when she is pregnant or nursing. It is usually the father and the children who have the largest share of food at mealtimes. PBSP studies corroborate this: Of the 970 women with pre-school children in three urban and three rural low-income communities, 522 or 54 per cent had experienced foetal loss or infant toddler mortalities.

## *Effects of Fertility on Parents*

### *1. Health Effects on Mother*

Researches in the U.S.A. (Jaffe and Polgar 1964) on maternal deaths show the steady increase of maternal mortality with advancing age (5.1 per 10,000 live births for mothers under 20 years of age to 34.3 for women 40 years old and over). For all age groups except 40 and above, maternal mortality has also increased with parity (International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), 1970).

In Africa, Guttmacher (IPPF, 1970) shows anemia associated with fertility as the chief source of maternal deaths in Africa. Frequent childbearing does not allow the woman to build up hemoglobin, which she can only do by resting between births. Akasheh (IPPF, 1970) found that multiparity increases the risk of rupture of the uterus, postpartum hemorrhage, pre-eclamptic toxemia, accidental hemorrhage, placenta praevia, disproportion and anemia.

### *2. Labor Force Participation*

Studies in industrialized societies (Clausen and Clausen 1973) indicate the higher frequency of moonlighting husbands with larger families, to augment family income. A study of Smith (1970) on time allocation by households indicates that as the number of young children increases in the family, the number of hours women work decreases. College women stop working to a significantly greater extent than other educational groups when they start having children (De Tray, 1972).

Focusing on the effects of children on parental time and allocation, Boulier (1976) shows that children of all ages in the family stimulate fathers to work longer hours in income-generating activities at the expense of leisure. Mothers with older male and female children who could take over

child care not only increased their working hours but their leisure time as well.

Illustration of the magnitudes of these changes are disclosed in the regression analyses which were undertaken. Boulier (1976: 19-20) claims that:

"Each additional infant reduced mother's work time by about four hours per week and leisure by more than six hours per week. Child care time increases by more than nine and one-half hours per week and home production time by one hour per week. Other pre-school children increase child care time by five and one-half hours per week and increase home production by about two hours per week, both at the expense of leisure, with a slight increase in work time."

Layo (1977) notes that during the early years of marriage (the first nine years in her study), relatively few married women work, for childbearing and childrearing have kept them busy and homebound. Miralao's (1980) study indicates that urbanization increases the time required for female household tasks (i.e. cooking, laundry, child care).

It is important to note that despite the limitations imposed by children on women's time relative to men, children are generally valued and the restrictions they impose on work activities are the least of the perceived disadvantages of having them. Bulatao's 1980 cross-national survey on the Value of Children (VOC) undertaken in nine countries with varying levels of fertility reveals that only three per cent of Philippine wives-respondents mentioned 'work restrictions' as a disadvantage -- compared with eight per cent of Americans. The Philippines also had less women who considered children as 'tying them down.' The presence of an extended kin network or the availability of domestic help for some Filipino families partly explains the low proportion of women who disvalue children for restricting their work activities. The same study showed that when asked whether having children prevented them from doing other things they wanted to do, 74 per cent of Filipino wives responded positively.

### *3. Relationship Between Husband and Wife*

Studies in the West mention some of the following negative impacts of family size on husband-wife

relationship: considerable constraints on the freedom and mobility of parents especially of the mother; less opportunities for companionship in spheres other than the home due to economic pressure (Bloode and Wolfe, 1960); greater interference with sexual activities with increasing number of children.

Although housekeeping and childrearing are central concerns of Filipino women, family companionship is equally valued by them. One study reveals that wives prefer to be with their children (38 per cent) or with their husband and children (36 per cent) or with their husbands (26 per cent). Husbands prefer to spend time with their wives (70 per cent) than with friends (Bulatao, 1978 in Sevilla, 1985). The discrepancies on who each spouse wants to spend time with have implications for marital discord.

Poverty and its attendant problems further exacerbate the effect of family size on husband-wife relationships. Overcrowding in many households and the ensuing lack of privacy not only interfere with husband-wife sexual activities but also inhibit communication between them. Castillo (1979) and Lozare (1976) disclose the usual sleeping practice in households with very limited physical space. Both the physical congestion and the economic pressures caused by more children among the poor lead to a number of marital break-ups.

### *Effects on Children*

#### *1. Health Effects*

A number of medical studies have highlighted the following effect on health and physical development: 1) perinatal mortality increases with maternal age and parity of birth (IPPF, 1970); 2) prematurity correlates with high parity and short birth intervals (Yorushalmy *et al.*, 1956 and Butler and Bonham, 1963); 3) malnutrition rises with increasing family size; 4) the rate of physical growth is also inversely correlated with family size (IPPF, 1970); 5) prematurity and its attendant problems increase in frequency with increasing parity of birth (Clausen and Clausen, 1973). Large families tend to utilize routine health services rather poorly compared with smaller families.

#### *2. Intellectual and Mental Growth*

Clausen and Clausen (1973) note one of the most consistently reported findings related to the negative effect of family size on IQs: IQs decline as number of children increases. Even with social class held constant, the declines are still "far from negligible." Factors accounting for the decline include dietary deficiencies, poorer parental care, poorer housing and schooling.

#### *3. Personality and Social Adjustment*

Rene Durel (1971) in Clausen and Clausen (1973) describes his problems as a child in a big family: "The scramble for attention in a large family often means that the only person one ever really listens to is one's self... It was not really an unpleasant life, but a gradual sense of privation is inevitable, in a large family..."

Relevant findings suggest: higher self-esteem among children from smaller families (particularly among males-- Rosenberg's 1965 study); poor self-concept of boys and girls coming from large families (Sears, 1970); and tendencies to have problems of adjustment.

A study of Oshima (1982) of the Filipinos' child-rearing practices and their impacts on worker productivity provides insights and interesting leads. His findings disclose that a worker who has been rated as highly skilled appears to have had a childhood marked by specific rules on proper behavior, a division of household chores where the individual was given certain responsibilities, competition with siblings in games, innovativeness in making his own toys and parents who helped in his schoolwork (Sevilla, 1982:41).

Bossard and Boll's (1956) study found that in larger families, parents tend to place high valuation on organization and leadership and stress cooperation and conformity from their children. There is a delegation of responsibility to older children for the care and control of younger siblings. Parents are also less possessive and demanding but more authoritarian because of the need to maintain order.

#### 4. Income/Poverty

Svalastoga (1959, missing reference) has studied this quite thoroughly and has found a greater frequency of downward mobility from the occupational level of one's father among those from large families, and greater upward mobility among those from small families. The Laguna survey reveals that children contribute "surprisingly little time" to crop cultivation and livestock-raising in the farm, but they spend about half of their income-earning time to wage earning jobs including working on the farms of others for wages and about one-fifth of their time in income-earning home production activities.

The economic contributions of children to the family are well documented. Ibarra's (1978) study of domestic helpers shows that young girls from the provinces move to Manila to earn a living to help their families. In terms of birth order, one-third of these female domestic helpers are either the eldest or second in the family and another one-third are third or fourth in the family.

Feranil (1984) and Guerrero (1987) also provide additional evidence for the thesis that children probably constitute the family's most important economic resource. An interesting finding in the aforementioned studies is not the economic support that children provide their families, but the fact that this necessity "to help the family" delays marriage among the young female workers. Feranil's longitudinal studies of export processing zone (EPZ) workers in Bataan show that employment tended to delay marriage.

One might view this as a self-corrective or adjustive mechanism within the family in light of the perceived costs as against the economic value as well of children. Some other unanticipated consequences are revealed in Guerrero's (1987) study of a similar group of EPZ workers.

Clearly, the policy implication is not a simple reduction in family size since on the level of individuals, children have a significant role to play although increased fertility is dysfunctional to the wider structure. To change perceptions at the individual or family level requires alterations in the structure of opportunities which will no longer

require reliance of families on the economic and psychological benefits of more children.

#### B. Impact of Fertility on the Political Institution

Most of the articles relating fertility to the political institutions are confined to sectoral studies. Because of the state of such literature, this section will be compared to the previous discussion. It will explore the effects of population increase on the actual or potential participation of women and peasants in political, community-based organizations.

##### 1. Marital Status, Fertility and Women's Community/Organizational Participation

The early social science studies on women as a sector was stimulated by the need to look into the effects of women-related variables on fertility decisions. Studies citing the effects of fertility on the division of labor between the sexes began to appear. A few studies zeroed in on the implications of marital status and fertility on community participation. Studies show that married women's participation in community organizations largely depends on how much time is left for them to attend to matters other than their domestic functions. Miralao (1980) notes that women are already saddled with domestic work and have very little time left to get involved in community affairs. If women are gainfully employed, their membership in organizations substantially increases. They work and remain unmarried, they become the most active participants in community organizations.

Makil (1981) asserts that the root cause of unequal participation of men and women in community activities is their unequal share of employment opportunities. The determinant of organizational membership is participation in the labor market. If this finding is linked to the Evenson *et al.* study, which posited a relationship between family size and time allotted by women to outside employment, then family size affects community participation indirectly.

Other studies indirectly point to perceived or actual childrearing and domestic chores as constraints to active community participation.

A study by Alcid (1982) on women aged 18 and above showed that the women view their basic function in society within the framework of the home despite their economic contribution. The 1969 Department of Labor study also showed that only 13 per cent of labor federations had female members and 24 per cent of independent labor union.

## 2. Effect of Fertility/Population Increase on the Political Participation of Peasants

Unlike women, peasants have not been studied for purposes of assessing the effects of family size or fertility on their participation in organized activities as a sector. The effect of population increase on the revolutionary potential of this group has been alluded to in the literature.

Accounts of peasant struggles and the history of land consolidation following the expansion of export markets in the 19th and early 20th centuries reveal that struggles were weakest and lands easiest to consolidate in areas with sparse population. It is hypothesized, for instance, that the haciendas were easily established by Iloilo capitalists in Negros Occidental because it was a land frontier while the population concentrations in Tarlac and Pampanga and the history of struggles in these provinces prevented the formation of such types of plantation such as sugar haciendas. Tenanted land prevailed under a hacienda administration (Bautista, 1983).

Fegan (1983) noted the growing inability of peasant households to provide funds to allow additional children to establish themselves. He cites the landlessness of additional children as population increase bears on the limited resources in agrarian communities. Other studies show how the bargaining power of peasants who hire labor vis-a-vis the growing population of landless has grown and resulted in various institutional arrangements (Ledesma, 1983).

The organizational potential of the growing landless population is difficult to assess since there are many intermediate variables to consider. There are more peasants without productive assets to recruit into political organizations or struggles at this time compared to a period where this popula-

tion was still small. Given the structure of employment opportunities in the countryside, the implications of population increase for revolutionary potential is not negligible.

The literature is relatively silent with respect to the political effects of fertility or population increase. However, one can infer the implications of number of children on the structure of power and distribution of resources. What is needed is a research which assesses the varying effects of fertility/family size on participation in decision making in the family, community work environment among different sectors. It can be hypothesized for specific sectors without economic opportunities that family size/fertility erodes their potential participation in political processes and activities in which women are adversely affected by fertility/family size. Only when specific conclusions are reached can programs be developed which can make people value participation and participate enough to consider the opportunity cost of additional children.

## C. Impact of Fertility on the Church

The decades of the 60s and the 70s brought into the world's consciousness the phenomenon of a rapidly increasing population in the face of dwindling resources. To alleviate this problem, efforts were geared towards checking population growth by whatever means of birth control, natural or artificial. The impact of population growth on the institutional Church is manifested in its ideological response to the growing concern over increasing fertility in the Third World.

In 1968, the Catholic Church took an official stand in the form of an encyclical known as the HUMANAE VITAE. It stated in no uncertain terms the Church's opposition to the use of artificial forms of contraception, the use of which ran counter to the teachings of the Bible. Contraception was seen to defeat the primary purpose of marriage which is procreation.

The Catholic hierarchy issued a pastoral letter in 1968 endorsing *Humanae Vitae*. The pastoral letter called on the clergy and the laity to accept the Holy Father's stand on regulating births. It strong-

ly exhorted its constituents "to seriously study this creed (the Encyclical), and to adhere to it faithfully in spite of the lures of new Christianities and new gospels..." (Healy, 1973).

The Philippine government, representing a population composed mainly of Catholics, issued a population policy that ran contrary to the exhortations of the Catholic Church. The country's policy was embodied in its Population Act of 1971, later amended by Presidential Decree No. 79, endorsing all means of birth control except abortion.

The Church issued another pastoral letter, decrying the government's population policy to emphasize external means of birth control over the more important inner control and mastery of man's behavior. The letter endorsed instead responsible parenthood and the use of natural methods of birth control.

The Catholic Church here and abroad suffered much critique and dissent from both clergy and laity. This was manifested in the attitudes and behavior of Catholics throughout the world who not only favored but practised artificial birth control measures.

The core of the dissent seems to lie in the inability of the Catholic Church to read the signs of the times. It seems that where family planning is concerned, the Catholic Church has had little impact on the behaviors of its constituents. Some of the clergy and the laity have manifested attitudes and practices towards population control deviating from the official position of the Church.

In the Baguio Religious Acculturation Conference (BRAC) 1967 Filipino Family Survey, 63 per cent of the Catholics surveyed approved of family planning (FP). Those who approved of FP were closer to the Church than those who disapproved. Closeness to the Church is measured in terms of regular attendance at Sunday Mass, willingness to consult one's pastor on family problems. In a follow-up of the BRAC survey, findings also showed a high percentage of approval of FP among Catholics (65 per cent). A third survey, the IPC/POPCOM 1971 Mass Media Study showed

seventy-six per cent of the Catholics surveyed approved of family planning.

In the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (BAECON) survey, 78 per cent of the Catholics approved of family planning. More recent studies show the same results. De Guzman using data from the 1978 Republic of the Philippines Fertility Survey (RPFS), found that 48.6 per cent of Catholic married women were using contraceptives. Only 21.2 per cent of the Catholic respondents who were in their childbearing years at the time of the survey, said that they did not intend to use contraceptives in the future. Catholics in the Philippines have higher fertility than non-Catholics using the overall average number of children born as basis for comparison.

Evidence from these surveys further indicate that these Catholics have approved of family planning more for economic considerations. Lynch (1974) and Makil conclude that the anti-contraception attitudes of these people cannot be attributed to the influences of the Church. The negative attitude of Catholics towards family planning cannot be accurately traced to the influence of the Church (Makil, 1979).

It would appear then, that the Catholic Church's hold over its constituents is weak. Lynch concluded that the Philippine Catholic Church has chosen to maintain a *laissez faire* attitude towards family planning, "teaching little or nothing officially about FP or folk-Catholic moral questions that are in conflict with official Catholic doctrine." This explains the failure of the Church to influence its constituents' attitudes towards family planning and artificial contraception.

The gap in theory and practice existing within the Church reflects a verbally articulate but behaviorally inactive Catholic Church. This problem is related to the seeming absence of actual collective consensus within the Church. More than ever, the Church will have to "put its act together" if it is to maintain its stature in society as one of the more powerful and influential institutions in society.



## ● IMPACT OF MIGRATION

### A. Impact of Migration on the Family

#### Effects of Migration on Family Aspects

##### 1. Family Structure

The household size of urban poor communities which are predominantly composed of migrants is large, ranging from 3 to 14 members with an average family size of 6 (Jimenez et al., 1986). The majority of the urban poor households are nuclear rather than extended.

Most slum families are nuclear rather than extended in nature (David and Angangco, 1976). Families have from 6 to 8 members on the average. The higher the family's educational attainment, the less children it tends to have. Migrant households in urban areas are generally nuclear. Castillo (1979) reveals that, except for one study done in Malate, Manila, households are consistently found to be nuclear than extended in structure. The 1973 National Demographic Survey (NDS) showed 77 per cent nuclear family households in rural places and 60 per cent in urban areas. Metro Manila reported the lowest percentage (59 per cent) of nuclear households and the highest incidence of extended households (41 per cent).

Carroll *et al.*, (in Castillo, 1979) asserts that the tendency of kinsmen to gravitate toward the more affluent members leads to the possible flow of rural family members to the urban areas. Relatives from the provinces seek their kinfolk in the city, reside with them and contribute to household expenses in cash, kind or services. Frequent consideration in the choice of place by the migrant is the presence of relatives and friends to some extent. Kinfolk help with the initial adjustment and provide continuing support and assistance in times of economic need.

Reasons for moving to Manila are: to seek a job and improve their life, to try their "luck" in the city -- and the "pot of gold" remains ever elusive. City slums and squatter areas, unemployed or sporadically employed or self-employed are forever engaged in the daily struggle to survive but ever optimistic that tomorrow will be better (Guerrero,

1971; David and Angangco, 1976).

##### 2. Family Size

Migrants had a higher family mean size than the non-migrants. However, Hendershot (1971) noted the opposite. His data showed: 1) migrants have lower fertility than natives, 2) in general, the fertility of migrants who are younger (under 30) and those who have been married for a relatively short period of time is higher than that of similar natives, but at older ages and longer marriage durations, the fertility of migrants is low, and 3) in general, the greater the urbanism of the destination, the more likely migrants are to possess characteristics related to high mobility and potential, implying that rural-urban migration is selective of socially mobile persons.

Pernia, using data from the 1973 NDS provides empirical support for the Migration Cycle Model. This model posits a non-linear migration-fertility relationship whereby fertility is observed to fall on account of economic and psychic hardships caused by displacement following migration during the period of adjustment as child-bearing becomes easier. The findings challenge the common view that migration invariably leads to lower fertility while migration may temporarily alleviate the fertility problem. Juan (1977) shows evidence that household sizes are related to migration types. In general, the more mobile migration types have smaller sized household compared to the least mobile migration types.

##### 3. Family Labor and Employment

Migrants have difficulties in finding jobs or in obtaining well-paying jobs. Because of this problem of unemployment and underemployment, migrants are plagued by insufficiently low income. Migrant households characteristically have more than one income earner in the family. It is not uncommon to find women and children actively engaged in tertiary types of occupation to augment total family income.

Migrants are disadvantaged in that they receive less earnings. The longer a migrant stays in the city, the more able he is to land a stable job and earn a higher income. Migrants who raise their occupational status and incomes as a result of migration

are positively selected in terms of age, education, and income. Sons from high farm origins maintain the highest entry rate to nonmanual status in the urban milieu irrespective of education. Elite stabilization exists despite migration from agricultural areas to urban settings.

#### 4. Family Welfare

Negatively selected migrants usually end up living in slum or squatter communities. These areas are characterized by dilapidated living structures, congestion, poverty, absence or lack of basic infrastructure and social services, and an unsanitary environment. These areas are also characterized by poor health conditions as a result of their unsanitary environment.

Nutrition has been shown to be affected by low purchasing power, low educational level and large family size which are common characteristics of migrant families in urban settings.

#### 5. Women

Female migration rates seem to show that economic pressures have weakened the cultural barrier to female employment, to long-distance movement of females and to the independence of single females. While migration shows women to be more active in terms of occupation, the status of migrant women remains low compared to the native women who occupy high prestige occupation. Compared to educated male migrants who tended to occupy white collar and craftsmen occupations, relatively educated women occupied lower-ranking service sector occupations.

Impact of migration on women is often discussed in terms of its fertility control possibilities. The migration of single females is shown to postpone the age at marriage. Migration is also seen to effect large birth intervals and increased celibacy.

#### 6. Changes in Values and Norms

Very few migrants return to their places of origin despite the hardships that they encounter in their new places of destinations. Migrants also express their desire to stay in their new environment because it offers far better opportunities than their places of origin.

It is in their new places of destination where their

socioeconomic aspirations can be attained (David and Angangco, 1976; Hollnsteiner 1973; Jimenez et al., 1986). Aspirations, material aspirations (desire to own a house, "get rich," get a job) education for their children as well as hopes for physical and emotional well-being were expressed by the migrants (Guerrero, 1973; Hollnsteiner, n.d.).

Studies present varying views regarding the impact on migration on family ties. Close family ties were described to affect and to result from migration (Traeger, 1981). Other studies (by Catapusan and Catapusan, 1954; Hugo, 1982; Mowat, 1977; Hollnsteiner, n.d. and Arcinas, 1987) show the opposite, however, and mention the loosening of family ties, infidelity or breakup of families as results of the separation created by migration.

#### B. Impact of Migration on the Political Institution

Levels of development of communities and regions with corresponding levels of access to services have been historically created by policies of the government. Boulier (1977) noted that spatial differences in economic opportunity stimulate migration. Migration flows alter geographical patterns of economic activity. Pernia (1977) concurs by arguing that pronounced intersectoral disparities in socioeconomic conditions are, in a dynamic sense, both the cause and the consequence of population flows between sectors.

Migration flows have been biased towards regions which have been considered highly developed such as Metro Manila, Southern Luzon, and Southern Mindanao. Regions experiencing heavy net losses of migrant labor (such as Bicol, Central and Eastern Visayas) have been ranked among the lowest in regional development profiles (Dequina, 1977). The volume and directional pattern of inter-regional migration point to the significance of regional socio-economic levels of development and changes influencing population movement. The migration pattern before and after the 1960s showed: 1) the continued exodus to the Mindanao area of pioneering types of flows in areas of frontier settlement, and 2) the emergence of a new system of metropolitan-to-suburb flow accompanied by an accentuated tempo of urbanization as seen in the

rapid development of the areas peripheral to Manila (Dequina, 1977).

The age and sex characteristics of migrants are also influenced by regional imbalances. Young, unmarried males prefer to migrate to frontier settlement while unmarried females move to the metropolis and urban areas where factory and service-related occupations abound. Regional development can affect the size, composition, and characteristics of the labor force of the country (Dequina, 1977; Ruiz, n.d.). The regional distribution of migrant work can exacerbate the existing regional disparities on two levels: 1) Migration selectivity drains the better labor resources from the areas of origin, 2) Migration creates population pressures on limited economic opportunities and welfare services in the areas of destination. The primate position of Metro Manila has endowed advantages to the area and her populace in terms of income, economic opportunities and welfare services. It is also in Metro Manila that the greatest concentration of urban problems--unemployment, income disparities, squatter housing, inadequacy and insufficiency of services and facilities, traffic congestion, pollution, etc. -- are spatially located (Apacible, 1981; Beltran, 1984).

Laquian (1973) points out that certain government policies and programs actively encouraged migration. The poverty that ensued as a result of land concentration (Boglosa, 1983; Carino, 1975) as well as other government economic policies caused migration from poor regions to more developed ones which led Abueva (1972) to note that the problems of Metro Manila reflect national ills and are intricately related to the problems of rural regions.

Government policies and programs are usually viewed as dependent variables corresponding to population and demographic trends, not independent variables that may influence these trends themselves (Ocampo, 1972; Laquian, 1973). Influx of migrants and consequent urban problems have created political and administrative demands. De Guzman and Pacho (1973) suggested that the impact of rapid urbanization on the administrative process be examined along three approaches: its effect on (a) the administrative structure; (b) fiscal

management; and (c) administrative aspects of urban planning.

The government in Metro Manila adopted the policies of outright eviction, relocation and resettlement and slum upgrading and sites and services programs. They have also extended in a limited way, livelihood assistance to marginal communities and individuals. Despite these approaches, the slum and squatter problems remain unresolved (Jimenez et al., 1986). The failure may be due to an incorrect definition of the problem as stated in the summary portion of the SCAPS publication, Reason to Hope. It may be that any solution short of a confrontation with policies and structures that create poverty for the many and wealth for a few will be palliative and temporary at the least and finally, be inevitable in the long run.

Slum dwellers themselves have learned to organize and to fight for their right to be heard and listened to in the definition and the solution of what to them is a structurally created slum problem (see Sebastian, 1977; Santiago, 1977; Guerrero, 1977; Hollsteiner, 1977; and Laquian, 1971). Participation in community organizations by urban poor residents is related to some factors such as: long duration of community residence, better working arrangements, high level of education and availability of child care assistance (Jimenez et al. 1986). Early adjustment to migration may have caused the respondents in the study of Arcinas and Angangco (1971-1972) to opt not to join any organization.

Net out-migration has consequences for the individual, the area of net out-migration, the area of net in-migration, and the larger social system. Prior to moving, the migrant would have had anticipated a net balance of favorable consequences for himself. Sometimes, things do not come up to his expectations, and frustrations will compel him to return to his place of origin or seek some other place. On the positive side, migration may relieve the place of origin of population pressure and cause the area's average level of wage and salary income to rise. There would be a gain in per capita gross national product. On the migration side, out-migration areas suffer the loss of the investment on raising and educating children who spend their

productive years elsewhere. Migration is selective of the young or those with potential to participate in the work force. As a result, areas of out-migration have few young adults relative to the number of children and aged person (Herrin, 1982). Brain drain acts as a brake on the area's economic and cultural development (Morada and Alegre, 1981; Pernia, 1977).

The opposite occurs at the in-migration areas. Migration precipitates the development of the rich and fertile lands that have been previously unsettled and uncultivated (Plameras, 1977). If the in-migration area is definitely underpopulated, the resultant population increase may help to achieve economies of scale (thru reduction in the cost of goods obtainable by increasing the scale of production and of marketing), and thus raise the general standards of living. Migration of the rural people to urban areas increases the pressure and demand for housing, transportation systems, jobs, schools, health services, and other community services (Apacible, 1981; Abueya, 1972; Paderon, 1970). There is a greater dissatisfaction among people in migration areas as the government is not usually capable of satisfying these demands. Influx of working people lowers the wages and contributes to unemployment and underemployment (Morada and Alegre, 1981). Resentment is felt on the part of the urban people as migrants deprive them of some jobs and cause an increase in land values (Thomas, 1961).

While there is a rather high proportion of young adults, they will also have a heterogeneous and non-conforming population since in-migrants come from diverse cultural backgrounds. As a result, the city is likely to become the center of disorganization and social problems like crime and juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, drug addiction, squatter and slums, prostitution, poverty and pollution (Asia-Pacific Population Programme News, 1980).

The inability of the government to solve resolutely urban problems as well as those of poverty and underdevelopment may erode the people's confidence in government. Increasing marginalization and impoverishment may lead the urban populace, especially the poor migrants, to organize and to

claim for change peacefully. Should peaceful efforts fail to bring about the much-needed meaningful solutions, the urbanized populace may resort to violent methods or else may opt for a radical change in government ultimately.

Loss of confidence in the national government has been discerned among tribal groups opting for autonomy for their regions. The claim for self-determination by the Mindanao and Cordillera movements has been precipitated by the influx of dominant Christians into their ancestral lands. In general, this dominant land and resource exploitation by migrants happened in areas frequently owned by the remaining 6 to 65 ethnolinguistic groups who maintained the greatest links with their indigenous cultural heritage and who were subsequently defined as "cultural" or "national minorities."

### *C. Impact of Migration on the Church*

Social homogenization is essentially an integrative process reducing regional isolation and differentiation and bringing about a greater convergence, nationwide, in social behavior and attitudes. The Philippine experience manifests the contrasting trend towards ethnic diversification and conflict. As Smith and Concepcion (1977) observed, "some of the more urgent of the nation's contemporary problems and issues stem from ... population transfers into ... fertile but unsettled areas."

The Muslim and the Cordillera movements are two real examples of ethnic and religious conflict emanating from migration and consequent problems attached to massive movements of Christians.

Loss of lands, shifts in types of economy, changes in economic activities, displacement from areas of birth, resettlement to other areas, transformations in religion, custom, and traditions, and loss of political control resulted from the migratory flows of dominant Christians into previous ancestral areas of the "minority" ethnic groups (cf. Mansmann, 1983; Wulff, 1980; Oracion, 1983; Cadelina, 1983; Costello, 1981; TFLSCP, 1983; Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human

Rights Reports, 1983; Espinosa, 1985; Schlegel, 1986; and Tribal Forum, 1987). The Christian migration to Mindanao in the late 30s and 40s, initiated and sanctioned by the Philippine government affected not only the number but the totality of the existence of the tribal groups. The minority ethnic and religious groups have banded together and have asserted their separate political will, using both peaceful and violent methods, towards self-determination. The Muslim groups have been openly known to receive international assistance from other Muslim governments for their struggle for self-determination. A considerable number of non-governmental institutions, including church-related groups, have been extending assistance (to both urban and rural groups) in community organization, housing and land tenure, information dissemination, fund raising, generation of livelihood opportunities and promotion of health care (Jimenez et al., 1986). The emergence and proliferation of the Basic Christian Communities (BCC) especially in the Mindanao areas and other poverty-stricken areas in the Philippines, may be taken as an indirect response of the various churches to help solve the problem of population pressure and the ensuing inequality, poverty, and disempowerment of the majority of Filipinos.

### IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION \*

Although occasional mention shall be made of the consequences of international migration of Filipinos to other areas, the focus of this section will be on the consequences of overseas migration, especially to the Gulf Region. The immediate reason for this lies in the growing significance of labor migration to the Gulf Region which, in recent years according to Arcinas (1987), has considerably increased relative to the other emigration flows to the Americas, Africa, Europe, and other countries of Asia. Since 1975, the Middle East has become the recruiter of Filipino labor. Temporary contract workers bound for the Gulf region accounted for 87 per cent of the 1981 land-based work placements (Arcinas *ibid*). In the light of the need for

more systematic research and clearer policy about labor migration to the Gulf Region, this section pays particular attention to the consequences of this specific movement that appears in selected literature. At the very least, it provides an initial attempt to explore and to integrate the various consequences on particular institutions that are incidentally mentioned in many of the reports about temporary overseas migrants to the Gulf Region.

The major study that is relevant to this attempt is the research undertaken by Arcinas, Bautista and David (1986). Other studies are cited whenever they are relevant. The Arcinas *et al.* study described and analyzed the effects of overseas employment on the workers family, and community welfare, lifestyles, and values. It collected information on the overseas worker prior to departure from the country and upon his return. It sampled 506 migrant workers and professionals who had returned to the Philippines after their employment in the Gulf Region. They were interviewed from October 1984 to January 1985 in Metro Manila (54 per cent) and in the surrounding provinces of Bulacan, Pampanga, Cavite and Laguna (46 per cent). More than one-third of the sample was employed in construction work in the Middle East while 22 per cent held professional, technical, administrative, and clerical jobs. A predominantly male sample (92 per cent), mostly married (77 per cent) and who held their jobs in the Middle East for one to three years (93 per cent).

#### A. *Impact of International Migration on the Family*

##### *Effect of International Migration on Family Aspects*

###### 1. *Family Size*

Three out of 10 migrant workers lived in urbanized areas or cities before their overseas employment. More than half of the workers had from one to four children while about 18 per cent

\* This section relies on the 1986 report on "The Odyssey of the Filipino Migrant Workers to the Gulf Region," by Arcinas, Bautista and David.

had from 5 or more. Since the majority were still relatively young (86 per cent between the ages of 20 and 44), temporary separations brought about by overseas employment could, therefore, be expected to reduce the number of additional children later on. Twenty-one per cent of the migrant workers remained single and were also expected to marry at a later age and to form their families consistent with their family welfare goals.

### *Effect on Family Labor and Employment*

#### *1. Number of Employed Family Members*

Fifty-two per cent of the overseas workers had 2 to 10 family members who worked before their overseas stint while 4 out of 10 respondents had only one. After working abroad, the number of respondents who had 2 to 10 employed family members decreased slightly to about 47 per cent. The slight reduction in the proportion of employed family members of overseas workers after working abroad may have resulted from the economic security brought about by the family member's earnings from employment overseas.

There was a tendency to have family members work overseas after temporary migration of the respondent. The proportion of households with family members employed in the Middle East after the overseas sojourn was higher by 18 per cent. One may conclude that the overseas experiences of some contract workers provided other members of their families with an opportunity to become familiar with the whole process of applying and eventually acquiring overseas employment. As a result, the entire procedure was no longer as intimidating. For some of them, income derived from working abroad came in handy as a source of funds to cover job application expenses of the other family members.

#### *2. Employment Situation*

Majority of the workers were employed prior to their overseas employment with a number of them having more than one job before migration. More than half of the returnees did not have any job upon return and at the time of the study (October, 1984 to January, 1985), either because they could not

find available jobs (47 per cent) or they considered the remuneration too low (36 per cent). Close to 50 per cent of the respondents switched jobs upon their return. Most of those who found jobs have held on to only one job upon their return regardless of the sectors they were in. About seventy-two per cent of those who did not find jobs upon their return and who received assistance were helped by family members in readjusting to the Filipino way of life.

#### *3. Income and Remittances*

Overseas migration accounted for the tremendous increases in income. Sixty per cent of the workers earned above P80,000.00 or U.S.\$4,500 while about 12 per cent earned less than P40,000.00 or U.S.\$2,200. More of the professional, technical, administrative and clerical workers had higher incomes. Those who worked in Saudi Arabia had higher incomes than those who worked elsewhere. About three out of four workers in the study sent remittances in dollars as frequently as once a month, frequently to spouses (73 per cent) or to parents (21 per cent). The total amount of remittances varied with the nature and duration of the last overseas job. While in general, the remittances were welcome relief augmenting family income, remittances also created much dependence of the remaining family members on the earnings of the overseas migrant.

Very few invested these remittances in productive assets. Only seven per cent bought machinery and equipment. About 17 per cent bought vehicles. Most of those who did so worked in the transportation sector in the host country. Business investments were made by only 1 out of 10 respondents. There were more construction workers who invested in small-scale business (retail stores) which employed 1 or 2 people. About half of the respondents invested in the education of their children. Some became money-lenders.

Overseas migration, however, does not propel all into higher levels of living. Prospective overseas migrants cheated by illegal recruiters found themselves and their families tottering on the brink of subsistence as a result of loss of land and other assets due to the debts obtained through usurious loan agreements. Some children ended up being

sent to work as domestic helpers receiving no wages whatsoever as their work was considered substitute payment for interest on loan made by parents for overseas migration. Many families found themselves at the mercy of usurious loan sharks, borrowing short-term cash when remittances were delayed.

### *Effect on Family Welfare*

In general, overseas migration ushered in higher levels of living and changed lifestyles for the families of migrants. Changes in consumption patterns were observed with increases in the amount of basic food items consumed. There was a marked increase in the consumption of essential over non-essential items. Families of migrants were able to put more children in school. Many became homeowners. There were many also who spent their earnings on improving their houses. Many spent their earnings on consumer durables while only a few invested in productive assets as discussed earlier. Only a few, notably the professional and technical workers, reported that their children got sick during their absence. Movie-watching lessened as most migrant families tended to resort to beta-max viewing.

### *Effect on Migrant Lifestyle*

The leisure patterns of the migrants in the host country also changed. Watching TV and listening to the radio were frequently resorted to while activities like going to church, joining picnics, watching movies and seeing sites lessened in the host country. Most of the Filipinos expressed satisfaction with their living quarters, facilities, meals and work conditions in the host country.

### *Effect on Norms and Values*

Generally, proletarianization of the workers in the host country as well as bourgeoisification of family members was markedly observed with overseas migration. In one sense, while the workers may have had positive changes in values (e.g. becoming more thrifty, more appreciative of work,

more aware of the need to know global events), the members of their families imbibed a highly materialistic culture. The materialist culture, which prevailed among some migrant families, was also being imbibed by members of the community who aspired to land Middle East jobs which could be their passport to a better life. Taken in this light, it is not unusual to see "Saudi" communities in Cavite and Pampanga, for example, that sprouted as a result of overseas migration.

The indicators of changes in lifestyle among the families of migrant laborers reflect their notion of what it means to move up in society. The improved, beautiful homes, the conspicuous consumption of consumer items like electronic gadgets, and the occasional splurge of money for a child's baptism or wedding are among the status symbols the workers aspire for. There is a tendency among some of the respondents to flaunt what they acquired and to discuss what each has in his home. Even children have imbibed this consumer culture. They felt that their social status has improved relative to peers whose parents were not migrant workers (Arcinas, 1987).

Despite their bouts of loneliness, depression, and overall depression in the host country, the migrant workers themselves actively seek overseas work again or seek opportunities to emigrate as a result of their previous overseas stint. Their family and their own positive perceptions of temporary overseas employment (improved economic and social standing vis-a-vis their neighbors, increased monthly earnings, skills and experience gained) have directed their attention beyond certain negative costs of overseas work.

Ongoing longitudinal studies of the impact of temporary overseas work present evidence of these negative costs such as selling of assets and the discontinuation of the children's education. Apparently the "biglang-yaman" (instant wealth) syndrome is as transient and as fleeting as the brief duration of overseas employment. Unable to save and to invest much of their earnings and remittances productively, the migrant and his family are now experiencing the effects of dwindling or loss of resources.

Negative consequences have also been observed

in the quality of relationships among family members of migrant workers. Absence of one spouse and temporary separation has occasionally resulted in cases of infidelity or even to a reported suicide of a wife. In some cases, separation and complete break-up of the family have taken place. Conflict has also been observed between parents and the remaining spouse, or else between the remaining spouse and the children. Although temporary overseas migration tended to make the migrant worker more family-oriented, and more determined to provide better opportunities for children, there are reports of negative behavior on the part of children (such as becoming unruly, withdrawn, or spoiled or their schooling being affected) highlighting the need for migrants themselves to weigh these non-economic costs seriously.

#### *Effect on Women*

Reports of overseas migration of women, especially the domestic helpers, the entertainers, and the so-called mail-order brides, to various parts of the world have focused on sexual abuses, psychological stresses, and social degradation experienced by the migrant women. Feminists have decried the deepening process of commodification as a result of this international movement of women (Cooke, 1986).

Whether positively or negatively viewed, overseas migration seems to have imposed more burden on the shoulders of the multiple-role burdened and low-status Filipina. Single women migrants often bear unreasonable working conditions not to mention their psychological stresses just to help support their parents or brothers or sisters. The wife of the overseas migrant has been generally shown to have ably coped with the added household responsibility of single parenthood and the financial management of the household. However, there are reports of women who worry about their responsibility or of their ability as good financial managers. There are also cases of infidelity and of women spending their husband's hard-earned wages on their lovers or on extravagant shopping sprees. Finally, there are reports of rifts between the worker's wife, his mother or his mistress over his remittances. All these reports underscore the negative consequences

of overseas migration for women. Women's low position is thus sustained or is even depreciated by overseas migration.

This observation can also be gleaned from the "deskilling" that women migrants are subjected to in the host country. It will not be wrong to surmise that their working conditions and terms are less favorable than those of their male migrant counterparts.

#### *Effect on Policy: Government Policies as Cause and Effect of International Migration*

Overseas migration has resulted from the internal requirements of both the host and sending countries. Demand for labor by host countries and the desire of the sending country to alleviate unemployment and to earn much needed foreign exchange to support aailing economy illustrate the important political role of government policies on international migration.

International political controls have regulated the movement, the volume, the quality of migrants as well as the work and, sometimes, even the social conditions under which overseas migration takes place. Policies towards international migration have encouraged the political and economic linkages of involved countries.

The substantial increase in the volume of overseas migrants has, in turn, resulted in the promulgation of government policies and programs towards recruitment, consular assistance of migrants in host countries, and re-adjustment of migrants upon return to the home country, among others.

Reacting to observed massive brain-drain in the country, several Philippine government policies directed attention to creating opportunities and conditions to lure highly qualified manpower to remain in or to return to the country (Gupta, 1973 and Herrin, 1980).

#### *B. Impact of International Migration on Political Participation*

As a result of their volume, the overseas migrants



have requested for a sectoral representative to the newly-elected Philippine legislative body. Various organizations, involving returning migrants or their families or involving parties interested in the conditions of migrant workers have also increased. Radio and TV programs have been aired directed toward the "Saudi" group.

The results of the survey by Arcinas *et al.* (ibid), however, showed migrants' disinterest for organizational affiliation whether in professional associations (only 15 per cent), clubs (14 per cent), and trade unions (only 7 per cent). The fact that countries in the Gulf region are perceived to frown on all forms of organizations among contract workers has reinforced this disinterest in joining organizations and has effectively kept Filipino contract workers from articulating their demands for better terms and conditions of work.

Data from the same source showed that 3 respondents out of 4 were not interested in politics before migration. Only eight per cent of them joined political parties before working abroad. Of this number, only two per cent said they were active members at the time of the study. The data further showed that interest in politics prior to the most recent move is significantly related to the nature of the last overseas job. Thirty-five per cent of the professionals expressed interest in politics as against 16 per cent and 14 per cent of craftsmen and of service-related workers, respectively.

Comparing the information before and after migration, the data showed that their stint abroad did not change their outlook on politics. The number of respondents who joined political parties before the move even dropped from eight to four per cent. However, a large proportion (63 per cent) discussed politics during their stay abroad. Apparently, the migrants participated in discussions about government and its policies but reported a lack of interest in politics. Perhaps the perceived negative sanctions in the host country for those with high political interest influenced them somewhat to deny any political interest even upon return to the Philippines.

An impressive 87 per cent of the respondents preferred a democratic form of government to prevail in the Philippines, followed by "free press"

and then "by active trade union". Eight out of 10 contract workers claimed they were concerned about the actions of Filipinos abroad. According to Arcinas *et al.* (ibid), this may be an indication of a sensitiveness to criticism as a people on the part of the contract workers since the Filipino's principal norm is the desire for social acceptance. It may also be that a bad reputation for the country as a whole, may adversely affect their social contacts in the host country, or this may perhaps reflect a sense of nationalism.

Finally, while the migrants professed interest in world affairs prior to their migration, their number increased after living and working abroad for some time. The professional, technical, administrative and clerical workers showed the highest proportion of respondents who became interested in world affairs while the construction workers, the lowest proportion. While working abroad did not change their perception of the global situation, most of those who experienced a change of perception expressed the need for the Philippines to develop.

### *Revolutionary Potentials of International Migration*

Political laws related to international migration may create political tensions and conflicts among and between countries as well as between countries and their nationals. Arcinas notes, for example, that many Filipinos have gone to jail for incidents such as bumping another car, considered minor in the Philippines but punishable by "automatic imprisonment" in Qatar. Nurses who suffer abuse and rape have nowhere to go for help as there was no Philippine diplomatic office to assist them in Qatar.

Arnold and Abad (1985) present examples of tension resulting from circumstances of political controls over international migration. As examples, the presence of large numbers of Bangladeshis in India has been a source of recent tension. Illegal immigrants to "magnet" centers such as the United States or Malaysia have continued unabated and have created political problems as well.

The recent drop in oil revenues and the new domestic goals in the Middle East have affected

their demand for labor. The suddenness and extent of the Saudi government's economic and budgetary review, for instance, had caused bankruptcy which is expected to ultimately result in job abandonment, worker retrenchment, cost-cutting, non-payment of wages, deterioration of working and living conditions, contract substitution and, in general, restiveness among workers. There is a rise in complaints and welfare cases involving contract workers (Arcinas, 1987).

Most of the complaints and welfare cases of the contract workers, however, remain largely unattended. This was particularly true of the previous regime which ironically eagerly pursued a manpower export program because of its foreign exchange earning capacity but conspicuously neglected to respond to attendant problems of the program, especially of the migrants and their families.

Significantly, distrust in the government was expressed by a large 60 per cent of the respondents in the study of Arcinas *et al.* Their political discussions in the Gulf regions often focused on the workers grievances against the relative indifference of some embassy personnel to their plight as well as against the so-called restrictive government policy.

Erosion of confidence in the present government may continue for as long as the plight of overseas migration remains unattended or continues to be neglected. Any decrease in the demand for Filipino overseas migration can aggravate the present politically and economically unstable situation in the Philippines. The ranks of the unemployed will rise. The number of impoverished families will increase. Urban problems will accelerate as most overseas migrants tend to prefer residing in the urban areas after their stint. More demands for effective and efficient government service will be registered. More dissatisfied people will clamor and organize. The escalation of problems will certainly be a viable scenario in the event of a drastic decrease in overseas manpower demand. An extreme scenario would take the form of chaos and violence resulting from the need of organized Filipinos for a responsive and effective government that can effect a much-awaited meaningful relief

from their economically burdened lives.

On the other hand, there is a more optimistic scenario for the successful Filipino immigrants in American society. Filipinos have successfully broken into the upper social strata of the Hawaiian social world, occupying the prominent positions in both the government service and in private establishments. By sheer numbers, Filipinos can wield strong political power in Hawaiian politics, if they unite. Considering that their number is certainly significant throughout the United States particularly in California, it may not be far fetched to see united Filipinos in top American political positions in the future.

### *C. Impact of International Migration on Religion*

#### *Changes in Religious Practices and Ethnic Relations as a Consequence of Overseas Migration*

The predominantly Christian Filipino workers find themselves in a disadvantaged position when they migrate to non-Christian countries. Especially in fundamentalist Moslem countries of the Middle East, reports of religious objects, and forced conversion have been experienced by Filipino Christian migrants. In Japan, female entertainers have expressed their guilt for infrequent attendance in religious services due to the absence of a Catholic church in their area of work.

Interestingly, some migrants in the Middle East resorted to conversion in an effort to improve their personal situation in host countries. This act reflects the reality that wage structure, work and living conditions vary by nationality groups. Three general payrolls are maintained in the Middle East: the American and European payroll, the local payroll for the countries' own nationals, and a payroll for Third World nationals which include Filipinos and those from other Asian countries.

In Hawaii, other ethnic groups looked down upon the non-professional Filipinos as "inferior". Because of this unfavorable stereotype of being Filipinos, an ethnic-denial mechanism evolved. However, more and more second-generation

Filipinos are becoming proud of their Filipino ancestry as a result of higher education and increasing responsible positions assumed by Filipinos.

### *Responses of Religious/Ethnic Groups to Overseas Migration-Related Problems*

Filipino "ghettos" have sprouted in various host countries as a response not only to work-related discrimination but to inter-personal and social needs as well. Migrants themselves gave varied reactions when asked if they noticed any change in their perception and practice of religion (Arcinas et al., 1986). The majority said they did not experience any change in their religiosity in the host country. Only 10 per cent said their perception of religion changed while 12 per cent said their religious behavior changed. Migrants become more religious and prayed more often despite the presence of very few religious facilities for Christian in host countries. Conversion was an exceptionally extreme and rare response and was resorted to by a few migrants and often, more for economic than for religious reasons.

The creation of makeshift chapels and resort to secret charismatic group meetings were mentioned especially by the construction workers in the Middle East (Arcinas et al., 1986). Tapes of religious songs and even services were sent by remaining family members to their migrant relatives.

Cases of actual organization, confrontation, and outright violence have been observed among migrants in many areas of the world even at present.

### **CONCLUSION**

The previous discussion attempted to synthesize fertility and migration studies in the Philippines along their explicit or implicit formulations about the consequences or impact of the two demographic processes on the family, the political and the religious institutions. While the impact of fertility and migration could have been assessed for individuals, households, communities and regions, the choice of an institutional assessment rests on the belief that policy makers should be enlightened

by an understanding of how these demographic processes affect and in turn are affected by the interplay of key institutions.

The paper highlights several limitations and gaps in literature which have implications for future research and policy directions: first, because the literature does not have anything to say about the effects of fertility and migration on other critical dimensions of each institution; second, hardly any study made an effort to relate the institutional dimensions to each other, some dimensions mediate the effects of fertility and migration of peasants in political organizations, struggles as a result of population increase in Philippine villages depend on their family's access to productive assets and on a host of other factors; third, the relations of institutions to each other are also neglected; fourth, there are very few attempts in the literature to link the demographic processes themselves to one another and there are very few assessments of the interrelationships between migration and fertility; finally, there is an urgency to study both the impact and determinants of the two processes on societal institutions within the broader context of the development policies and efforts of a given society. It is necessary to substantiate a guiding framework for assessing the institutional impacts of demographic processes which reflect the interrelationships among institutions and dimensions of specific institutions.

Asserting the significance of describing the interrelationships among demographic processes on the one hand, and institutions, on the other, opens a whole gamut of methodological problems, ranging from units to methods of data collection and analysis. The following points deal with some of the methodological challenges confronting researchers who wish to provide a stable information base for adequate policy interventions.

First, institutional analysis requires a multi-level approach which includes individuals and households as well as aggregate levels. Second, there is a need to develop creative methods of assessing the impact of fertility and migration which combine macro- and micro-levels of analysis. The relative neglect of impacts on institutional factors in general is partly due to the fact that methodological frameworks and tools which have

contributed tremendously to the systematic study of determinants do not apply as easily to the variables involved in impact studies.

A multiplicity of methods is called for, given the types of information needed to develop appropriate policies. Studies on the impact of migration on institutions can gain from the exploration of other methodologies like life histories of cases. Qualitative methods can also be developed for aspects of impact studies which can not feature meaningfully into multivariate, multilevel, interactive models.

A multi-approach, multi-method set of researches can provide more insights into the varying impacts of fertility and migration on different groups. These groups are sometimes identifiable only interactively, i.e., while the researchers are actually in the field. The insights can contribute to the development of a non-universal, multi-prolonged policy which has greater promise of effectivity compared to a one-shot population policy intended for a homogenous population. The fact that problems persist imply either the failure or the inadequacy of existing policies. This failure or inadequacy is partly brought about by the inability of researchers and policy makers to identify varying types of population targets and to provide comprehensive qualitative and quantitative description of the impact of demographic process on these subgroups.

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