9 789718 514221
ISBN 971-8514-22-8

Filipino Diaspora: Demography, Social Networks, Empowerment and Culture

Mamoru Tsu

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Edited by
Mamoru Tsuda

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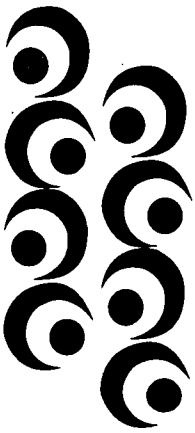

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The National Library of the Philippines CIP Data

Recommended entry:

Filipino diaspora : demography, social networks,
empowerment and culture / edited by Mamoru
Tsuda. — Quezon City : PSSC, c2003

1. Employment in foreign countries. 2. Emigration
and immigration. I. Tsuda Mamoru.
1v

HF5549.5 331.542 2003 P033000002
ISBN 971-8514-22-8

Copy Editors: Benilda Escutin, Joanne Agbisit, and Isagani Lachica
Layout: Elvira S. Angeles
PSSC Technical Support and Information Section
Cover Design: Karen Barrios

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Preface

As the phenomenon of Filipino international labor migration continues to intensify in this age of globalization, studies on transnational Filipino communities are deemed helpful to scholars, policy makers and the general public. The Philippine Migration Research Network (PMRN) is pleased to contribute this collection of papers and research reports which were first presented at the Fifth PMRN General Assembly on 23 March 2001 at the Philippine Social Science Center, Diliman, Quezon City.

The eight articles comprising this volume describe how Filipino migrants manage their lives away from home. The volume begins with Dean Alegado's article "International Labor Migration, Diaspora and the Emergence of Transnational Filipino Communities," analyzing the concept of transnational community and the diasporic connections of overseas Filipinos as they sustain social, cultural, political and economic linkages both in their country of origin and countries of settlement or work. The demographic characteristics of these Filipino overseas workers are examined next by Paula Monina Collado in her paper "Who are the Overseas Filipino Workers?" using data from the National Statistics Office's Survey of Overseas Filipinos (SOF) in 1993 and 1999. (The SOF is conducted annually as a rider to the Labor Force Survey.) These demographic group profiles are followed by four research reports by Japanese doctoral students — Wako Asato, Chiho Ogaya, Ibarra Mateo and Toshiko Tsujimoto — studying the experiences of Filipino workers in Japan, Hong Kong, Korea, and Singapore in working out their various problems with assistance from NGOs, church-based support centers and, in some instances, trade unions. These reports form part of a larger research project on "Filipino Diaspora in the Asia-Pacific Region" under the coordination of Professor Doctor Mamoru Tsuda of Osaka University of Foreign Studies. A more intimate look into the phenomenon of cross-cultural marriages, in this case that of Filipino women to Japanese men, is given in the seventh paper "Filipinas in Cross-Cultural Marriage to Japanese: Moving Towards a

Synthesis of Cultures" by Elena Samonte. The volume ends with an article by Maria Josephine Barrios describing how Filipino migrant workers in Japan, Hong Kong, and Korea construct their homeland through the use of popular cultural forms such as festivals, theatrical presentations, food preparations, national costumes, etc. which they carry in their memories. This last study is also part of the larger project on Filipino Diaspora in the Asia-Pacific Region.

This volume represents PMRN's fifth publication. The Network aims to continue encouraging and producing new work and publications on Philippine migration-related phenomena.

PMRN Executive Committee

Acknowledgments

The Philippine Migration Research Network (PMRN) expresses its heartfelt appreciation to Dr. Tsuda Mamoru for putting together and editing this volume.

Special thanks are due as well to the contributors of this volume: Dean Alegado, Paula Monina Collado, Wako Asato, Chiho Ogaya, Ibarra Mateo, Toshiko Tsujimoto, Elena Samonte, and Maria Josephine Barrios.

Finally, the PMRN wishes to thank Virginia A. Miralao and the PSSC staff (Lorna Makil, Joanne Agbisit, Monette Jimenez, Karen Barrios, Claire Nuyda, Elvie Angeles, and Isagani Lachica) for their technical and administrative assistance in the production of this publication.

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International Labor Migration, Diaspora and the Emergence of Transnational Filipino Communities

DEAN T. ALEGADO

A collective resistance transcending national sovereign borders, says Rivera (2001), becomes a reality as an "imagined" Filipino community is enriched in the process of struggle by both communities of immigrant families and contract workers abroad. Linked interactively with each other and various Philippine political networks through Internet web sites, electronic discussion groups and relay instruments of modern satellite communications, the Filipino diaspora has become an immediate continuing presence, intervening in and interrogating even the most local struggles (Rivera 2001).

Rivera (2001) concludes that "While their presence in the past was acknowledged mainly in economic discourses or in glib praises of their being 'modern heroes,' their electronic yet real interventions in Estrada's ouster compel a rethinking of a future that incorporates both their present and future aspirations."

DIASPORA AND THE RISE OF TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNITIES

As a contribution to the effort to analyze the complex social processes and consequences of international labor migration from the Philippines, I attempt to give theoretical form to the concept of transnational communities, as a less noticed but potentially potent counter to the more visible forms of globalization described in recent literature. I embark on this task not without some hesitation since the concept of transnationality, like that of globalization itself, threatens to become part of one of those passing fads that grip social scientists' attention for a while, only to fade into oblivion. I believe, however, that there is enough real substance here to make the effort worthwhile. If

If successful, the concept may actually perform double duty as part of the theoretical arsenal with which we approach the modern world-system as well as an element of a more neglected enterprise, namely the analysis of the everyday networks and patterns of social relationships that belong in the realm of a mid-range theory of social interaction.

As a popular response to globalization of capital, the emergence of what Alejandro Portes (1996) has described as the "rise of transnational networks and enterprises from below" has been more subtle and more widespread than the emergence of flexible industrial or export processing zones. It consists of the gradual growth of social formations and communities that sit astride political borders and that, in a very real sense, are "neither here nor there." The economic activities that sustain these communities are grounded on the differentials of advantage created by political boundaries. In this respect, they are no different from the large global corporations, except that these enterprises emerge at the grassroots level.

In the mid-1990s, Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc Szanton (1994, 9), tried to make a theoretical sense of the phenomenon in their path-breaking book, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Pre-Colonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized States*. According to these authors:

> We define "transnationalism" as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders. An essential element . . . is the multiplicity of involvements that transmigrants sustain in both home and host societies. We are still groping for a language to describe these social locations.

Their puzzled attitude toward this emergent phenomenon is understandable when we begin to grasp the array of activities that it comprises and the potential for social and economic transformation that it holds. The existing literature suggests three tentative theoretical points: (1) that the emergence of these communities is tied to the logic of capitalism itself; (2) that, while following well-established sociological principles of the development of social structures, these communities represent a distinct phenomenon at variance with traditional patterns of immigrant adaptation; and (3) that because the phenomenon is fueled by the dynamics of

globalization itself, it has greater growth potential and offers a broader field for popular initiatives than alternative social structures.

Let us begin by looking at the origins of these communities. As the preceding quote indicates, they are composed of migrants, families and relatives of immigrants, coworkers and friends. Public opinion in the advanced countries has been conditioned to think that contemporary immigration stems from the desperate quest of Third World peoples seeking to escape poverty at home. In fact, neither the poorest of the poor migrate nor is their move determined mainly by individualist calculations of advantage (Portes and Rumbaut 1996). Instead, contemporary migration is driven by twin forces that have their roots in the dynamics of capitalist expansion itself. These are, first, the labor needs of First World economies and, second, the penetration of less-developed countries by the productive investments and consumption standards of the advanced societies.

Contrary to widespread perceptions, immigrants come to the wealthier nations less because they want to than because they are needed. A combination of social and historical forces has led to acute labor scarcities in these economies. In some instances, these are real absolute scarcities such as the dearth of industrial workers in Japan and Taiwan and the shortage in certain professions, such as nursing and engineering in the United States. In other instances, however, the scarcity stems from the culturally conditioned resistance of native-born workers to accept the low-paid menial jobs commonly performed by their ancestors (Piore 1979; Gans 1992). The list of such stigmatized occupations is large and includes, among others, agricultural labor, domestic and other personal services, and garment sweatshop jobs (Sassen 1988).

The other side of the equation is the effect of the globalization process in the supply of potential immigrants. The drive of multinational capital to expand markets in the Third World and, simultaneously, to take advantage of its reservoirs of labor has had a series of predictable consequences. Among them are the remolding of popular culture on the basis of external forms and the introduction of consumption standards bearing little relation to local wages (Alba 1978). The process presocializes prospective immigrants about life abroad and induces them to move because of the gap between local realities and imported consumption aspirations. Paradoxically, this process does not much affect the very poor, but the working and middle-class sectors who are frequently the most exposed to marketing messages and cultural symbols beamed from the advanced world (Portes and Bach 1985, Grasmuck and Pessar 1991).

The fundamental point is that contemporary First World and North-bound immigration is not a contingent process, but one driven by the very dynamics of global capitalism. For this reason, the immigration flow to the developed world can be confidently expected to continue in the years ahead. This foreign population provides, in turn, the raw material out of which transnational communities develop.

THE RISE OF TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS AND ENTERPRISES

Immigrant workers attracted by growing demand in the advanced countries for fresh sources of low-wage labor soon become aware that the pay and labor conditions in store for them do not go far in promoting their own economic goals. To bypass the menial dead-end jobs that the host labor market assigns to them, they must put into play their networks of social relationships. Immigrant social networks display two characteristics that those among domestic workers do not generally have. First, they are simultaneously dense and extended over long physical distances. Second they often generate high levels of solidarity by virtue of uncertainty. The sociological principle that exchange under conditions of uncertainty creates stronger bonds among participants applies particularly well to immigrant communities (Kollock 1994). Their economic transactions in the receiving country tend to occur with less initial information about the trustworthiness of exchange partners and the character and reliability of state regulation. This high uncertainty creates the need to "stick together" and to remain loyal to trustworthy partners, regardless of tempting outside opportunities (Guarnizo 1992).

Geographically extended and solidary networks among immigrants can be put into play for a number of strategic initiatives. The first, as discussed by Sassen (1994), leads to long distance, cross-national labor markets where job opportunities in far away locations are identified and appropriated. A second, as described by Zhou (1992), leads to living arrangements designed to lower consumption costs and produce savings for business or real estate acquisition abroad or in the home country. A third, as extensively studied by Light and Bonacich (1988), leads to emergence of credit associations where pooled savings are allocated on a rotating basis. A fourth consists of appropriating the price and information differentials between sending receiving countries through the creation of transnational enterprises. In the case of Filipinos, examples include traders involved in import-export businesses, remittance companies, food-outlet franchises such as Jollibee, Goldilocks and Max's restaurants.

Grassroots transnational enterprises benefit from the same sets of technological innovations in communications and transportation that underlie large-scale industrial relocations. A class of immigrant entrepreneurs who shuttles regularly across countries and maintains daily contact with events and activities in them could not exist without these new technologies and the options and lower costs that they make possible (Ong 1999). Put more broadly, these grassroots initiatives do not rise in opposition to global restructuring or technological innovation, but is driven by them. Through this strategy, labor (initially immigrant labor) joins the circles of global trade imitating, often in ingenious ways, the initiatives of large corporate actors.

This parallel between the strategies of corporations and immigrant entrepreneurs is only partial. Though both make extensive use of new technologies and both depend on price and information differences across borders, corporations rely primarily on their financial muscle to make such ventures feasible while immigrants must depend entirely on their social networks (Guarnizo 1992, Zhou 1994). The long distance ties that underlie the viability of such initiatives are constructed through a protracted and frequently difficult process of adaptation to a foreign society that gives them their distinct characteristics. In turn, the onset of this economic strategy strengthens such networks. Hence, transnational entrepreneurs expand and thicken, in a cumulative process, the web of social ties that make their activities originally impossible.

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNITIES

Jon Okamura (1998) points out that "Instead of focusing on an ethnic/immigrant minority and its relations in its host society, a diasporic perspective places emphasis on the transnational relations created and maintained between that minority and its homeland and other diasporic communities." As social constructions, diasporas can be seen to be produced and sustained by the agency of immigrants/migrants as they engage in transnational connections and practices rather than being viewed primarily as the result of macroeconomic processes of international labor migration and transnational capital.

Given its transnational connections, Okamura adds, a diaspora can be distinguished from an ethnic minority insofar as the latter does not construct and maintain transnational relations, at least beyond the individual level. Ethnic minorities lack the collective agency and perhaps the desire or

need to develop transnational linkages and activities to be considered a diaspora. While diasporic peoples defy assimilation and acculturation, ethnic minorities have been integrated to varying degrees into their host societies.

The cumulation of activities across national borders by former immigrants may lead eventually to a qualitatively distinct phenomenon. This qualitative leap, adumbrated by the experiences of a number of immigrant groups, such as the Chinese, South Asians, and now Filipinos, is what the concepts of transnational community and diaspora attempt to capture. Before discussing its formal characteristics, a few examples from the recent literature are in order to put some flesh into this so far abstract considerations.

IMAGINING THE FILIPINO DIASPORA

If one were to bump into a Filipino in the U.S. in 1901, at the dawn of the twentieth century, he would probably be a sailor enjoying a brief port of call in New York or San Francisco, among the several hundred or so aboard merchant ships bringing goods from "the Far East" to America and Europe.

At the threshold of the twentieth century, what "overseas Filipino community" that existed then could be found in Hong Kong, among the *ilustrado* supporters of the revolutionary Filipino forces courageously defending a newly established republic against American imperialists; one can also find Filipinos in Guam and Palau, then known as the Marianas and Carolinas Islands, sent there by the Spanish as native priests and soldiers or as rebels exiled by the Americans. Some Filipinos were working in Japanese port towns, such as Yokohama and Osaka.

Most Filipinos overseas however, were in Spain, many of whom were studying in Spanish and other European universities, and involved in the heated debates over the efforts of Philippine revolutionaries to establish a new nation. The outbreak of the Spanish-American War spelled the end of Spain's remaining empire in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Panama and elsewhere stranding some "Filipinos" who happened to be at these places at that time, perhaps for the rest of their lives. Over the next 100 years, events would conspire to bring Filipinos to America by the hundreds of thousands and to far-flung places throughout the world. A global diaspora would evolve into a labor pipeline and air bridges connecting Filipinos from the same families, villages and towns via a multiplicity of linkages that would enable them to compress space and time courtesy of the revolution in telecommunication, computer and transportation technologies.

The Filipino diaspora of the late twentieth century has given rise to the emergence of transnational Filipino family households whose members make their way "home," meeting hundreds of other Filipinos at various airports throughout the world, who, like themselves, are similarly tired, patiently waiting for their connecting flight to Manila, on their annual *balikbayan* pilgrimage to the Philippines. These "overseas Filipinos" will finally converge daily by the thousands at the Ninoy Aquino International Airport, bringing home the tightly bundled *balikbayan* boxes filled with all sorts of goods and wares, to an eagerly awaiting throng of friends and relatives, outside the airport's parking lot. Their long trip home has only just begun.

In the two weeks or a month that they are "at home," they will share stories with their loved ones about life "abroad" in Los Angeles, Daly City, Chicago, New York, or Sydney, Singapore, Hong Kong, Tokyo, London, Riyadh or Rome. Their stories will inspire the imagination of other kin and acquaintances who will follow their trail to the new Filipino communities now taking root in more than 120 countries and hundreds of cities and towns throughout the world.

In proposing a definition of the nation as an imagined political community, Benedict Anderson (1991,6) maintains that it is imagined "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. Okamura applies Anderson's description of the Filipino diaspora as an imagined community in so far as *kababayans* (compatriots) throughout the world similarly will never come to know or meet the great majority of their counterparts, nevertheless, they are aware of one another's presence and of the bonds of culture, national identity, custom and tradition that they share.

Anderson (1991,6) writes that "Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity or genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined." Diasporas similarly can be differentiated by their particular mode of imagining. Certainly, other contemporary diasporas, such as those of the Chinese, South Asian Indians, the Irish, and others, are also imagined through transnational transfer of people, capital, goods and information. What then are the particular styles of imagining and social formations that distinguish the Filipino diaspora from other groups. How is the Filipino diaspora and transnational communities culturally expressed which gives them their distinct style?

Okamura (1998) in his book *Imagining the Filipino American Diaspora* talks about *balikbayan* pilgrimages, remittances and balikbayan boxes, and transnational telephone communication.

The Filipino diaspora is also expressed through international programming of *The Filipino Channel* via a twenty-four-hour cable television broadcast by ABS-CBN to Filipino subscribers throughout the world, offering them a variety of news programs from *The Global Filipino, Balitang K, Hoy Gising*, and Kabayan Noli de Castro's *Magandang Gabi Bayan,* before his recent foray into the world of Philippine politics; sport programs such as basketball games of the MBA; and telenovelas such as *Marinella*, which is religiously watched by Filipino *lolas* and housewives in some twelve time zones spanning the globe.

To these expressions of the Filipino diaspora one can add the hundreds of web sites in cyberspace connecting the global Filipino community with their families, friends, school mates, township and regional organizations scattered in various corners of the world with one another, thanks to search engines as Tanikalangginto, EDSA.com, and others, for constructing the URLS in cyberspace to link these far-flung web sites.

Today, the seven million Filipinos scattered throughout the world—whether in Australia or Austria, Bahrain or Guam, Florida or Palau, Hong Kong or Honolulu or aboard merchant ships—can be reached in "cyberspace" by visiting hundreds of web sites in the Internet. Similar to the international phone booths that sprouted in the Philippines in the 1980s, "Internet cages" are now a common site in cities across the country which can connect people across cyberspace in real time within a few minutes for as low as PhP30 to PhP40 an hour.

In his October 20, 2000 column in the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, Rigoberto Tiglao presciently foresaw the role of the Internet in the developing political crisis facing the Estrada administration. He wrote,

> No doubt about it, the Web is not only transforming, even if only slowly, Philippine business. It is also starting to change —maybe even at a faster rate—the country's politics. I wouldn't be surprised that if ever a People Power II ever occurs, a major factor that will hasten it would be cyberforce.

According to Tiglao, the cyberspace's growing role in what he described as a "cyberrevolt" was made evident by a number of factors, one of the most important of which was the use of electronic or e-mail as a form of

communication. E-mail has become a vehicle for transmitting fast news developments and exposes. E-mail, says Tiglao, has an advantage that mobile text messages do not: they can send facsimiles of documents.

> I suspect more people read the expose of the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism on President Estrada's alleged wealth in e-mail sent to them by friends rather than in newspapers. . . During Marcos' time, you had to look and ask around for the so-called "mosquito press" if you were interested in exposes of the dictator's wealth. While its reach of course would be only to the middle and upper classes, the Web has become a hi-tech distribution system for manifestoes.

Tiglao notes that messages through the Net, especially those from or to e-mail groups, have become chain letters of sorts, so that a message on a breaking political development, or an expose, gets to be forwarded to so many people. The initial e-mail "chain-reacts" in a few hours to include people the original mail sender does not even know.

Cyberspace, says Tiglao, has the capability of quickly creating communities—the modern version of revolutionary cells or collectives. These collectives, Tiglao observes, are the prerequisites for any protest movement. Any mass movement is almost always a collection of cells and communities. It is through such communities that an individual realizes that he is not alone in his particular, rebel view of society, that there are other people like him. It is also through such collectives that the members' views are reinforced and developed, inspiring them to continue whatever particular "rebel" project they may have chosen.

This was especially true of E-Lagda (http//:www.eLagda.com), a site originally developed by Romano and his colleagues with an ambitious goal of collecting one million signatures in 21 days for the resignation of Estrada. The site was able to gather "only" 95,000 signatures in 21 days, after which it reached a peak of 115,000.

Just as amazingly, however, it did attract 25,000 people to sign up for an e-group that conducted letter-writing campaigns mobilizing Filipinos all over the world via the Internet, fax and text messaging to the senator-judges in the Estrada impeachment trial, Estrada's Cabinet members, international agencies such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

Other uses of computers and e-mail during the campaign for the resignation, impeachment or ouster (RIO) of Estrada were the dissemination of impeachment trial transcripts and summaries, wire service reports, announcements of meetings, marches and other mass actions, schedules of events, and the transmission of documents and photographs.

When the "White Album" of the Ouster Band—composed of songs spoofing President Estrada—was released, the Internet became one of the means of transmitting its contents to Filipinos throughout the country and outside, with protest sites offering it as an mp3 file that could be easily downloaded.

The ability to exchange messages with individuals on the other side of the planet and to have access to community information almost instantaneously changes the dynamics of diaspora, allowing for qualitatively and quantitatively enhanced linkages. As the number of language scripts and translation capabilities of on-line software grows, an increasing number of non-English speakers are drawn to the medium.

Diasporic websites are already creating global directories of individuals, community institutions, and businesses owned by members of diasporas. Some sites have hypertext links to sites of alumni associations. Listings of forthcoming festivals and cultural events are also provided to those traveling to other parts of the diaspora. The availability of on-line versions of newspapers from countries of origin further enhances intercontinental connections. Global on-line technologies also offer some unique advantages for diasporic groups. For example, a worldwide registry would be extremely useful for the medical purposes of locating matches for human marrow donors—who are genetically limited to one's own ethnic group. Similar databanks would facilitate global genealogical searches and in looking for adopted children's biological families.

Many websites catering to transnational communities have chat rooms where users can carry out a discussion by posting messages. Usenet also allows for ongoing discussions between individuals with common origins in news groups as in Pilipinas Forum. Discussion range on topics that include culture, literature, entertainment, politics, and current events in the countries of origin and settlement. Members of endogamous groups are already using the medium to register themselves in matrimonial sections of diasporic websites, not to mention the site already in existence for pen pals and international dating and matchmaking services. Newsgroups allow for the participation of users with common interests, located around the world;

these have been termed "virtual communities" (Rheingold 1993). Indeed, the notion of virtual or electronic community seems more pertinent when speaking either of a free-net that networks a particular geographic locality or a diasporic group that is linked together by more than a single issue, sharing a symbolic universe that includes a broad variety of cultural markers (Mitra 1997). Indeed a cyberspace becomes the "place" where the users electronically reconstitute the relationships that existed before migration.

This is no longer Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" since it is extranational, but it is, nevertheless, imagined. The communal identity that emerges is not the old one, but one that is a hybrid of past alliances, the reestablishment of relations through the newsgroup, as well as the experiences of negotiating real life in the new country of settlement and interaction with other individual's groups in that society.

Before the Web, says Tiglao, for example, in the anti-Marcos movement in the 1970s and 1980s, such communities had to be built physically, which certainly took longer, and was more tedious. Tiglao (2001) writes,

> My generation of activists called these "DGs'" or discussion groups. These were usually circles of friends or officemates meeting over coffee and beer, which gradually expanded, or whose members later set up new cells. With the Web now, you don't have to leave your house or office, or have long coffee or beer drinking sessions, for such discussions, for this "cell building."

An example is the e-mail group called Pilipinas Forum, made up mostly of former students and activists at the University of the Philippines, which have carried on lively discussions covering various political, economic and cultural issues that have been published in Manila newspapers.

In short, the Web is developing a potent weapon for democratic movements. That's really not surprising. After all, the Internet is all about sharing information at the speed of light. And democracy's premise—the reason why a free market is its economic mirror image—is the free flow of information.

Lastly, cyberspace allows anonymity, which expands the sources of information and makes "protest" information freely available. Not only that, the anonymity also allows people to vent their rage—itself a "rebel" act, similar to participating in a rally—which contributes to the overall momentum of a protest movement.

In his February 25, 2001 column, Tiglao writes all,

> At EDSA 2, mobile phone "texting" did demonstrate its power—but it was mostly confined locally, and provided only snippets of news. It was the Internet through which made a real breakthrough as a new powerful media form, one accessible all over the world and providing detailed, even real time news. EDSA 2 demonstrated why it could be a superior form of media than print and television, why the Internet is the news media of the future. The Philippine Inquirer's web site, www.inq7.net, expanded as a joint venture with GMA Network, based on the automated count of its US-based server, was being read by about 400,000 daily during the last 2 weeks of January, at the height of EDSA 2. That's all over the world, and bigger than the *Inquirer*'s print circulation of 250,000.

Comments of people from all over the world can be read in the "Letters" section of INQ7. But what about CNN? Read Filipino expat Wing Chua's e-mail from Boston:

> There was no coverage of EDSA 2 in CNN or the US-networks because they were all in the middle of the Bush inauguration weekend. So, the only source of news on EDSA 2 I had was the Internet. I particularly want to highlight that "button" that you had, wherein the page was on real-time mode, updating highlights of what was happening every 5 minutes. Every time I refreshed the screen, a new update would come on . . . so, again, just imagine that I was up all night just clicking and clicking the refresh button . . . waiting for the news when Erap finally left.

To understand why the Internet will be the media of the future, consider the following: A newspaper really contains yesterday's news. But the web site can be updated, even its entire contents changed, 24 hours a day—and news, whose delivery is media's primordial task, is by definition, new information.

INQ7 actually was "crunching" the lag time to approach real time, through its own "Running Account" technology started during the impeachment trial. "Estrada is waving goodbye," the site's "What's

Happening" reported, a minute after the actual event. Other than these two advantages of a news web site—its "updatability" and its "on-demand" feature—there are three others newspapers and television do not: archivability, space, interactivity and unlimited reach.

And its reach and accessibility are theoretically unlimited. You don't need to wait for the paperboy. People from places like Auckland, Jeddah, Ultrecht or aboard a ship in the middle of the Indian Ocean actually get to read the *Inquirer* or its Visayan edition hours earlier than when its print edition hits the streets in Manila or Cebu.

Quite obviously though, one would need a computer and an Internet connection. But there are over 500 million Internet users today, and the figure is rising every day. In this decade, computers with Internet connections will be as ubiquitous as telephones and TV.

I have dwelt on these examples at some length to give credibility to a phenomenon that, when initially described, strains the imagination. A multitude of similar examples could have been used, as illustrated in the pioneering collection by Basch and her collaborators (1994). The central point that these examples illustrate is that, once started, the phenomenon of transnationalization can acquire a cumulative character expanding not only in numbers but in the qualitative character of its activities. Hence, while the original wave of these activities is economic and their initiators can be properly labeled transnational entrepreneurs, subsequent activities encompass political, social and cultural pursuits as well.

Alerted by the initiatives of immigrant entrepreneurs and associations, political parties and even governments have established offices abroad to canvass immigrant communities for financial and electoral support. Not to be outdone, many immigrant groups organize political committees to campaign for issues and causes they are concerned about. The ongoing campaign in the U.S. to demand justice and equity for Filipino World War II veterans and the international campaign to demand that the U.S. clean up the toxic wastes it left behind in its former military bases in the Philippines are only two of the most current examples.

Churches and private charities have joined the traffic between home country and immigrant community with a growing number of initiatives involving both. Finally, the phenomenon can acquire a cultural veneer as performers and artists from "home" can go on a "world tour" and use the

expatriate communities as platforms to break into the First World scene and as returnee artists popularize cultural forms learned abroad.

The end result of this cumulative process is the transformation of the original pioneering economic ventures into transnational communities, characterized by dense networks across space and by an increasing number of people who lead dual lives. Members are at least bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political, and cultural interests that require a simultaneous presence in both. It bears repeating that the onset of this process and its development is nurtured by social forces unleashed by contemporary global capitalism. Paralleling Marx's description of the proletariat as created and placed into the historical scene by its future class adversaries, so today's roaming capitalist ventures have given rise to the conditions and incentives for the transnationalization of labor.

DISCUSSION/SUMMARY

According to James Clifford, diaspora is understood as "a whole range of phenomena that encourages multi-locale attachments, dwelling and traveling" (quoted in Grossberg 1996, 101). Postcolonial and cultural studies have keyed onto this phenomenon to discuss the emergence of unique cultural developments occurring among such communities (Morley and Chen 1996). The emergence of hybrid "new ethnicities" has also been the subject of much discussion (Karim 1996). However, most studies examine only a section of the diasporic community living in a particular location rather than the links between various parts of the planet.

Diasporic connections are becoming increasingly significant in light of what is viewed as the diminishing importance of national borders and the growing global linkages among nonstate actors. Whereas Arjun Appadurai (1996, 8) is somewhat premature in declaring the imminent "end of the era of the nation-state what he calls the "transnations" of diasporic communities do appear to be significant aspect of globalization processes. He suggests that as electronic media "increasingly link producers and audiences across national borders, and as these audiences themselves start new conversations between those who move and those who stay, we find a growing number of diasporic public spheres" (1996, 22).

The identities of individuals and groups within specific diasporas are formed by complex historical, social, and cultural dynamics within the group

and in its relationships with other groups. Retention of ancestral customs, language, and religion, the marriage patterns of its members, and particularly the case of communication between various parts of the transnational group help determine its characteristics. In an essay on the Chicano diaspora, Angie Chabram Denersesia (1994, 26) notes that

> these identities will be encountered from particular social and historical locations, from situated knowledge, from ethnographic experiences or rupture and continuity, and from a complex web of political negotiations with people inscribed their social and historical experiences and deliver their self-styled counter narratives. I do not think we need to celebrate the transnational movement for its own sake. Just having a transnational identity is not something to be romanticized or something only we have: everyone in the world has one, thanks to the global culture of communications and the far reaching grip of capitalist formations.

However, we do need a better understanding of the social, cultural, political, and economic impacts that the social dynamics of transnational groupings have on their members and on others. They are emerging as key players in globalization processes. Diasporic communal networks are sets of planetary linkages that form a third tier of inter regional connections in addition to those maintained by governments and transnational organizations.

Diasporas are often viewed as forming alternatives to the structures of worldwide capitalism but in many instances they are participants in international economic activity. From the banking network of the Rothschilds, originating in eighteenth century Europe, to the more recent global business empire of overseas Chinese *taipans* like Robert Kwok, or the emerging global remittance network of RCBC, owned by Filipino Chinese, Alfonso Yuchengco, diasporic families have been leading players in global transactions. At US$450 billion, the annual economic output in the early 1990s of the 55 million overseas Chinese was estimated to be roughly equal to that of the 1.2 billion people in China itself (Seagrave 1995). Indeed, Joel Kotkin (1992, 4) writes that "global tribes" will "increasingly shape the economic destiny of mankind." Thomas Sowell, the conservative American black writer, asserts that similar patterns of economic achievement of some ethnic groups in the U.S., Australia, Asia and South America points to the importance of the cultural capital that they bring to these lands.

However, studies such as these focus primarily on the capitalist characteristics of certain diasporas and tend to deemphasize the vast disparities in wealth, education, and social status within these communities.

Commentators writing from cultural studies and postcolonial perspectives, on the other hand, tend to view diasporas as ranged against global and national structures of dominance—of "the empire strikes back." Stratton and Ang (1996, 383–84), for example, suggest that for the postcolonial immigrant to Britain "what diasporic position opens up is the possibility of developing a post imperial British identity, one based explicitly on an acknowledgment and vindication of the 'coming home' of the 'colonized Other.' The diasporic site thus becomes, for Homi Bhabha (1994), the cultural border, the "third space," between the country of origin and the country of residence. Guillermo Gomez-Peña, on the other hand, seeks to oppose the sinister cartography of the New World Order with the conceptual map of the New World Border—a great trans- and intercontinental border zone, a place in which no centers remain" (1996).

This paper does not seek to explore the work of diasporic avant-garde but seeks to highlight structural and processual approaches in understanding transnational communities. It looks at this third tier of globalization, specifically how diaspora members use technological and market-based means to develop communication networks. There has been growing use of digital technologies by transnational groups for the dissemination of entertainment and news, and for maintaining links between members. Rather than directly challenge dominant media networks, they have sought to apply available market mechanisms to create and to sustain their community links.

Contemporary transnational communities are distinguished from comparable activities of earlier immigrant waves by three features. First, the instantaneous character of communication across vast geographic distances; second, the large numbers involved in these activities; and third, the tendency for these activities to become normative in the immigrant community driven by the numbers who take part and the dearth of alternative opportunities in the host society. Just as migration abroad became the norm in certain regions of the Third World in the past, today participation in transnational enterprises is turning into the "thing to do" among certain groups of immigrants.

In this sense, the analogy of Marx's account of the emergence of the industrial proletariat partially breaks down. Grassroots transnational enterprise and the manifold social and political activities that follow them

are not necessary for the structures of global capital accumulation; they represent, instead, the means through which some members of the working class escape their hold.

Over time, however, the process can acquire novel characteristics and lead to unexpected consequences. As more and more common people become involved in transnational activities, they come to subvert one of the essential premises of capitalist globalization, namely that labor stays put and that its reference point for wages and work conditions remains local. Immigrant workers who become transnational entrepreneurs not only deny their own labor to businesses abroad and at home, but become conduits for information about different labor conditions and novel economic opportunities. The growth of sociopolitical and economic ties across borders can also provide a measure of protection for immigrant workers against the vulnerability of cultural isolation and an inferior legal status in the First World. Flows of capital from newly industrialized countries of Asia to North American cities work in the same direction by facilitating home ownership and a swift move into self-employment in the immigrant community.

The significance of transnationalization is already apparent in smaller labor-exporting countries. In the peripheral nations of the Caribbean basin as well as those Asian countries with long ties to the United States, such as Taiwan, South Korea and the Philippines, the entire economy has been remolded by the twin processes of corporate globalization and immigrant transnationalization. Scarcely a family exists that does not have a relative abroad and the back-and-forth movement of people, information, and investment has become integral to family mobility strategies. Consumption patterns and life-styles are shaped as much by the global media as by the activities of former immigrants transformed into transnational entrepreneurs. Even governments get into the act as evidenced by the efforts of the Philippine government to orchestrate and coordinate the observance of the Philippine centennial in Filipino communities across the globe in 1998. This was clearly a deliberate effort to push the "official" version of the Philippine Revolution in the immigration of the global Filipino diaspora.

It is still too soon to predict what the long-term implications of the process of transnationalization will be. Yet, as the process continues, it may become a significant factor modifying a strategy of capitalist accumulation based on wage differentials and information asymmetries between different regions of the world. The main reason for this expectation is that, unlike labor standards or flexible specialization, the emergence of transnational

communities places every day people in the same plane as the corporate actors engaged in global restructuring. The level of information and expertise thus acquired may partially neutralize the power of the first world employers to simultaneously exploit Third World populations at home and their immigrants abroad. Whether the process comes to acquire this systemic consequence or not, the spectacle of common people criss-crossing the world in search of opportunities otherwise denied to them possesses enough intrinsic appeal to deserve attention.

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Who are the Overseas Filipino Workers?

PAULA MONINA G. COLLADO

Migration is dictated by the so-called push-pull factors. Given the high levels of unemployment and poverty in the Philippines, the decision to work abroad serves as the push factors. Labor shortages in developed countries and acceleration of trade in services allow for the intercorporate transfer (ILS 2001).

The overseas employment program was conceived as a measure to generate foreign exchange in 1974, the year it was instituted. The enactment of RA 8042, or the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995, provides for improved protection for overseas Filipino workers. The number of deployed Filipino workers overseas almost doubled from about 446 thousand in 1990 to 842 thousand in 2000 (ILS 2001). Estimates of overseas Filipino workers from various administrative sources like the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration, Commission on Filipino Overseas, Department of Foreign Affairs go higher than 5 million persons (CFO 2000).

Based on the Survey on Overseas Filipinos, conducted annually by the Philippine National Statistics Office, an estimated 1.04 million Filipinos left the country to work abroad from April to September 1999 alone. To be able to address the concerns of overseas Filipino workers and to respond reasonably to their needs, their characteristics should be known. This paper aims to look into the demographic characteristics of overseas Filipino workers and compare them with those employed in the country. Specifically, it seeks to answer the following questions:

- What are the characteristics of overseas Filipino workers in terms of gender, marital status, educational level, region of residence, occupation and destination?
- How do overseas Filipino workers and those employed in the Philippines differ?

- What are the usual occupations of the Filipino workers overseas before leaving the Philippines? Are these different from the occupations they are engaged in abroad?

The study will use average ages to compare and contrast workers in terms of characteristics sought by the study.

SOURCES OF DATA

This paper utilizes data gathered in the Survey of Overseas Filipinos (SOF) and the Labor Force Survey (LFS). The Philippines' National Statistics Office conducts the SOF annually. The SOF questionnaire was used since 1992. While the survey asks for information on Filipino citizens who went abroad during the last five years, the data used refer to those who went abroad during the six-month period preceding the survey. This is for operational consideration as question on remittances to their families in the Philippines is asked. The LFS, conducted quarterly, is also undertaken by the NSO. The LFS is the source of indicators of employment, unemployment and underemployment for the country.

The SOF is timed with the appropriate LFS. Prior to 1996, the LFS utilized a multistage sample with urban and rural domains with about 25,000 sample households. Starting in 1996, the LFS used the master sample design, a multistage master design consisting of 3,416 sample barangays/enumeration areas (EAs) and about 41,000 households. The sampling design involved the selection of sample barangays for the first stage, selection of sample enumeration areas, or physically delineated portion of the barangay for large barangays, for the second stage, and the selection of sample households for the third stage.

For the master sample design, sample barangays were selected systematically with probability proportional to size from the list of barangays that were implicitly stratified. The selection of sample EAs for the second stage was also done systematically with probability proportional to size. The selection of households for the third stage was likewise done systematically. The above sample selection utilized the 1995 Census of Population.

For this paper, overseas Filipino workers refer to those who went abroad to work from 1 April to 30 September 1999. The SOF refers to the October 1999 round. Based on the raw data file, a total of 1,746 persons were covered in the 1999 SOF. These persons include those who went abroad to

work during the period April 1 to September 30 of the reference year. Hence, this count is only a portion of the total number of workers who were abroad during the period. For the LFS, the average ages are based on the sample of 46,817 employed persons (among the 79,517 persons 15 years old and over).

FINDINGS

From April to September 1999, there were 1.04 million Filipinos who were currently working or had worked overseas. This represents an increase of 139 thousand persons over the 1998 figure of 904 thousand over the same period. Generally, Filipino workers overseas belong to the 25 to 39 age groups. On the average, overseas Filipino workers are getting older from 33 years old in 1993 (Collado 2001) to 35 yeas in 1999 (see table 1).

There is an almost 50-50 distribution by sex with the males slightly higher in number among overseas Filipino workers. Males are older than their female counterparts with the average age of 37 years for the males, which is 5 years more than the average age of 32 years for the females. The age distribution confirms that distribution of males who are working or had worked overseas peaks when they are in their thirties while for females, this is in their late twenties.

In 1999, there were about 29 million employed persons 15 years old and over at an average age of 39 years. More than 60 percent of those employed are males. Females employed in the country are, by an average of one year, older than their male counterparts (38 years for males vs. 39 years for females).

Overseas Filipino workers are younger than their counterparts who are employed in the country. The overseas Filipino worker is 35 years old on the average while among those working in the country, the average is 39 years. On the other hand, females working abroad are younger, on the average, by seven years than their counterparts in the Philippines (see table 1). This implies that employment overseas, compared with local employment, attracts younger females.

More than half of the overseas Filipino workers are married (see table 2). Single overseas workers make up about 40 percent of the total. The average age of married overseas Filipino workers (39 years) is eleven years older than those who are single (28 years). Single and married overseas Filipino male workers are older than their female counterparts.

Table 1. Number and Average Age of Overseas Filipino Workers who are Working or had Worked Abroad during the Past Six Months and Employed Persons 15 Years Old and Over, by Age Group and Sex, October 1999 (numbers in thousands)

Age Group	Overseas Filipino Workers			Employed Persons 15 Years Old & Over		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
PHILIPPINES	1,043	547	497	9,003	17,924	11,079
15 - 19	6	-	6	2,460	1,636	824
20 – 24	122	43	79	3,242	2,104	1,138
25 – 29	224	85	139	3,285	2,093	1,192
30 – 34	221	107	114	3,577	2,304	1,273
35 – 39	166	100	66	3,625	2,248	1,377
40 – 44	125	79	46	3,256	1,970	1,286
45 AND OVER	176	129	47	9,558	5,570	3,989
NOT REPORTED	4	4	-	-	-	-
AVERAGE AGE	35	37	32	39	38	39

Sources: National Statistics Office, Labor Force Survey
National Statistics Office, Survey on Overseas Filipinos

Table 2. Number and Average Age of Employed Persons 15 Years Old and Over and Overseas Filipinos Who are Working or had Worked Abroad during the Past Six Months, by Marital Status and Sex, October 1999 (numbers in thousands)

Marital Status	Overseas Filipino Workers			Employed Persons 15 Years Old & Over		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
PHILIPPINES	1,043	547	497	29,003	17,924	11,079
Single	389	144	245	8,246	5,272	2,974
Married	609	389	211	18,933	12,131	6,802
Widowed	14	2	12	1,474	359	1,055
Separated/Divorced	30	2	27	401	161	240
Unknown	1	*	1	9*	2	7*
			AVERAGE AGE			
PHILIPPINES	35	37	32	39	38	39
Single	28	29	28	25	24	27
Married	39	40	36	43	43	42
Widowed	45	45	46	56	56	56
Separated/Divorced	34	42	3	42	42	41
Unknown	29	24	32	32	39	30

*Less than 500

Sources: National Statistics Office, Labor Force Survey
National Statistics Office, Survey on Overseas Filipinos

Married persons comprise almost two-thirds of the employed persons 15 years old and over with an average age of 43 years. Single persons comprise almost 30 percent with an average of 25 years. Single females employed in the country are older than their male counterparts (24 years for males vs. 27 years for females). Married males employed in the country are slightly older than their female counterparts (43 years for males vs. 42 years for females).

Married overseas Filipino workers are younger than their counterparts who are employed in the country (see table 2). The married overseas Filipino workers are, on the average, 39 years old while those working in the country, are 43 years, on the average. Married females, whether working abroad or in the Philippines are younger than their male counterparts. On the average, married females working abroad are younger by six years compared to those working in the country. Single overseas Filipino workers are older than their counterparts in the country. It must be noted that single male overseas Filipino workers are five years older than their counterparts working in the Philippines.

More than half of overseas Filipino workers are either college undergraduates or graduates (see table 3). Overseas Filipino workers who are college graduates are on average 35 years old. Those with elementary education are older (average age of 36 years). Overseas Filipino male workers with elementary, high school or college undergraduate education are older than their female counterparts by six years. Among college graduates, the gap is only 4 years (37 years old for males and 33 years old for females).

Among those employed in the country, only about one-fifth are college undergraduates or graduates. College graduates are on the average 38 years old. Two out of five employed, 15 years old and over, have elementary education (average age of 43 years). One out of three has a high school education (average age of 34 years). Average age of employed males with college education (undergraduate and graduate) are higher compared to females. On the other hand, employed females with elementary education are, on the average, five years older than their male counterparts (41 years for males and 46 years for females).

Overseas Filipino workers in any education category are younger than their counterparts who are employed in the country (see table 3). Overseas Filipino workers with elementary education are, on the average, 36 years old while those working in the country are 43 years old, or a gap of seven years. Overseas Filipino workers with college education or higher are three

Table 3. Number and Average Age of Overseas Filipinos who are Working or had Worked Abroad during the Past Six Months and Employed Persons 15 Years Old and Over, by Highest Grade Completed and Sex, October 1999 (numbers in thousands)

Highest Grade Completed	Overseas Filipino Workers			Employed Persons 15 Years Old & Over		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
PHILIPPINES	1,043	547	497	29,003	17,924	11,079
No Grade Completed	1	-	1	807	507	299
Elementary	68	28	40	11,454	7,385	4,069
High School	403	193	210	9,903	6,423	3,480
College Undergraduate	238	127	111	3,234	2,027	1,206
College Graduate or Higher	332	198	134	3,501	1,518	1,982
Not Reported	2	1	1	105	63	42
			AVERAGE AGE			
PHILIPPINES	35	37	32	39	38	39
No Grade Completed	42	-	42	50	48	53
Elementary	36	40	34	43	41	46
High School	35	38	32	34	34	34
College Undergraduate	33	36	30	35	35	34
College Graduate or Higher	35	37	33	38	39	38
Not Reported	28	31	25	31	34	28

*Less than 500

Sources: National Statistics Office, Labor Force Survey
National Statistics Office, Survey on Overseas Filipinos

years younger than their counterparts. On the average, females working abroad are younger than their counterparts in the country. The gap in the average age is widest, at 12 years, for those with elementary education (34 years for those working overseas and 46 years for those who are employed in the country).

Majority of the overseas Filipino workers are either from the NCR, (National Capital Region), Southern Luzon, or Central Luzon (see table 4). The populations of these three regions combined comprise more than 38 percent of the total population. Overseas Filipino workers from NCR, Western Visayas and Eastern Visayas have the highest average age at 36 years. Overseas Filipino workers from the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao or ARMM (28 years) and Western Mindanao (30 years) have the lowest average age. Both regions have predominantly Muslim population. Male overseas Filipino workers are generally older except those coming from Cagayan Valley, Bicol and ARMM. The gap in the average age of male and female overseas workers is widest at seven years in the NCR and Northern Mindanao.

Employed persons 15 years old and over are older in Bicol and the three regions in the Visayas. They are youngest in the NCR. Employed females working in the country are older than their male counterparts, except in NCR and Eastern Visayas. The gap in the average age of employed males and females is widest at five years for Eastern Visayas.

The widest gap in the average age of overseas workers and employed in the country is observed among those coming from Western Mindanao and ARMM, with a gap of 9 years in average age (see table 4). The two regions also have the widest gap in average ages for females at 11 years. However, for males, the widest gap in average age is observed in Eastern Visayas at 13 years.

Almost 80 percent of the overseas Filipino workers are in service or production and transport occupations (see table 5). A sizable number of overseas Filipino workers are in the professional and technical occupations. Those in the production and transport occupations as well as administrative and executive occupations have a higher average age (36 years) as compared to those in service occupations (33 years). Male overseas Filipino workers are in production occupations (average age of 37 years) and service occupations (average age of 35 years). Seven out of 10 overseas female workers are in service occupations (average age of 33 years).

Among those employed in the country, two out of five work in agriculture and related occupations (average age of 40 years). One out of 5 works in production occupations (average age of 36 years).

Saudi Arabia is the most common destination of overseas Filipino workers (see table 6). The average age of overseas Filipinos workers who went to Saudi Arabia was 37 years. Hong Kong (120 thousand persons) and Taiwan (110 thousand persons) are also favorite destinations of Filipino overseas workers. Hong Kong was the favorite destination of females and Saudi Arabia for males. Taiwan (average age of 30 years) and Hong Kong (average age of 33 years) more than the other destination countries attract younger overseas Filipino workers.

The place of work also shows differentials by gender. Three out of four Filipino overseas workers in Saudi Arabia are male. Males are older (39 years) than their female counterparts (31 years). Both males and females are possibly in production occupations. In Hong Kong, nine out of ten overseas Filipino workers are females (33 years). The Filipino female overseas workers in Hong Kong are possibly in service occupations. In Taiwan, there is also a predominantly female group of overseas Filipino workers (30 years). The average age for females is lowest for the overseas Filipino workers in Japan (27 years).

Many of those who opted to work overseas did not work before leaving the Philippines (see table 7). For every ten Filipinos who went to work abroad, four are in the non gainful occupation categories, that is, housewife/ househusband and students, before leaving the Philippines. These workers probably worked in production and service occupation overseas.

SUMMARY AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The paper describes the demographic characteristics of Filipinos overseas, and compares the different characteristics using the average ages based on the Survey on Overseas Filipinos.

The Filipinos who left the country for overseas work were in their thirties. They were mostly married and with at least high school education. NCR, Central Luzon and Southern Tagalog were the biggest contributors in terms of numbers. Hong Kong, Taiwan and Saudi Arabia are the popular destinations. Overseas Filipino workers are mostly engaged in production and service occupations.

Table 4. Number and Average Age of Overseas Filipinos who are Working had Worked Abroad during the Past Six Months and Employed Persons 15 Years Old and Over, by Region (of Origin) and Sex, October 1999 (numbers in thousands)

Region of Origin	Overseas Filipino Workers			Employed Persons 15 Years Old & Over		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
PHILIPPINES	1,043	547	497	29,003	17,924	11,079
National Capital Region (NCR)	199	130	69	3,720	2,083	2,656
Cordillera Admin. Region	27	8	20	563	344	219
Region I - Ilocos	100	28	72	1,608	1,007	601
Region II - Cagayan Valley	44	8	36	1,299	815	484
Region III - Central Luzon	151	90	61	2,781	1,792	989
Region IV - Southern Tagalog	180	114	66	3,969	2,390	1,568
Region V - Bicol	40	23	17	2,001	1,268	733
Region VI - Western Visayas	94	50	44	2,588	1,610	978
Region VII - Central Visayas	56	37	19	2,073	1,225	848
Region VIII - Eastern Visayas	22	14	8	1,528	978	550
Region IX - Western Mindanao	36	11	24	1,115	761	354
Region X - Northern Mindanao	13	5	9	1,290	768	523
Region XI - Southern Mindanao	31	8	22	1,923	1,187	737
Region XII - Central Mindanao	19	8	12	942	613	330
ARMM	16	3	13	697	528	169
Caraga	16	11	5	916	575	341

Region of Origin	Overseas Filipino Workers			Employed Persons 15 Years Old & Over		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
			AVERAGE AGE			
PHILIPPINES	35	37	32	39	38	39
National Capital Region (NCR)	36	39	32	36	37	35
Cordillera Admin. Region	34	37	33	39	38	41
Region I - Ilocos	34	39	33	39	38	41
Region II - Cagayan Valley	32	31	32	39	38	41
Region III - Central Luzon	35	35	37	33	37	37
Region IV - Southern Tagalog	35	37	32	38	38	39
Region V - Bicol	34	33	35	40	39	43
Region VI - Western Visayas	36	38	33	40	39	42
Region VII - Central Visayas	35	37	32	40	40	41
Region VIII - Eastern Visayas	36	36	35	41	49	44
Region IX - Western Mindanao	30	31	30	39	38	41
Region X - Northern Mindanao	34	39	31	38	37	39
Region XI - Southern Mindanao	31	35	30	38	38	38
Region XII - Central Mindanao	33	33	33	38	37	40
ARMM	28	27	28	37	36	39
Caraga	34	35	31	39	38	41

Sources: National Statistics Office, Labor Force Survey
National Statistics Office, Survey on Overseas Filipinos

Table 5. Number and Average Age of Overseas Filipinos Who are Working or had Worked Abroad during the Past Six Months and Employed Persons 15 Years Old and Over, by Occupation and Sex, October 1999 (numbers in thousands)

Occupation	Overseas Filipino Workers			Employed Persons 15 Years Old & Over		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
PHILIPPINES	1,043	547	497	29,003	17,924	11,079
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	148	78	69	1,763	646	1,117
Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers	11	7	4	662	444	218
Clerical and Related Workers	33	18	14	1,295	537	758
Sales Workers	19	9	10	4,385	1,433	2,952
Service Workers	419	71	349	3,130	1,293	1,837
Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fishermen and Hunters	4	4	-	11,244	8,293	2,951
Production and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Laborers	408	359	49	6,493	5,261	1,232
Occupation Not Adequately Defined	1	-	1	30	16	14

Occupation	Overseas Filipino Workers			Employed Persons 15 Years Old & Over		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
			AVERAGE AGE			
PHILIPPINES	35	37	32	39	38	39
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	35	40	29	39	39	39
Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers	36	38	34	44	45	42
Clerical and Related Workers	35	37	33	33	35	32
Sales Workers	35	35	35	40	38	41
Service Workers	33	35	33	35	36	35
Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fishermen and Hunters	41	41	-	40	39	44
Production and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Laborers	36	37	31	36	36	37
Occupation Not Adequately Defined	25	-	25	40	43	37

Sources: National Statistics Office, Labor Force Survey
National Statistics Office, Survey on Overseas Filipinos

Table 6. Number and Average Age of Overseas Filipino Workers Who are Working or had Worked Abroad during the Past Six Months, by Place of Work and Sex, 1999 (numbers in thousands)

Place of Work	NUMBER			AVERAGE AGE		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
PHILIPPINES	1,04	547	497	29,003	17,924	11,079
Africa	14	12	2	41	43	33
Asia	813	383	430	34	37	32
Hong Kong	120	10	110	33	35	33
Japan	83	49	34	32	36	27
Taiwan	110	43	67	30	31	30
Singapore	62	13	49	31	36	30
Malaysia	25	9	16	35	32	36
Saudi Arabia	285	212	73	37	39	31
Other Western Asia	90	24	65	34	37	33
Other Asia	39	23	16	34	35	32
Australia	30	17	14	37	39	35
Europe	92	68	23	37	36	39
North and South America	88	61	27	37	39	35
Country Not Specified	6	6	1	33	33	39

Source: National Statistics Office, Survey on Overseas Filipinos

Table 7. Number and Average Age of Overseas Filipino Workers Who are Working or had Worked Abroad during the Past Six Months, by Usual Occupation before Leaving the Philippines, 1999 (numbers in thousands)

Usual Occupation Before Leaving the Philippines	NUMBER			AVERAGE AGE		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
PHILIPPINES	1,043	547	497	29,003	17,924	11,079
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	97	49	49	37	41	33
Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers	7	5	2	36	37	32
Clerical and Related Workers	49	22	28	34	37	31
Sales Workers	76	22	54	32	34	32
Service Workers	84	45	39	34	35	32
Agricultural, Animal Husbandry and Forestry Workers, Fishermen and Hunters	57	41	16	36	38	31
Production and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Laborers	245	206	39	37	38	34
Occupation Not Adequately Defined	-	-	-	-	-	-
Non-gainful Occupation	427	157	271	33	36	32

Source: National Statistics Office, Survey on Overseas Filipinos

Before leaving the Philippines, about 40 percent of the Filipino overseas workers were engaged in nongainful occupations. It can be surmised that these workers entered the service and production occupations abroad. Females were younger than their male counterparts.

The estimates on the number of overseas Filipinos workers have remained contradictory if not controversial. NSO, together with members of other concerned government institutions, is reviewing the design of the SOF to meet the demands for stock statistics on overseas Filipino workers. The 2000 Population Census, which includes household members who are overseas but are expected to return within a five-year period, is a potent source of base data.

Improvement of the study using multivariate statistical analysis can be done to determine which characteristics differentiate the overseas Filipino workers from their local counterparts.

The social consequence of exporting Filipino workers, which has become the subject of many discussions, cannot be ignored. The physical and psychological effects on the worker himself or herself in a foreign land as well as on the families he or she left behind are operational relevant to the protection of the overseas Filipino workers. Since overseas employment is more often seen as temporary, the issue of integrating returning workers in the labor force must be addressed. This compels us to look at the overall economy and chart the paths for our children's to prefer to be employed in their country.

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Church Organization and Its Networks for the Filipino Migrants: Surviving and Empowering in Korea

TOSHIKO TSUJIMOTO

Filipino diaspora is indeed a global phenomenon. Their living and working conditions have been much studied, as the number of overseas contract workers (OCWs) increased. The policies of the Philippine government as well as the host governments have also been examined. In contrast, the activities and role of nongovernment organizations (NGOs) have received little attention, especially those of the church.

While the efforts for the protection of human rights and promotion of welfare can be observed among the migrants themselves, the presence of the Catholic church has been particularly significant in many parts of the world. The church is an indispensable organization for Filipinos in their spiritual as well as secular needs.

This essay focuses on one such church-based center in Seoul, the Archdiocesan Pastoral Center for Filipino Migrants, also known as the Filipino Catholic Center, or FCC, and especially pays attention to its support function. The FCC is organized and managed by Filipinos. I aim to show how Filipino migrants cope and deal with their concerns by utilizing support networks.

Although it has only started during the last decades to receive migrant workers from nearby countries like the Philippines and Bangladesh, Korea is one of the countries in Asia with a large Christian population. Focusing on one country and studying one particular organization will yield many insights on how the church works for Filipinos in a society that has only recently been receiving migrants. I also expect the experiences of Filipinos in Korea will help to explain, on a global level, how the Filipinos survive and adapt to the host society by creating their own living space there.

Concretely, this essay attempts to show how well the Center deals with the migrants' problems, and what kind of connections with institutions and organizations within the Korean society or back in the Philippines have been utilized by its leaders and members. It aims to prove that the organization and its operations promote the survival and empowerment of the Filipino migrants. By discussing the relation of FCC with other organizations, it hopes to clarify the problems among them, and identify which ones lead to advocacy in policy level in government organizations or NGOs.

This study is based on a series of five fieldworks and participant observation at the FCC in Seoul from August 1999 to September 2000.

KOREA AND THE FILIPINO DIASPORA

The relation between Korea and the Philippines started when the Philippines recognized the Republic of Korea upon its establishment in 1948 and the establishment of formal diplomatic ties in 1949. The Philippines' participation as member of the United Nations forces during the Korean War continues to be appreciated by the South Korean government (Parreñas 1995, 88). In the late 1980s, the rush of Korean companies to the Philippines began, and the Philippines became the third most important country to invest in Korea, followed by the U.S.A. and China (Kutsumi 1998, 8). The two countries have a historical relation and at the same time, the recent Korean companies' rush to the Philippines will surely impact on the people's movement, as seen from the introduction of the trainee system in Korea.

Until the mid-1980s, Korea was one of the major labor-sending countries in Asia. Nearly two million Korean workers have gone overseas for temporary employment since 1963. The oil-producing Middle Eastern countries received most of these Korean migrants (Park 1995, 164).

However, Korea, formerly a major labor exporter, has become a prime destination for migrant workers from developing countries. The Korean economic miracle of the 1980s drastically altered the regional labor landscape, which cause severe shortage of unskilled production workers in small- and medium-sized industries. Also, Korean workers began to shun difficult, dangerous, and demeaning jobs in factories, and encouraged more and more undocumented migrant workers to perform the so-called 3-D jobs (Seol 2000, 115).

In 1991 the Korean government launched the Industrial and Technical Training Program for Foreigners (ITTP), adapted from the Japanese model, to solve the shortage of labor in the production sectors (ibid. 116). According to the program, foreign workers would enter Korea as trainees, not as workers. Although their visa status is classified as "trainee," they do not work as such in factories. Yet these migrants are denied the workers' three basic rights of unionizing, collective bargaining, and collective action (Seoul 2000, 116). Because of the poor working conditions and low wages, many of the trainees ran away and became, instead, undocumented workers.

According to the statistics released by the Ministry of Justice of Korea, shown in table 1, the total number of migrant workers is 243,363 in over thirty countries as of 31 May 2000. It accounted for around 1.2 percent of the total number of the country's total work force of 20,600,000 (ibid. 121).

Table 1. Number of Migrant Workers by Country of Origin, as of 31 May 2000 (as Reported by the Ministry of Justice)

Countries	Total Skilled Workers	Industrial and Technical Trainees	Undocumented Migrant Workers
China	119,964	43,592	76,372
Ethnic Koreans	(68,583)	(21,392)	(47,191)
Bangladesh	21,014	7,921	13,093
Philippines	20,324	9,807	10,517
Viet Nam	19,943	13,728	6,215
Indonesia	19,595	17,621	1,974
Thailand	12,285	2,543	9,742
Mongolia	11,361	n.a.	11,361
Pakistan	7,300	2,121	5,179
Uzbekistan	6,987	3,054	3,933
Sri Lanka	2,411	2,411	n.a
Nepal	1,529	1,529	n.a.
Myanmar	759	759	n.a.
The Others	17,371	1,878	15,593
Total*	260,843	106,964	153,879

*Excluding Ethnic Koreans

Source: Seol 2000, 136.

As table 1 shows, Filipinos are the third most numerous migrant workers in Korea, followed by the Chinese (ethnic Korean-Chinese) and the Bangladeshi. Filipinos constitute a major migrant community in Korea. Their number, like that of other foreigners in Korea, increased in 1991. However, in Korea there were already Filipino hotel entertainers (musicians), engineers, and some domestic helpers working in diplomatic households, even before the rush of other foreign workers in 1991 (Docoy 1998, 3).

Around 1991, more and more Filipino migrants, especially undocumented migrants, entered the country. The Filipinos in Korea can be classified into two categories according to their occupations. One is the industrial technical trainee and the other is the undocumented worker at the small- and medium-sized factories. Aside from these two major categories, there are other categories, such as domestic helpers of diplomatic families, workers inside the US military bases with US citizenship, and religious workers such as nuns, priests or lay missionaries. And there is also an increasing number of women entertainers who work in bars or clubs around the US military bases. The spouse of a Korean husband or wife is also another category in the Filipino diaspora nowadays.

Although the industrial trainee or factory worker is a dominant job category of Filipinos in Korea, there are other kinds of job or residential status. In terms of job category or residential status, Filipino migrants in Korea differ in their characteristics. The existence of Filipino diaspora surely has a long-term impact on Korea which is assumed to be a monoethnic nation not only economically but also culturally.

THE ARCHDIOCESAN PASTORAL CENTER FOR FILIPINO MIGRANTS (FCC)

As the number of Filipinos coming to Korea since 1991 increased, a Filipino priest at the Chayang-dong Catholic church in Seoul began to celebrate mass for them every Sunday. When Filipinos attend the mass, they also consult with the Filipino priests and nuns there about their work and daily-related problems. The Catholic church as a whole recognized the gravity of their problems. In 1992, a Filipino nun, who had resided in Korea for twenty years at that time, and Korean church workers held a seminar for Filipinos to discuss how to live in a different country and adapt to the Korean culture. The seminar marked the beginning of the first church-based Filipino organization, Sampaguita named after the Philippine national flower. Sampaguita set up a counseling office inside the church to handle

the daily and work-related problems of Filipino migrants. The counseling office also functioned as a temporary shelter.

In 1996, the Sunday mass for Filipinos and the counseling office in Chayang-dong church was transferred to Hyehwa Catholic church in Hyehwa-dong, Seoul. There were reasons for the transfer to the new place. First, since the Filipinos who attended the Sunday mass occupied the road around the church, local people complained about it. Second, some Filipinos had been drug pushing around the church. For these reasons, the image of the Chayang-dong church had become notorious among the local people and it had no choice but move to another place.

Since 1996, the Sunday mass for Filipinos had been held in Hyehwa Catholic church in Seoul, and the Archdiocesan Pastoral Center for Filipino Migrants (FCC) was opened near the church to serve the spiritual and daily needs of Filipino migrants. The archdiocese of Seoul fully supported the opening of this new center for Filipinos.

FCC rents the second and third floors of a three-story building. The second floor is used as the general office and third floor is used as a chapel for daily mass and shelter at night.

RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR FUNCTIONS OF FCC AND ITS ACTIVITIES

I would like to describe the activity of the FCC. First, the functions and the activities of FCC can be classified as religious and secular. Though FCC was originally established for the purpose of giving pastoral care to Filipino migrants, it still has other functions to fulfill their major needs. I will discuss these two aspects.

Religious Function

A mass in Filipino language is held from 1:30 p.m. to 3 p.m. every Sunday at the Hyehwa Catholic church near the FCC, and usually around a thousand Filipinos attend it. The daily worship is also held at the third floor inside FCC. Every Wednesday and the first Saturday of the month, a kind of prayer meeting, novena, and vigil that lasts until midnight is held. Aside from that, FCC also provides important services such as baptismal ceremony (*binyag*) and wedding (*kasal*), which are major life events. Basically the priest and assigned volunteers support these religious activities.

Secular Functions

Provision of Shelter

The third floor of the FCC is usually used as a chapel for weekday mass. At the same time, it functions as a shelter for those who need temporary refuge. Filipinos go to FCC for various reasons, such as runaway trainees who are disgusted with low wages and bad condition in their company, housewives who want to avoid maltreatment from their Korean husbands, and runaway entertainers who are forced by their employers into prostitution.

Filipinos who have fled to the FCC are not necessarily all from inside Seoul, sometimes they are from remote areas, which take eight to ten hours from Seoul by bus. They had learned about FCC through their Filipino friends or in an orientation held by POEA (Philippine Overseas Employment Administration) before they left the Philippines. Although the Philippine Embassy in Seoul also provides shelter, more Filipinos come to FCC to seek refuge. For this reason, the shelter in the Philippine Embassy moved to the outskirts of Seoul, and each person is allowed to stay there for five days maximum.[1]

Remittance Service

In coordination with Metrobank in Seoul, with its main office in the Philippines, FCC began the remittance service in 1997. The Metrobank opens during weekdays until 6 o'clock p.m. and closes on Sundays. Most Filipino workers, however, do not have time to go to the bank for remittances during weekdays due to their long working hours. For this reason, FCC keeps the money of those who cannot go to the bank directly, and then hand it over to the Metrobank once or twice a week. Sunday is the busiest day for FCC to accept the money from more than 200 customers. For this extended service, FCC receives some commission from the Metrobank. The commissions help support the maintenance of FCC. The remittance service has been carried out by one volunteer so far, as of August 2000.

Cooperative Services

FCC has a cooperative which has been selling Philippine products since the counseling center was established inside the Chayang-dong church. This cooperative was opened initially as a livelihood project for Filipinos in Korea, and it had been operated by the membership. This system provides that all members pay a monthly membership fee and he or she would receive a share of the profits at the end of the month. However, because of the economic crisis in Korea in 1997, a lot of Filipino migrant workers had lost

their jobs and were forced to leave the country. The cooperative was also affected by these circumstances. After the economic crisis, the membership-style cooperative stopped and its profit was used for more general needs inside FCC. At present the cooperative fund is mainly used as an operating fund for FCC or as an emergency fund for those who are hospitalized and needing financial support. The Filipino merchants bring the Philippine products to the cooperative and they frequently shuttle back and forth between Korea and the Philippines.

Financial Support for emergencies

FCC keeps an emergency fund to support those who cannot afford to pay for their return plane ticket, to pay the penalty at the time of unexpected arrest by the Immigration, and pay for hospitalization in case of serious injuries and disease. The emergency fund is mainly sustained by collections during the Sunday mass and the holding of special fund-raising events, such as the concert held by a Filipino professional singer or a beauty pageant.

They also have begun another insurance cooperative named "PLEDGE" in August 2000. In the manner of the PLEDGE, a member has to pay 5,000 won a month. And they pool the collections from the members to build special funds. When a member gets sick or needs money for unexpected events like arrest by the Immigration, he or she can receive some financial support from FCC.

Information Dissemination

The FCC publishes a weekly newsletter named *Sambayan*, meaning townspeople, or nation as a whole. The Filipino priest and some volunteers edit it. The newsletter contains various information that seem to be important to Filipinos, such as about a new law on migrant workers in Korea, the amnesty period (no-fine government policy for undocumented workers) and other related news in Korea and back in the Philippines. It is distributed every Sunday at the Hyehwa Catholic church as well as at other churches outside Seoul where the mass for Filipinos is celebrated. Publishing the newsletter is mainly supported by the advertisement fee of Metrobank and other Filipino ethnic businesses in Korea. The subscription fees of several Filipino communities inside or outside Seoul is also an important resource for the publication of *Sambayan*.

Another important function of FCC in disseminating information, albeit as an informal employment agency, is announcing the availability of jobs. FCC did not start it intentionally but became the center for all kinds of

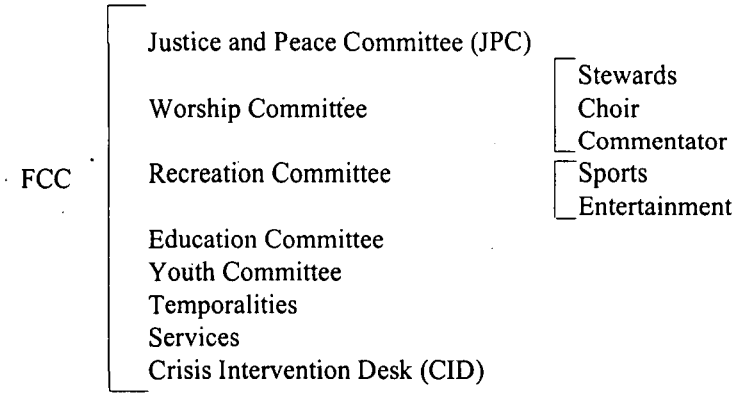
information as a matter of course by the increasing number of people coming in and out of the center. Usually some Filipinos relay the information about jobs to the center.

FCC is basically run by mass offerings at the Hyehwa-dong church and in other areas. Commissions from Metrobank for the extended remittance service and profit from their cooperative are also used as supplements to sustain the management in FCC. In addition, there is assistance coming from the archdiocese of Seoul.

STRUCTURE OF FCC AS AN ORGANIZATION

As an organizational structure, FCC is divided into eight committees and each committee has an independent task to carry out the above-mentioned religious and secular functions, as shown in chart 1. The Filipino priest supervises all the operating tasks inside FCC. Hence, the priest's job is not only restricted to holding masses or other religion-related activities, but also supervises FCC as a whole. As we can see from chart 1, each committee has a set of leaders and volunteers.

Chart 1. Structure of FCC and the Task of Each Committee



The Tasks of Each Committee

JPC: Coping with various problems of Filipino migrants and documenting each case brought in; coordinating and networking with all Filipinos.

Worship Committee: Supporting the mass such as leading the choir and commentators; helping in other tasks, mostly inside the church.

Recreation Committee: Organizing a recreational event such as sports competition, concert, or beauty pageant.

Youth Committee: Supporting the Recreation Committee.

Temporalities: Supervising FCC funds and apportioning the budget for each committee.

Service: Assisting in the extended remittance service of Metrobank inside FCC and managing the cooperative.

CID: Dealing with complaints from outside and assisting the priest.

Education Committee: Holding religious seminars and leaders' seminars.

THE ROLE OF FILIPINO RELIGIOUS WORKERS

As already mentioned, a Filipino nun initiated the action to establish the church-based organization in Seoul, while a Filipino priest worked mainly to establish and manage the FCC in Hyehwa-dong. As far as FCC is concerned, the presence and role of Filipino religious workers in supporting the Filipino migrant workers cannot be ignored. To make it more clear, I will introduce the Filipino priest who presently works for FCC as a chaplain.

Fr. Glenn Jaron, M.S.P., was sent from an ordination in the Mission Society of the Philippines in 1991. Originally, his task was to administer missionary work to Koreans, i.e., before he began to work for Filipino migrants in 1997. He studied the Korean language at the Soegan University in Seoul, and he can now speak it fluently. Presently, he does not only celebrate masses in Hyehwa church, but also in other places from time to time inside or outside Seoul, like Masok, Tonducheon, and Taerim. When he is busy, other Filipino priests take over his tasks. In Seoul, there is an organization for Filipino religious workers named Association of the Filipino Catholic Missionaries in Korea,[2] and they also support the activities in Seoul. While Father Glenn is a chaplain of FCC other Filipino priests and nuns, who are generally doing missionary work for local people, also have some contacts with FCC.

Aside from spiritual care for the Filipinos, Father Glenn sees to their other needs. He coordinates to the immigration office for those who are going back to the Philippines, and visits factories to talk with an employer for nonpayment or delayed salary and industrial accidents. More than half of the Filipinos in Korea are undocumented workers (see table 1) and they cannot speak the language very well. Therefore, Father Glenn is the only person who can talk to Korean employers directly for Filipino workers in

order to negotiate with them even in complicated matters, and the Filipino priest's role goes beyond that of the religious leader.

THE ROLE OF THE FILIPINO VOLUNTEERS

While I mentioned above the important role of Filipino religious workers in FCC, I cannot ignore the presence and contribution of volunteers. I have defined the word volunteer here as the people who help in various kinds of daily tasks inside the church and the FCC. They support the Filipino priest in everything needed for holding a mass. There are various ways of joining as a volunteer. Inside the church, some volunteers set the tools, choose a commentator for the mass, lead the choir, and work as ushers. Some volunteers assist in the remittance service, keep the funds of the cooperative and publish the newsletter. The volunteers' tasks inside the church and FCC sometimes overlap but they are well organized to carry out each task. There are presently more than 100 volunteers in FCC. Their occupations are as diverse as factory workers, domestic helpers in diplomat families, workers inside the US military bases, and office workers.

Most of the volunteers help in the FCC out of their Christian faith. Usually, the leaders who work actively, rather than ordinary volunteers, have had longer involvement in the FCC. Ms. Ligaya (not her actual name), one of the important leaders in FCC, started working as a volunteer from the start of the first counseling in Chayang-dong church. She has been in Korea for almost ten years. She was a factory worker when she became a church volunteer. Her life at that moment consisted in going back and forth between the factory and the church to help in the novena every Wednesday and clean the chapel after she finished her work. She looks back at her past when she led difficult life as a factory worker, sustained by her faith in God and her work as a volunteer. As of now, she is president of the Filipino Catholic community, an organization under FCC, namely Hyehwa-dong Catholic community. Her strong faith and responsible attitude as a leader convince people that she is worthy of their respect.

To be selected as a leader, one's active involvement in the activities of the church or FCC is given more weight over social status and background in the Philippines. Therefore, the leaders in FCC are not necessarily all university graduates or professionals.

Another factor in becoming leaders is their experience back in the Philippines, such as the involvement in a social movement. Mr. Jose (not his actual name) came to Korea as a trainee in 1994. Before he came to

Korea, he was involved in some social-concern issues or movement in the Philippines. He worked as a trainee for one year, but he ran away from the company because he was not paid his allowance regularly and was not paid for overtime work. After that, he became an undocumented worker and he again experienced nonpayment of salary and racial discrimination from his Korean coworkers. He organized the group, named KASAMMA-KO as volunteer of FCC to help fellow Filipinos. He is assigned to edit the newsletter, and to document the cases in FCC. He sometimes visits the Philippine Embassy to talk with officials and ask for monetary assistance. Jose read books about migrants' rights in Korea for his write-up in the newsletter, and according to him, his experience in social movement in the Philippines, such as speaking in front of people and writing, helps a lot in his role as a volunteer or leader in FCC.

People who are involved in FCC actively include not only factory workers or domestic helpers. There are also some Filipinos who are office workers, embassy staff, and workers inside the U.S. Bases. Ms. Flor (not her actual name) came to Korea in 1996 as spouse of her Korean husband whom she met in the Philippines. However, she could not get along with his family, and she divorced from her husband after several years. Since she is already a Korean citizen, she can stay in Korea as long as she likes even after the divorce. She is now working in a Korea-Philippines joint venture office in Seoul. Flor has been involved with the church and FCC as a volunteer since 1997. Even before she became an active volunteer, she attended the mass and helped in the activities inside the church, like the others. According to her, she became a volunteer because her close friends are almost all church volunteers and they advised her to join them, too. Firstly, she was assigned to distribute the stipends to Filipino religious workers from the offerings in the mass. After that, she was also assigned to supervise all the monetary matters inside the FCC like cooperative profit and mass offerings. As she undertook quite significant tasks, her life became busier than before and she spent much time working inside the FCC. Although she thought many times that she wanted to give up her task as a volunteer because she was losing her only time for relaxation even on Sundays, she was fulfilled and encouraged to continue doing it because she could help others who are troubled. She thinks that she should sacrifice herself for others by making use of her blessed situation, that is, her stable status and job. According to her, her primary job at the company is not so difficult and she scarcely has overtime work compared to other factory workers who are working for more than ten hours a day. Therefore, she has more time to concentrate on the work inside the FCC than other Filipinos.

The example of Flor shows the diverse job categories and living conditions of Filipinos in FCC or Korea. There are those who work in the Philippine Embassy or the U.S. Bases on ordinary days but also work for FCC on weekends. Mr. Jesse is the only one who works inside the base and at the same time is also involved in the activities in FCC. He is an American citizen and all his family is in the U.S.A. Even before, he would attend the English service inside the base. However, he happened to know there is a Catholic mass conducted in his own language outside the base, since Father Glenn is also handling the mass for the Filipinos working around the military base in Tonducheon. He attended it frequently because he missed going to mass in Filipino. He became a choir member and helped in the work inside the church and became an active volunteer in FCC doing such work as leading the Wednesday novena or collecting information for the newsletter. He says that he likes being in FCC rather than being at the base. According to him, even though the base has a lot of opportunities for entertainment, he is more at ease in FCC as he can experience the atmosphere of the Philippines there. Even if he is now an American citizen, he feels more attachment to the Philippines as he migrated when he got older. Jesse's example shows that FCC also becomes a foundation for maintaining Filipino identity even among those who already have acquired non-Filipino citizenship.

As for Flor or Jesse, because their status in Korea is different from others', especially undocumented workers, they sometimes become the target of envy in the community. However, they play an important role in FCC, as they fulfill the needs that other Filipino workers cannot. These diverse job categories or statuses may help FCC to grow.

Being a volunteer seems to give them significant meaning in life in Korea. Through the activities in the church or FCC, they may overcome their loneliness because of separation from their family, and fulfill their self-realization that somehow cannot be obtained only by working in the factory. Mr. Max joined the choir in Hyehwa church and although the choir requires regular practice and imposes strict rules among the members he enjoys singing in it. According to him the happiest moment for him in Korea is when he is singing, which allows him to forget all his troubles and tiredness. The choir activities occupy a great portion of his life in Korea. He says that being a choir member helps him a lot in adjusting to hard life as a factory worker, as he was an engineer in the Philippines before, and his work was always inside the office. He had experienced manual labor in Korea for the first time, and had difficulty adjusting to it. Sometimes blue-collar workers, such as factory workers, are looked down upon in Korean

society. So migrant workers, especially those who had professional jobs as teachers or nurses in their home country, experience a dilemma about their jobs in Korea and their country.[3] Max also experienced difficulty not only physically but also mentally. Activities in FCC and the choir take the major role in balancing his physical and emotional changes.

From the interviews with some volunteers, I can see the important role that the church or FCC, tends to play in the spiritual life of Filipino migrants. Mateo (1999) who had conducted research about the role of Catholic church among Filipino migrants in Tokyo reveals the importance of its role from the psychological aspect. According to him, since Filipino migrants are looked down upon by the larger society for their socially recognized lower-status jobs, such as domestic worker, construction worker, or factory worker, they recover their identity and dignity by communicating with their fellow Filipinos at the church that is the most familiar place for them (Mateo 1999, 68–69). We need to recognize the Filipino migrants' psychological dilemma and the important role of the church in solving it, and not only discuss the church's concrete support functions.

FCC VIS-À-VIS OTHER FILIPINO COMMUNITIES IN AREAS REMOTE FROM SEOUL

Father Glenn holds masses on Sundays in several places in the suburbs of Seoul, aside from the mass in Hyehwa church. Before FCC was opened in nearby Hyehwa Catholic church, Chayang-dong church was the only place holding Sunday worship conducted by the Filipino priest around Seoul. At present, the Sunday worship is extended to other areas, namely, Masok, Taerim, and Tonducheon. Filipinos who attend the mass in these areas are not as many as those in Hyehwa; only fifty to 100 people at the maximum in each area. Someone asked Father Glenn to visit the three remote areas, because it is quite difficult for those who live in the suburbs of Seoul to travel for one or two hours to attend the mass in Hyehwa, and sacrifice their only holiday on Sundays. It will be much easier for them if they could attend the nearest church to worship.

For example, in Masok that takes one hour by bus from Seoul, there is a furniture-making complex and more than 200 Filipinos are working and living there. Since there was no Catholic church around the area, the Filipino priest in the past visited house to house and held mass inside the factory. However, the factory was not well equipped and was noisy because of the machines. Therefore, Father Glenn asked the Anglican church in Masok[4] to

allow the use of the chapel for Sunday mass for Filipinos. The pastor of the Anglican church granted their request readily. And Father Glenn also got permission from the archdiocese of Seoul as a special case to use the facility of the non-Catholic church. There are less than a hundred Filipinos who attend the mass in Masok.

As masses have been organized in Masok, Taerim, and Tunducheon, a Filipino organization to support church activities have also been formed in each area, although it is not as big as in Hyewha. Each organization has a leader, treasurer, and choir members. Since they usually live close to each other, the organization working for the church functions as mutual-help or self-governing group at the area. For example, when a member is caught by the immigration, the organization collects money from other members to buy the plane ticket for him/her. And for those who disturb the peace by making trouble or by using drugs, the leader imposes discipline over him/her. They usually designate the area name for their organization, i.e., Masok Community or Taerim Community.

People from Masok, Taerim, and Tonducheon sometimes get together in FCC during the religious seminar, a recollection or some special events, like singing concerts. In the same way, people from FCC visit these areas with Father Glenn or other priests to support the worship. Thus, the Filipinos in Seoul and the Filipinos in Masok and the other two areas keep close communication. Among people in remote areas, FCC is a resource center for all information, activities, and is the most reliable institution in case of emergency.

Aside from the three remote Filipino communities, there is also a different religious sect, the El Shaddai,[5] in Seoul and Father Glenn sometimes holds a mass for them. El Shaddai has headquarters in Seoul and has a chapter in the city in Taegu or Pusan. Although the El Shaddai has its own Sunday mass and prayer meetings, they mix with the people in FCC. In the Philippines, it is very rare that El Shaddai and Catholic conduct mass together, even though the former is originally Catholic. However, in Korea, El Shaddai is under the jurisdiction of the FCC as well as Masok, Taerim, and Tonducheon.

FCC has a broad network not only among the Filipino communities in remote areas but also in a different religious sect, which shows the flexibility of FCC as an organization.

REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS UNDER FCC

Since quite a large number of Filipinos get together at FCC, it inevitably becomes the center of information, and it also provides a base for Filipinos to form their own organizations voluntarily. The most common one is the association representing each region of the Philippines, such as Visayas-Mindanao Organization or Batangas Association. There are more than twenty regional associations based in FCC.

Every regional association has its own by-laws, and aims to help each other's members. They hold an election yearly in which the new board members are chosen. When one joins the association he/she is required to pay 5,000 won monthly. In return, members can be given emergency assistance such as when they are caught by Immigration and need a return ticket home. And they will have medical assistance, in which the association pays 20 or 30 percent of the cost for urgent medical treatment and hospitalization. When an association needs money, it holds a fund-raising event, commonly a raffle draw. It sells tickets for the event to raise funds. The associations help each other in this kind of events. If one association was helped by the other associations in selling its raffle draw tickets, the association feels *utang na loob* (debt inside oneself)[6] and it will definitely help the other associations which extended help to it in the past.

An example of showing strong ties among the associations, is the support for the members' family. Mr. Arnel (not his actual name) belongs to Batangas Association, and he needed a huge amount of money for his nephew in the Philippines. His nephew was suffering from kidney disease and needed to be operated on. He could not afford to pay for her operation and asked for help from the association. Not only the Batangas Association but other associations helped as well. They launched a campaign for fund raising beyond the associations. FCC helped in the campaign.

Since these regional associations are based in the church or FCC, they keep close relationship with each other. It usually happens that the volunteers in FCC belong to several associations simultaneously. And the active volunteers in FCC hold responsible positions in other associations. Leadership sometimes overlaps in FCC and several associations.

When some associations earned money from their raffle draw events, they donated some portion of it to buy the FCC a computer or photocopy machine and food. It can be said that FCC is recognized as the most reliable organization for each association especially when it encounters problems it

cannot handle. And for FCC, the associations around it can activate its membership and develop it financially or materially. They have mutual-help relationship.

Another Filipino association, besides the regional associations, is the organization aimed at the acquisition of Filipino workers' rights named KASAMMA-KO (Katipunan ng mga Samahan ng Migranteng Manggagawa sa Korea, or Alliance of Migrant Workers in Korea). This group was founded in February 1998 as an alliance of six Filipino regional associations. A member of Asia Pacific Mission for Migrant Filipinos (APMMF), the staff of NGO based in Hong Kong came to Korea to help organize KASAMMA-KO. It has around 500 members throughout Korea, and had more than a thousand members before the 1997 economic crisis in Korea.

The main objectives of KASAMMA-KO are to help the neighboring Filipinos, educate the people on their rights and campaign for the acquisition of migrant workers' rights and abolition of the trainee system. They also maintain contact with MIGRANTE, the NGO based in the Philippines and protest over the abuse of Filipino migrant workers in other countries. According to the leader of KASAMMA-KO they are generally active volunteers in FCC, too. And most of the leaders have an experience in social movement or labor movement back in the Philippines.

Aside from KASAMMA-KO, there is an organization named Women on the Move (WEMOVE) which is aimed at the acquisition of women migrant workers' rights. It was founded in May 1999 and is composed of all-Filipino women. The members are still around fifty and it is not yet a very big organization. Their main activities include holding discussions concerning women migrant workers' issues, like discrimination or abuse, and campaigning for the abolition of the trainee system and others with KASAMMA-KO.

KASAMMA-KO and WE MOVE meet jointly to discuss the issues of Filipino migrant workers in Korea. It is quite different from the gathering of other regional associations, which tend to stress social events, such as raffle draws or other recreational activities. Usually, KASAMMA-KO and WE MOVE do not mix with other regional associations since they have their own individual activities. Some Filipinos say that KASAMMA-KO is too progressive, and the organization seems not to be so widely accepted around the community. However, if there is an issue or event that requires them to unite and work together, such as fund raising for medical treatment, these associations can cooperate with each other. FCC plays an important

role in coordinating with these associations to enable them to work collectively.

PROBLEMS BROUGHT IN AND THE INVOLVEMENT OF FCC

In this section, I discuss the general problems brought to FCC and how it deals with them. Later on, I will present some important cases.

Usual Cases Brought In

Unpaid Salary. As most of the migrants including Filipinos in Korea are undocumented workers, the work-related problems generally include unpaid salary, industrial accident, and maltreatment from their Korean coworkers. Unpaid salary or delayed salary is one of the most common problems, among others, of Filipinos. According to the Labor Office in Korea, if a migrant, regardless of his/her status as legal or undocumented, cannot receive his/her salary on the promised day, they can sue the employer at the nearest Labor Office. And also, if they sustain injuries in their work, whether legal or undocumented, the Labor Office is supposed to compensate them only when the company hires more than five employees (Korea Research Institute for Workers' Human Rights and Justice 1995, 39–41). Although the Labor Code guarantees the rights of migrant workers, including the undocumented as above, it does not greatly affect the problem of unpaid salary or industrial accident.

As is usually the case, even if the Filipino workers had an unpaid salary, they never complain to their employer but only move to another place to look for a new job. This is primarily because of their disadvantageous status as undocumented, and they are more afraid of being reported to the immigration office by their employer than losing a job.

Some Filipinos come to FCC to ask for help regarding this problem. Then instead of the Filipino workers, Father Glenn himself visits their company to demand the unpaid salary. Some companies agree to pay up after the request of Father Glenn, others never pay the salary though the employers promise it after being persuaded to do so. There are a lot of unpaid salary cases brought to FCC which remain unsolved. To supplement efforts on this matter, the Justice and Peace Committee (JPC), one of the committees of the FCC, documents each case by interviewing the concerned person, and getting the name of company, employer, and contact numbers. With this data, Korean volunteers in FCC talk to the employer over the phone, and sometimes visit the company. Since FCC has a close contact

with the local Catholic church, it also asks for help for the church-related institution.

Although FCC holds legal seminars for protecting migrants' rights, there is still limitation on the part of an individual to negotiate with employers. Also, there is a question on the extent the Labor Code can protect the rights of undocumented workers.

Industrial Trainees. In 1991, the Korean government introduced an industrial trainee system following the example of Japan (Seol 2000). In this system, the small- and medium-sized enterprises recruit people from other countries, mainly in Asia, to teach them skills and knowledge. Generally, Filipino trainees make contracts with Korean Federation of Small and Medium Business (KFSMB) through private agencies in the Philippines, and they will work as trainees in Korea for two years. However, a great number of Filipino trainees (not only Filipinos) had ran away from their companies before their contracts expired, and more and more trainees are becoming undocumented workers nowadays. This happens because of low wages in spite of heavy work, and poor working or living conditions. Trainees can receive only US$150 or US$200 monthly allowance, but they work almost the same hours or more than ordinary workers. Eventually, they give up and decide to become undocumented workers for a higher salary.

To cope with this issue, first, FCC accommodates runaway trainees and JPC also documents their working and living conditions as well as company names to gather evidence. And they also hold educational seminars for trainees or former trainees on how to deal with violation of contracts. However, the problem on the unreasonable trainee system in Korea remains unsolved for there is lack of effective regulations to protect the trainees. The issue of trainees shall continue to be discussed and addressed more from now on among governments and NGOs.

Diseases and Injuries. Migrant workers, including Filipino workers in Korea, tend to be injured in their work place as well as contract serious diseases due to their working condition, the so-called 3D (dirty, difficult, dangerous), and long working hours of more than ten hours a day. Outside the factories, there is an increasing number of traffic accidents. There are on the average an estimated two Filipinos hospitalized per day around Seoul.[7] The problem is when Filipinos, especially undocumented workers, are injured or become ill, they need huge amounts of money because they do not have medical insurance. I will also discuss how these kinds of problem are dealt with later.

Trafficking of Women. While the majority of Filipinos are working as factory workers or industrial trainees, their job categories vary. An increasing number of women migrants working as entertainers can also be seen as a significant phenomenon at present. Tonducheon is a city where the U.S. military base is located, and it takes around two hours from Seoul by car to reach it. There are a lot of bars or clubs mainly targeting the military service men, and Filipinos and Russian women are working there as entertainers. Usually, foreign entertainers come to Korea holding six-month visas, and most of them are young, ranging from high-teens to early twenties.

Some clubs in Tonducheon had forced Filipino women to dance naked onstage or forced to have sex with customers. The women's contracts with their employers before they left the Philippines did not specify this. Once, seven Filipinas escaped from the club and they went to FCC to ask for help. They had been planning to escape and they learned about FCC from other Filipinos in the area. Father Glenn is conducting a mass in Tonducheon for Filipinos, and there is a Filipino Catholic organization there, too.

FCC gave shelter to the women and Father Glenn and other Filipino volunteers of JPC interviewed them about their plight. JPC carried out individual documentations from the interviews. Father Glenn subsequently reported the clubs to the police about their illegal business activities, such as forced prostitution and FCC caused some clubs to be finally closed. The Philippine Embassy also gave shelter to runaway entertainers, but the embassy did not try to investigate on the concerned clubs and only helped the women to return to the Philippines.[8]

FCC is giving stress to the investigation and documentation of each case as well as giving temporal refuge. The reasoning is that if FCC does not expose the illegal operation of clubs and limits itself to giving shelter to runaway women, the employers will surely continue their illegal activities which will lead to more victims in the future.

NEW TYPES OF PROBLEMS BROUGHT IN

FCC cannot cope with all the problems successfully, not only the usual problems brought in, such as industrial trainee or unpaid salary, but new ones as well that are varied and complicated. Concretely, I can mention "Filipina brides who got married to Koreans under the Unification Church," "illegal recruitment," and "trafficking of drugs." I will explain these new types of problems and the reaction of FCC to them.

Filipina Brides Who Got Married to Koreans under the Unification Church

Since February 2000, more than 300 Filipino women who joined a religious group, the Unification Church, and got married to Korean men, have been landing at Kimpo International Airport, and quite a large number of the women are running to the FCC to ask for help almost every day.

When talking about how they got involved in the religious group and came to Korea, they say their friends or coworkers in the Philippines asked them if they wanted to have Korean husbands. When they are recruited, they are never told about the Unification Church. They undergo a seminar in each chapter of the church, and then they are matched by the church to Korean men. If they like each other, they attend a mass wedding in Manila with hundreds of other couples. Korean men visit Manila for two to three days to attend the mass wedding, and they cover all the expenses for the wedding plus airfare of the Filipino women to come to Korea.

When the Filipino women arrive in Korea and start to live with their husbands, the women face many problems, like cultural differences, language barrier, and relationship with their mothers-in-law. Violence from their husbands is a particularly common and serious problem. Usually, their Korean husbands are not well educated, live in the countryside, and are generally farmers. Life in the countryside and work in the farm as well as the family life with the husband or mother-in-law seem to be a difficult experience for Filipina to accept.

Filipino women come to FCC with various problems and the most common case is violence from their husbands. There is no solution to this problem so far, and FCC is giving shelter and documenting evidences. FCC also asks for help from the Korean Catholic church regarding this problem.

Trafficking of Drugs

Trafficking of drugs is one of the serious problems of the Filipino community in Seoul. Drugs are prevalent in the Filipino community because they help those who work during the night shift to help stay awake for long hours. Drugs also make them forget all fatigue from work and loneliness from living in another country.

Usually drugs are brought by Filipinos from the Philippines, and sold in Korea. Due to the prevalence of drugs among the Filipinos, FCC through its newsletter, warns them not to receive or use drugs. FCC advocates

abstinence from drugs for fear of giving a bad image to Filipino in Korea, and becoming a target of strict control by the police or immigration authorities. FCC has a role in issuing warnings to this kind of moral degeneracy.

Illegal Recruitment

Illegal recruitment happens between the two countries of Korea and the Philippines. Usually this criminal act carried out in collusion with Filipino and Korean illegal recruiters, and the victims are all Filipinos. At first, the Filipino illegal recruiter invites people saying that they will provide a nice-paying job in Korea, but when they arrive in Korea they will discover that the promised job does not exist. The problem here is that they had paid a huge amount of money as job-placement fee. Though more and more victims of illegal recruitment come to FCC to complain, there is no solution to this problem. What FCC is doing is to disseminate information on illegal recruiters and warn other people.

THE POSITIVE RESPONSE TO INJURIES AND DISEASES

As already mentioned, migrant workers, including Filipinos who are undocumented, face problems when they need medical attention that are expensive, and therefore unaffordable since they do not have medical insurance.

However, FCC maintains close relationship with five big Catholic hospitals inside and outside Seoul, so FCC responds quite positively toward this issue. When they sustain injuries or get sick, they can be accommodated by any of these five hospitals and request to have the payment reduced. Aside from this assistance from the Catholic hospitals, they have created a special fund, as I explained before, like the emergency fund. They raise this fund by holding various events like the Filipino professional singer's concert and others. And last 26 September 1999, FCC organized a fund-raising cultural event titled Alay Kapwa Migrante Campaign (A Campaign Dedicated to Fellow Migrants), mainly for the purpose of maintaining their emergency fund. More than twenty Filipino organizations worked together for this event in coordination with JPC, one of the committees of FCC. Each organization prepared one Philippine dance or song to present at the event, and the money from ticket sales was utilized as part of the emergency funds. More than one thousand Filipinos got together and they enjoyed watching the dances and songs for a whole day.

While they can receive reliable assistance from the Catholic hospitals, the Filipinos still show positive attitude toward supporting themselves, toward coping with their medical-related or other emergency problems.

PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES IN DEALING WITH CASES

Basically, FCC opens its door to every Filipino regardless of his or her religious belief or visa status. However, extending proper assistance is not easy sometimes but it also includes certain kinds of difficulties. An example is abusing the assistance that one can avail himself/herself of. I will present one example here to make it clear. Ms. Jerry (not her actual name) who got married to a Korean under the Unification Church, had come to FCC to seek shelter. Since she had experienced violence from her husband and their relationship was not going well, she gave up living with him. When she fled to FCC, she was asked by Father Glenn regarding her plan after the separation. She said that she wanted to go back to the Philippines. Actually she was at loss at that time because she was pregnant and had no confidence in bringing up the child without the husband's help. However, she decided that she would never come back to her husband. Father Glenn asked her many times if she really wanted to go back to the Philippines. Father Glenn respected her decision and he bought her a plane ticket for returning home.

The next morning, the unexpected happened. Jerry's husband followed her to FCC driving the car for almost eight hours from the province. Father Glenn and other volunteers were surprised and they wondered how Jerry's husband knew the place. Father Glenn cancelled her flight and recommended that she talk to him. Jerry's husband persistently begged her to go with him. Although Jerry refused his proposal at first, she finally accepted and decided to live with him again. And Jerry confessed to Father Glenn and other staff that she had told him about the FCC over the phone, though she never told anyone in FCC. So Father Glenn and other volunteers realized why Jerry's husband knew of the place, but they were wondering about her attitude. When Jerry talked to Father Glenn about what she wanted to do afterwards, she never said that she wanted to resume the life with her husband and that she would call him. To grant her wish, Father Glenn prepared a plane ticket for her. Father Glenn and other members blamed her why she did not honestly say what she wanted to do. Jerry could not make a clear decision because of her complicated situation. However, Father Glenn and the other members felt bad because they were confused by her words. Extending assistance to people who come to FCC can be abused sometimes.

SHARING THE ISSUE IN THE COMMUNITY

Dealing with the various problems in FCC can elicit not only concrete visible reaction such as giving shelter or monetary assistance, but also invisible reaction at the conscious level. I will illustrate an interesting example here. The night mass in FCC can show a lot of insights how the Filipinos recognize their problems and how they tackle it.

One night, Father Glenn talked about a Filipina's story among the worshippers. That day, Father Glenn had dealt with the case of a Filipina, Ms. Monica (not her actual name) who got into trouble with her Korean husband and had ran away from him. She had been battered by her husband and she never wanted to go back to him. However, her husband followed her at the FCC and begged her to go home with him. They had a dialogue and Father Glenn intervened. While Monica's husband apologized for his violence to her and petitioned her to go home, she would not accept his proposal. At first, the dialogue was sad. After they had exchanged their ideas, however, the atmosphere became a bit friendly and they began to exchange jokes. After the dialogue, Monica and her husband had dinner together.

Father Glenn reflected on the dialogue in the following night mass. "At first, I felt anger toward Monica's husband for what he had done to her. Monica was damaged physically and mentally because of his violence and verbal abuse. And her heart was also wounded, not only her body. However, I felt calm in my mind at the last part of the dialogue, though the problem between them had not yet been settled, because I could see in her that her wound was healed even only a little after a talk with her husband. Through this experience today, I learned that we as missionaries have a task to heal the wound of the people, in any way we can."

Father Glenn's reflection seems to show the attitude of FCC on how it tackles problems. It is doing it as a task of missionary work and it stems from its religious beliefs. Although it cannot cause visible or swift change, it will promote the commitment of each Filipino to the activities in FCC and effect some changes in the long run.

CREATING NEW SUPPORT NETWORK INSIDE FCC

In most cases that I have discussed above, the Filipino priest or leaders of FCC give assistance to those who need help. However, not only the core members of FCC are always coping with the problems, but also other

members. For example those who had previously fled to FCC play some important role in some manner in the future. I will explain this phenomenon by citing one example.

Ms. Corazon (not her actual name) asked the help of FCC when she had a problem of unpaid salary. Father Glenn helped her to negotiate with her employer until she obtained the salary. She lived in FCC and she got a new job through the information of other Filipinos. One day, Ms. Liza (not her actual name), who got married to a Korean under the Unification Church, ran to FCC seeking shelter. As Liza wanted to work in a factory, Corazon introduced her to a new job. As Corazon knew a lot about other job sites, she gave the information to other people. Corazon received help in finding a job from other people before, and in return she also gives assistance to those who need help this time. This example shows that giving assistance is not always done from the top (priest or core members), but it can be done from the bottom (or ordinary members). Providing job information is a simple contribution, but it can be seen as the circulation of support networks of old one assisting the newcomer. This simple and minor phenomenon might indicate the process for the empowerment of the individual Filipino in the long run.

PROBLEMS BROUGHT IN AND SOLVED IN COORDINATION WITH SOME INSTITUTIONS

When the case is complicated and serious, FCC asks for help from other organizations. I will explain how they cooperate with some organizations in the host society from the example of rape cases.

Joey (not her actual name) was working at a socks-making factory in the suburb of Seoul. She lived in a dormitory that the company can inside the factory compound. She had two other Filipina companions there. One night, when she and her companions were sleeping, two Korean men with masks suddenly broke into their room. The two men wrapped the faces of Joey and the other Filipina with blanket so they could not be recognized. And the men raped Joey and the other Filipina. The two women got severe injuries. The two men were Joey's coworkers at the factory, and she knew them since she worked with them. Fearful over what had happened to her, Joey called her Filipino male friend early in the morning. Her friend called the police, and the manager of the factory brought them to the hospital. At the hospital, Joey and another Filipino were not properly checked up and the manager tried to hide the fact of rape. Until that time, the two men were not yet prosecuted.

When a week had passed after the case, Joey's friend called Father Glenn who immediately reported the case to the police. Father Glenn also visited the factory to investigate the fact. The two Korean men admitted to the rape, and they were arrested finally.

Next, FCC asked assistance from the Philippine Embassy to hire a lawyer for the two victims. The Philippine Embassy promised to prepare US$4,000 for the victims. But the promise was not implemented until the day of trial for the rape case. At the day of the trial, only a court-appointed defense counsel was assigned to the two victims. In the verdict, the two assailants were only sentenced to three-and-half-year imprisonment, and because they were not from a well-off family, they were never made to compensate the two victims. The two victims and FCC were dissatisfied over the verdict.[9]

After the trial, FCC and the Philippine Embassy had a dialogue and FCC asked why the embassy did not give any assistance to the two victims. The embassy said that they could not get permission from the higher office in Manila to use the official money for the case. While FCC was disappointed with the attitude of the embassy, they promised that they would continue supporting the two victims.

FCC also requested legal support from the Catholic church institution, such as the Myondong Foreign Workers Counseling Office. The Counseling Office suggested to FCC that they sue the company as the one responsible for the rape case because the company did not separate the dormitory entrance for men and women. FCC expects to get compensation from the company.

Joey said that the thing she hates most is to leave the case vague. After the case, she lived in FCC for a while and got a new job. However, she does not want to return to the Philippines until she gets a favorable result.

Joey also attended the dialogue with the embassy, and she looks back at what she was thinking at that time:

> "During the dialogue, I was only looking at Father Glenn as he stood against the officer there. To tell you the truth, I did not want them to quarrel but instead to cooperate with each other to find a solution for the case. But of course I also know that Father Glenn is doing his utmost, and I really thank him for that. But you know, I think Father Glenn is only a priest, and he cannot do everything. The Philippine Embassy is the only official institution that has more capacity to extend proper help to their people."[10]

Joey's words imply the situation or problem between FCC and the embassy. I will discuss this later.

PROBLEMS BROUGHT IN AND THE LIMITATION OF FCC

From the characteristics of problems that surround Filipinos and brought to FCC, I recognize diversified and complicated ones such as the Unification Church marriage or illegal recruitment, in addition to the problems that generally occur, such as unpaid salary or runaway trainees. In coping with various kinds of problems, the Filipino priest plays an important role. However, the roles of leaders or volunteers cannot be ignored. For instance, the volunteers of JPC (Justice and Peace Committee) document the cases regarding unpaid salary, trainees and entertainers, and so on, based on interviews with concerned people. This means they do not only give shelter or monetary assistance but they also work on the problems.

However, there are still problems that are beyond their ability like those involving legal matters. The rape case that I described in the foregoing example required official assistance, and FCC cannot by itself deal with it.

NETWORKING OF FCC WITHIN AND OUTSIDE KOREA

FCC has built active networks with various organizations in Korea and back in the Philippines. And while FCC has been affected by these networks, it also affects them. I will discuss next what kinds of networks they have and how they interact with each other.

The Philippine Embassy

The Philippine Embassy in Seoul has a Labor Office and a Labor Attache that deals mainly with work-related issues. The OWWA Center (Filipino Workers Resource Center, in other words) has been established in Seoul and it gives shelter to needy Filipinos. However, they can be accommodated for only five days at the maximum, so the Center does not enjoy favorable reputation among the Filipinos.

FCC often contacts the embassy for several needs, and Father Glenn and some volunteers of JPC who are doing documentation, talk directly with the officers there. The embassy holds legal seminars for the Filipino community, several times a year. And sometimes the embassy and FCC have a dialogue when they need to talk about something important. The embassy also held a reception and invited some Filipinos when Philippine President Joseph Estrada visited Korea in July 1999.

Although FCC has daily communication with the embassy, Father Glenn and other members who have more frequent contact with it feel that the embassy does not extend concrete assistance to Filipinos. According to them, although the embassy holds seminar or basketball games for the Filipino community, it does not try to help make it easier for them when it comes to some difficult matters.

Last July 2000, FCC had a chance to talk with embassy officials directly and FCC presented some of the latest problems, such as hospitalization or rape case, to seek some assistance from them. The embassy's answer, as a whole, was they do not have enough funds to give assistance to FCC. According to the embassy, as Korea is one of the countries that consumed a major portion of the official fund (Assistance to National Funds) the embassy is running out of available funds. It has requested for an increase in funds but it has yet to receive favorable answer from the Manila office.

FCC and the embassy exchange opinions as above, but sometimes they bicker. And there is still much left to be desired by FCC regarding the embassy's attitude.

Although the Philippine Embassy is the only governmental organization that has official power that the FCC can rely on when it experiences serious problems, it cannot understand why the embassy imposes on the FCC to find the solution. FCC is trying to cope with migrants' problems in various ways, but its capacity is still limited. It is therefore reasonable for FCC to expect the embassy to work more actively for them as the embassy has the capacity to do so.

This kind of problem between the Philippine Embassy and the Filipino community can be seen not only in Korea but also in other countries. For example, in Hong Kong last March 1999, a Filipina domestic worker was clubbed to death by her Nigerian employer inside the OWWA Center for Temporal Refuge (Nagahashi 2000, 12). The case resulted in the loss of confidence in the Philippine government and the service extended by it. While it is difficult even for the government official to cover all kinds of problems, they need to join hands with NGOs or church-based organizations like FCC. However, in the present situation, FCC shoulders all the problems even beyond their ability, and it is far from mutual support condition with the governmental officials. It still has to be made clear what kind of responsibility they have towards each other. There is still much room for improvement between FCC and the Philippine Embassy. Although a lot of discussion about Philippine government policy for migrants has been done

it should be examined more in terms of how much the policy is implemented at such level.[11]

Filipino Ethnic Business

Filipino ethnic business, as defined here, is a set of business activities carried jointly by Filipinos with Koreans, mainly targeting Koreans. The existence of these businesses is indispensable in the operation of FCC. I have already discussed Metrobank, but I will explain the relation of FCC with the bank again as an illustration.

While the remittance service inside FCC is meant to assist Metrobank in its business activities, FCC can get a commission for its operation by undertaking the service. In addition, FCC gets advertisement fee from the Metrobank on the weekly newsletter. It can be said that the relation of FCC and the bank is symbiotic, i.e., giving each other's needs.

The existence of Filipino merchants who supply Philippine groceries to FCC every week cannot be ignored either. These merchants shuttle between Korea and the Philippines, and they do their business in other places aside from FCC.

For other businesses that have contact with FCC, there are also international door-to-door companies, fish dealers, and dentists. These businesses are advertised through the newsletter, and they also pay advertisement fee to FCC. The characteristic of these businesses serves the function of Filipino networks. For instance, the fish dealer who sells Philippine fish like *bangus* or tilapia does not have a fixed store but takes orders by cellular phone and delivers them to the customer's house. The fish dealer gets frozen fishes by air freight and he also shuttles between the Philippines and Korea.

Every country or city where Filipinos live has businesses necessarily targeted for them. According to Mateo (1999), who carried out a study about Filipino migrant's community inside the Catholic church in Tokyo, the church is becoming a market place for banks, international door-to-door companies, or international calling companies (ibid. 147). Mateo also adds that the business of selling Philippine products utilize the Filipino network that is built on word of mouth or among friends as the marketing strategy (ibid., 150).

In Korea, various kinds of businesses have resulted as the number of Filipinos increased. They are doing their business activities sometimes by

avoiding being caught by the police or Immigration, and earn additional income. However, this does not mean that only the businesses have benefited most of the time. FCC has developed as an organization by taking over the remittance service from Metrobank and receiving advertisement fee from other businesses. In relation to FCC and various businesses, it can be said that they are contributing to and are dependent on each other. The Filipino ethnic business supports the FCC whether intended or not, and they become an important factor in maintaining its operation.

Catholic Church and Attached Organizations

FCC was originally established with the support of the archdiocese of Seoul and under its supervision, it has developed relation with the Catholic church in various aspects. First, the archdiocese of Seoul assists FCC partially for the payment of the building rental every month. Second, FCC is coping with problems related to the working conditions or legal matters in coordination with attached organizations of the archdiocese, such as the Myondong Foreign Workers' Counseling Office which provides counseling services and legal assistance to migrant workers of various nationalities.

As I have discussed in the foregoing, hospitalization and the resulting expense is a serious problem because majority of Filipinos in Korea are undocumented and do not have medical insurance. For this purpose, the support of Catholic hospitals is really important. At present, FCC has connections with three Catholic hospitals in Seoul and two suburbs of Seoul. These five hospitals are generally big and well equipped. Each hospital has a social welfare office and it exempts migrants without insurance from paying the medical treatment fee or reduce the hospitalization fee into half or more.

For example, they reduce the hospitalization fee of 100,000 won into 20,000 won. Aside from that, every second Sunday of the month Korean Catholic doctors offer free medical check-up under the program "Raphael Clinic for Foreign Workers" inside the auditorium of the Catholic high school near Hyehwa-Catholic church. This temporary clinic is well equipped as ordinary hospitals are. On the day of free medical check-up, various nationalities, not only Filipinos but also Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, and others, join the queue for services. The advocate of Cardinal Kim started this medical check-up for migrants, and it has been supported mainly by the Archdiocese of Seoul. The contribution of the Catholic church for migrants in the medical field cannot be ignored.

In October 2000, FCC was transferred to a new place with larger space than before, because the number of Filipinos coming in was increasing and they needed more space for shelter. In transferring to the new place, the archdiocese assisted FCC fully, from looking for place to becoming its guarantor.

Thirty percent of all population in Korea are Christians, Catholics as well as Protestants. Historically, Christians have been involved in political or social concerns in Korea. At the same time, the church also works actively for the relief of the weak and have influenced public opinion (Seo 1991, 7). Since most Filipinos believe in Catholicism and FCC support their activities based in the church, the Korean Catholic church gives great assistance to them in terms of financial and medical support.

Public Institutions

Public institutions, such as immigration, police and city hall, maintain relations with FCC. I discuss here especially the police that has close relation with FCC.

Most of the Filipinos coming to FCC are undocumented. However, police or immigration officers cannot enter to apprehend them since FCC is part of the church. As member of the international convention, police or immigration cannot use their authority inside religious institutions, such as the church or mosque.

On the way to Hyehwa church from FCC, there is a police station in Tondemung. Interestingly, the police officers do not pay attention to the Filipinos who are coming and going in front of the police station. Especially on Sundays, the street is occupied with more number of Filipinos, but they do not seem to be nervous passing by the police station.

When some Filipinos drink a lot and make noise in Philippine restaurants beside the police station, the police only give them warning. And the police do not prohibit Filipinos from vending their products around the church, and in fact they seem to connive with them.

Mateo, in describing the relation of the police and overstaying Filipinos in Tokyo, says that the police do not try to catch them when it is not the time for a roundup and there is a certain kind of tacit agreement for peaceful coexistence between them (Mateo 1999, 205).

Once I felt anxious over whether FCC does not have any risks involved in sensitive issues like Unification Church problem. So I asked Father Glenn about it, and he answered, that FCC is known by the immigration and the police, nobody can harm them. In short, FCC ensures its security by maintaining contact with other authorities. Outside FCC, the Immigration or police authorities can be a menace to Filipinos who can be caught by them. As a way to protect themselves, they do not dare go out even on Sundays, or they avoid the subway where the roundup frequently happens. Yet, when they are inside FCC, the police or immigration can give them security. This is one way for Filipinos to survive, winning authorities to their sides.

Nongovernment Organizations or NGOs

Although as a general tendency in Korea the concerned religious people are involved with the issues of migrant workers, other civic groups or NGOs also have contact with them. I will discuss here the relationship of FCC and NGOs in Korea.

One of the active NGOs supporting migrant workers is the Joint Committee for Migrant Workers in Korea, otherwise known as JCMK. It is an alliance of twenty-one migrant-support organizations, including Catholic, Protestant, and Anglican church partially, and was founded in 1995. Though JCMK has several religious organizations as members, it was not established as a religious association.

As far as I know, FCC and JCMK do not have daily contact with each other. JCMK is carrying out activities, such as campaigning for the abolition of the trainee system or improving the diet condition of migrants. And also, the affiliated group of JCMK launched a medical insurance cooperative for undocumented workers. FCC, which has its own cooperative to deal with emergencies, has no part in these activities of JCMK.

The reason why FCC does not have close contact with JCMK, a volunteer in FCC, is explained by the following. Since JCMK sets the migrant issues as one subject of social movement and aims to appeal for the improvement of the system, its slogan seems to be too radical for FCC. And as FCC is under the jurisdiction of the archdiocese, it is prohibited from having contact with other organizations without permission from the archdiocese. Thus, JCMK is not well known to the Filipinos in FCC.

Last 1994, Nepal trainees sat together with Korean supporters at the Myongdong cathedral to demand the implementation of labor casualty compensation insurance for migrant workers. Their action moved human rights organizations, including the Catholic church and it triggered the amendment of the law by the government to implement the insurance for migrant workers (Yokota 1998, 10). In other words, the action of Nepal trainees moved the government and it also influenced other migrants' working condition.

Although there are more Filipinos than Nepalese, Filipinos do not seem to take action to appeal their rights, like the Nepalese did before. The difference between the Nepalese and the Filipinos is that the former have close relation with Korean NGO activists while the latter do not. FCC was organized around religious concerns and mutual help but they do not choose to involve themselves with political concerns. For these reasons, FCC does not have close relation with NGOs.

Other Minority Groups

Most constituent members of FCC are Filipinos, and they do not have frequent opportunity to make contact with other migrant workers except at their work places. However, FCC is not isolated completely from other minority groups and they have contact with them once in a while in various ways. As an example, according to Father Glenn, FCC gave temporal refuge to several Korean-Chinese and Rumanians who did not have a place to stay. Although FCC is supporting mainly Filipino migrants, it does not mean that they refuse to accept other nationals because they are also committed to help other foreign migrants. This was especially recognized on the following occasion.

FCC hosted the International Migrants' Festival in order to hear the voices of migrant workers directed at Korean society on 30 April 2000. This was originally arranged by the affiliated organization of the archdiocese of Seoul, Myondong Foreign Workers' Counseling Office. FCC hosted the event because the counseling office admired the ability of Filipinos to speak English, to entertain, and to organize events. For the festival, the counseling office gave financial support and helped to coordinate other migrant groups aside from Filipinos. FCC planned the program and organized the whole event and other Filipino associations helped to set up the stage.

On the day of the festival, more than two thousand people participated and they included Filipinos, Mongolians, Chinese, Indonesians, Nepalese,

Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Vietnamese, Nigerians, Koreans, among others. There was a seminar, during the first half, about migrants' rights and it included a lecture by a Korean University professor; the rest of the main program consisted of cultural presentations performed by various migrant groups from each country. At the same time the signature campaign to call the Korean government to implement the ratification of the UN convention on the "Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families" was carried out.

What was notable about this festival was the gathering together in one occasion of various national migrants who usually do not have many chances to interact with each other even though they live and share common experiences as migrant workers in Korea. And I can say that FCC plays quite an important role in it. This festival also showed the perspective of solidarity within the minorities, and at the same time I can expect the contribution of FCC on this matter. In other words, FCC may be able to extend their support to other foreign migrants, not only to Filipinos.

After the above-mentioned festival FCC held a similar kind of cultural event, which included various migrants from other countries. However, there are still some problems on how to interact with other migrants from other countries. First, the different forms of religion can be raised. Since majority of the Filipinos are Catholic and the activity of FCC is based on religious activities, the migrants of other religions, like Muslim, might have difficulty in communicating with them. Second is too much attachment to the same national community. As Filipinos have very close relationship with one another because of FCC, they sometimes only stay in the community with their compatriots and do not try to mix with other foreigners. This kind of attitude leads to the exclusion of other migrants from other countries.

In view of these circumstances, achieving the solidarity of minorities can be very difficult. However, this is becoming more important and the role of FCC with regard to other foreign migrants cannot be ignored in the future.

Organizations

FCC has contact with organizations based in the Philippines aside from the ones in the host society. Primarily, FCC has regular contact with the Catholic church in the Philippines, through the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP). Filipino bishops from CBCP are sent to FCC to observe and give spiritual support to Filipino migrants several times a year.

There is an organization under CBCP that deals especially with migrant issues, namely, the Episcopal Commission for Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People (ECMI). ECMI conducts investigations on the situation of Filipino migrants by holding dialogues with Filipino communities in each area. Bishops from ECMI visit FCC occasionally, and FCC also reports to the ECMI the cases they are handling. FCC receives monetary assistance from ECMI.

In June 2000, the Catholic Bishop Conference for the celebration of Jubilee year was held in Rome to discuss Filipino migrants' issues. Filipino migrant workers, priests, and nuns from all over the world got together for the event. From FCC, Father Glenn, some Filipino nuns, and volunteers attended the conference as delegates from South Korea. Since FCC has close relationship with the Catholic church in the Philippines and has network with Filipino communities around the world as mentioned above, it can be said that FCC is not only situated in Korea but also recognized in the global Filipino diaspora community.

Aside from the Catholic church in the Philippines, FCC also maintains contact with TV or Filipino show business. A commercial TV broadcasting company, Channel 7, visited FCC to gather information about the situation of Filipino migrants in Korea. FCC in turn invites some Filipino professional singers once in a while for fund-raising concerts for their emergency fund.

As we can see, the Filipino migrant workers get in touch with their families back in their home country regularly through remittances or overseas phone calls. FCC is also keeping close ties with organizations like the Catholic church in the Philippines to sustain and develop itself as an organizations.

CONCLUSION

I have discussed FCC from the limited data that I collected through participant observation in Korea. I can say that FCC has multipurpose function, which are not limited to religious concerns, but helps to maintain as well as supports the Filipino identity in concrete terms. As Mateo (1999) pointed out in citing various functions of the Catholic church for Filipino migrants in Tokyo, the church takes responsibility for them, as is observed in every corner of the world.

Moreover, the dynamic networking with various organizations in Korea and back in the Philippines has strengthened the multipurpose functions of

FCC. It continues its operation by maintaining relations and interactions with the broader society beyond the Catholic church. FCC makes use of funds and information that are available and cooperates with other organizations. Although FCC receives much assistance from the Catholic church in Korea, it shows positive attitude in organizing and self-help groups through their efforts. FCC is supported and developed by outsiders and at the same time it also influences the host society by playing an important role for other foreign migrants, as seen during the International Migrants' Festival. These activities of FCC might help to dispel the stereotype of Filipino migrant workers as weak, as they have been described. And we should keep an eye on the development of the Filipino migrants' capabilities and skills.

Many problems surrounding the Filipino migrants in Korea are still left unresolved and FCC cannot cope with all of them, especially with the emergence of more complicated problems, such as "illegal recruitment" or "marriages under the Unification Church." FCC has limitations in regard to all the problems brought in, and it needs to build reliable relationships with other organizations, such as the Philippine Embassy, Catholic church, and NGOs. There are still many problems to be tackled, and there is room for improvement, in terms of cooperation with organizations in Korean society or back in the Philippines. It does not have close relationships with the local people or institutions.

Although I only discussed one Filipino church organization in Korea, I believe that I can find such a center like FCC anywhere in the world, and I hope this study will help us to understand similar organizations in other countries. I hope that this study can pave the way to a broader comparison at the international level.

NOTES

[1]This is based on talks with the people in FCC.

[2]The Association of Filipino Catholic Missionaries in Korea has forty members consisting of priests and nuns. Fr. Arlon Vergara, O.S.A., who is assigned at the ordination in Inch'on, is the president of this organization. Father Glenn is also a member. They get together several times a month to share their experiences in Korea, and publish the newsletter *Yoboseyo* (meaning "Hello" in Korean). The organization supports FCC financially and morally.

[3]It's not rare but many of the Filipino migrants in Korea had a professional job in the Philippines, such as teacher or nurse. They also mentioned the gap in social status in Korea and the Philippines. According to the interviews with some Filipinos who had professional jobs in their home country, they are not satisfied with the work in Korea because they cannot use their skills and knowledge.

[4]This church had originally supported leprosy patients since the 1960s. However, in the 1990s because of the increase of migrant workers coming into the furniture-making complex (also locally called Songseng Village) near the church, they built an NGO, Home of Shalom for Migrant Workers in 1997 to serve the migrant workers led by Rev. Lee Jong Ho. At first, the church invited a Filipino priest from the Anglican church of the Philippines to hold a mass for Filipino workers working around the Songseng village. However, when the Filipino priest came back to the Philippines after one year, the church agreed with Fr. Glenn to take over their function. This church is carrying out the ecumenical activities, which aims not to exclude other religious group but cooperate with each other to pursue a common purpose.

[5]El Shaddai is part of the Catholic church but is a charismatic sect.

[6]In Philippine society, the favor that you receive from others is expected to be returned in the future. If you do not return the favor that you have received, you will surely lose your face in the community. And you will be labeled as *walang hiya* (shameless). In FCC, this fundamental Filipino value is applied well.

[7]This is based on an interview with a core member of FCC, dated 20 August 2000.

[8]This is based on an interview with Father Glenn on 31 August 1999.

[9]They expressed their dissatisfaction with the verdict on the case in the newsletter *SAMBAYANAN* (25 June 2000), saying that reducing the jail terms of two rapists from four years to three years is totally devastating. They are also questioning the delayed official assistance from the Philippine Embassy.

[10]This is part of an informal talk with Joey on 31 August 2000 and her words were translated from Filipino into English by the author.

[11]The Migrants' Act of 1995 has been much discussed. See Murashita 1999 for details (in Japanese).

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Filipinas in Cross-Cultural Marriage to Japanese: Moving Towards a Synthesis of Cultures

ELENA L. SAMONTE

Filipinos marrying foreigners has long been an accepted pattern within Philippine culture (Hunt and Coller 1957). Social pluralism is said to be a condition that favors cross-cultural marriages (Rafel 1954). Statistics from the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) show that in 1999, there were 15,316 fiancees and spouses of foreign nationals registered with the CFO. The largest group (5,389) was bound for the US while the second largest group (4,545) was bound for Japan. Over the years, from 1989 to 1999 (see table 1), there was a total of 177,605 Filipinos who had registered as fiancees and spouses of foreign nationals (CFO 2000). Using the number of applicants for certificate for eligibility to marry from the Japanese Embassy in Manila, thus far there have been a total of 62,210 for the period 1988-June 2000. This makes for an average of 4,977 applications a year. The highest number of applications was in 1995 with 6,829 while the lowest was in 1988 with 3,569. Statistics from the Japan Immigration Association show that as of 1998, there were 105,308 Filipinos registered in Japan and of this, 45,619 (43.3 percent) are married to Japanese. They form the third largest group of foreigners married to Japanese, after the Brazilians and the Chinese.

DRIVING FORCES AND MOTIVATIONS

Demographic and Labor Perspectives

On the macro level, there are forces which help explain the growing number of cross-cultural marriages. For Japan it is a combination of several factors: "the 'export' of Filipino women to Japan as entertainers, the influx of Japanese who have come to the Philippines to set up branches of their companies, and the 'sex tours' conducted for Japanese tourists which reached their height in the mid-1980s" (Pazzibugan 1994). The feminization of labor

Table 1. Total Number of Filipino Fiancees/Spouses of Foreign Nationals by Year and Country of Destination, 1989–1997

Country	Fiancee	Spouse	Total	%
USA	14000	46665	60665	41.0
Japan	4156	40546	44702	30.2
Australia	6712	6413	13125	8.9
Germany	4603	1481	8084	4.1
Canada	1140	4162	5302	3.7
United Kingdom	552	1814	2366	1.6
Others	2481	13090	15571	10.5
Total	33644	114171	147815	100%
% to Total	20.6%	79.4%	100%	

migration can be seen in the shift of the profile of land-based workers from an overwhelming majority, being male, to an increasing proportion (60 percent in 1994) of newly hired workers, being female (Go 1998, Abrera-Mangahas 1998).

On the family level, Filipinas are socialized to prepare themselves for marriage and building a family. The family is the "core unit of Filipino kinship system," where the individual is first socialized. It provides the person with "the personal security he cannot obtain elsewhere" such that "all personal consideration comes second to those of the family" (Jocano 1999, 85–86). Thus, to improve the lot of one's family, a Filipina would go to the extent of marrying a foreigner she has hardly met. To complement this external pressure to marry, there is also the belief that marrying a foreigner is "added value."

In the early 1970s, the mail-order marriage business was very lucrative. Through travel bureaus, pen pal clubs and individual homes, some foreigners and Filipino entrepreneurs enticed many Filipinos to find a foreigner husband (Samonte and Carlota 1989).

On an individual level, what are the reasons for marrying foreigners? Data from studies have shown that the main reasons Filipinas give are (1) for love, (2) to improve their economic situation, (3) the belief that children who have fair skin and light-colored hair and eyes are beautiful, (4) the prestige attached to going/living abroad, (5) the desire to petition for their family in the future, (6) the pressure to get married as this is the ultimate goal of many women, and (7) disappointment with Filipino boyfriend. For

those who resort to the mail-order marriage bureaus, this may be seen as a last resort. They believe that only a foreigner would accept someone who has been rejected, jilted, left behind by one's partner, or is a nonvirgin.

The foreign men have two major reasons: (1) dissatisfaction with their past marriage (or relationship with western women who are viewed as relatively independent, aggressive and assertive in contrast to the Filipina who is believed to be "affectionate, submissive, loyal and devoted, gentle, eager to serve, with a strong sense of family" (*Asiaweek*, April 1983); and (2) difficulty in finding a partner in their own country. In Japan, there are many remote or mountainous areas where the Japanese women have left and moved to the cities. The men are thus forced to find spouses from such countries as China, Korea, and the Philippines.

PROFILE OF FIANCEES AND SPOUSES

Data from the CFO between 1989–1997 provide us with a profile of Filipinos marrying foreign nationals. By major destination, the top countries are the US (41.0 percent), Japan (30.2 percent), Australia (8.9 percent), Germany (4.1 percent), Canada (3.7 percent) and the UK (1.6 percent). The rest consist of other destinations (10.5 percent) (see table 1). Most are female (91.3 percent); majority are from three major areas: Metro Manila (46.1 percent), Central Luzon (14.2 percent) and Southern Luzon (12 percent). They comprise 72 percent of the group. On the average, the Filipina fiancee/spouse is 29 years old while the foreigner husband is 10 years older than she. Prior to marriage, 91.8 percent of the Filipinas were single/never married while only 57.2 percent of their partners were single/never married. About one-third of foreign partners (32.8 percent) were either divorced or separated.

Most of the Filipinos were Catholic, educated, employed as service, clerical or sales personnel. The most common ways by which they meet are through personal introduction, at one's place of work, as a pen pal referred by a relative. In 1999, there were 127 who met their partners online. On the average, the couples had known each other for 18 months. As far as the extent of knowledge of the Filipina about the host country, it is a cause for concern that only 30.7 percent say their knowledge is sufficient and 26.4 percent have no knowledge at all. Although most plan on being a housewife (44.7 percent), there are those who plan on "sending financial support to the family" (21.8 percent) and "petition family members" (12.2 percent), decisions which usually are a source of conflict in cross-cultural marriages.

These Filipinas were asked about the perceived reasons why foreigners would marry Filipinos and answers included (1) love, (2) personal attributes, (3) exemplary domestic service, and (4) encouraged by friends.

Now how do Filipinas fare in Japan?

ADJUSTMENT AND ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES

There are two levels of acculturation. D.T. Graves (1967, 271–72, as cited in Berry and Sam 1997) coined the term *psychological acculturation* to "refer to the changes that an individual experiences as a result of being in contact with other cultures and as a result of participating in the process of acculturation that his culture or ethnic group is undergoing." This should be differentiated from group-level acculturation which refers to change in the culture of the group. This distinction is important because "not all individuals participate to the same extent in the general acculturation being experienced by their group" (Berry and Sam 1997, 294).

Using the model of types of acculturating groups (see fig. 1), Filipinas marrying Japanese may be classified as voluntary migrants who have chosen Japan as their new home. Although they started as temporary migrants, perhaps as entertainers or even as students, they have chosen to be permanent migrants by virtue of their marriage to a Japanese.

Figure 1. Types of Acculturating Groups

Mobility	Voluntariness of Contact	
Sedentary	Voluntary	Involuntary
	Ethnocultural groups	Indigenous peoples
Migrant		
Permanent	Immigrants	Refugees
Temporary	Sojourners	Asylum seekers

There are two issues involving acculturation strategies. These are *cultural maintenance* (to what extent are cultural identity and characteristics considered important by individuals and their maintenance strived for), and *contact and participation* (to what extent should individuals become involved in other cultural groups, or remain primarily among themselves) (Berry 1970).

When Filipinas marry Japanese, how important is the maintenance of their Filipino identity? How important is it that they become accepted by the host culture?

Using the two issues stated above, there are possible acculturation strategies. When individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and try to interact as much as possible with other cultures, in all likelihood they will choose the assimilation strategy. However, if individuals from the nondominant group hold on to their original culture and avoid interaction with others, the separation strategy is chosen. When some degree of cultural integrity is maintained simultaneous to the individual seeking to participate in the larger social network of a multicultural society, there is integration. Lastly, when there is little interest or possibility in cultural maintenance and little interest in having relations with others, then marginalization is defined.

Filipina wives in Japan choose different acculturation strategies. A number, particularly those in far-flung areas, opt to be assimilated. In many instances, their husbands do not allow them to associate with other Filipinas. Neither are they allowed to practice their religion. Their circle of acquaintance is focused on the Japanese community. One does not usually see a separationist, especially if she is living with her in-laws. Others, however, after allowing the pendulum to swing from one extreme to the other choose the middle ground and try to integrate both cultures.

Many of the Filipinas go through three phases, from the initial culture shock where they really feel their "foreign-ness" to the third phase where they are functional in the new culture and come to terms with both cultures (Samonte 1994). During the first phase, which I have termed as "*feel na feel na gaijin*" (I really feel like a foreigner), the Filipinas encounter a host of problems that have to do with language, role expectations, conflict between Philippine and Japanese customs and values, management of finances, one's identity, work possibilities, religion, discrimination and stereotypes and human relationships.

Kasuga (1991) lists the following problems encountered by Filipinas living in Tamagata. These are language problems, limited socialization with co-Filipinos or non family members, communication, particularly the use of the telephone for overseas calls, inability to practice one's religion, management of finances (which is usually done by the mother-in-law), differences in child-rearing practices, lack of moral support from the husband,

differences in communication style. The most critical of these is the difficulty with the Japanese language.

In a study done by Sasagawa et al. (n.d.) on Japanese literacy of Filipina and Korean brides in Niigata and Yamagata, of the 53 Filipinas, majority (66 percent) were dependent on their husband or family member to discuss with the doctor. Almost all (96 percent) depended on their husband to write for them the necessary papers. Out of 35 Filipinas married to Japanese who were studied by Takahashi (1998), it was found that though they could all speak Japanese, only two said they could write in Katakana and Hiragana and a few Kanji (Chinese characters).

The second phase which I call "*Nihonjinpoi*" (appearing like a Japanese) is characterized by greater facility with the language, management of finances, self-confidence and more Japanese behavior. Despite a better command of the Japanese language compared to their first few years, they still tend to code-switch. For example, an excerpt from a conversation shows the mixing of English, Japanese and Filipino words in a statement (Takahashi 1998, 85–86):

> Ini-encourage nga nila ako. Gusto ko ngang mag-*yamero* (stop) sa *kaisha* (company) namin. Mas mataas daw ang salary doon sa *kaisha* nila. Pero *sukoshi* (a little) lang naman ang pagkakaiba...*i-shoshokai* (introduce) daw nila ako doon. Pero kung mag-quit naman ako, nakakahiya kay *sacho* (Boss), super-bait kasi niya sa akin. Warui (bad) naman, di ba? Ang hirap maghanap ng reason. Kung ikaw ang nasa situation ko, anong gagawin mo? Musukashi (difficult), di ba?
>
> They are encouraging me. They want me to quit my company. They say the salary is higher in their company. But there's only a slight difference...they say they will introduce me (there). But if I quit I will be embarrassed to (face) my boss, because he's very kind to me. It would be bad, wouldn't it? It's very difficult to find a reason. If you were in my situation, what would you do? It's difficult, isn't it?

Their identity is "hambun-hambun" (half-half). As Taft (1985, 347) has noted, cultural competence acts as a mediator between identification and acculturation. And "cultural competence is usually measured by tests of

linguistic ability since this is the most obvious representation of it." These Filipinas acquire the sociocultural skills and language competence which help them negotiate the cultural avenues with greater ease, giving them confidence and bolster their self-esteem. This results in their being able to claim that they are half-Japanese.

More and more Japanese words are being integrated in daily conversations of Filipinos. A study by Que (2000) of Filipino newspapers and magazines published in Japan showed a total of 695 (421 of which were different) Japanese words. The top ten most frequently used words were: *Nihongo* (Japanese language), *kanji* (Chinese character), *gambaru* (do one's best), *gaijin* (foreigner), *yakuza* (Japanese gangster), *ijime* (bullying), *japayuki* (lit. "going to Japan," used for entertainers), *karaoke, kimono* (Japanese ladies' dress), and *nikkeijin* (of Japanese descent). These indicate what are salient in the lives of Filipinos in Japan: concerns about the Japanese language, about having to do one's best in a foreign country since one is a foreigner, awareness about one's "outsider" status and one's children."

The third and last phase, "*Jibun no Seikatsu*" (My own world) is an integration of both cultures, living up to the expectations of her husband's culture and teaching members of the Japanese community about the Philippines. She is involved in activities with Japanese housewives but also socializes with her Filipino friends. Although she performs Buddhist rituals, she also makes sure she follows Catholic traditions such as having her child baptized. She accepts certain realities, such as the unwillingness of some Japanese to accept foreigners. She makes the most of the situation.

Another challenge they face is having to "differentiate themselves from the stereotypes and negative images that are primarily framed by Japan's gender ideology" (Suzuki n.d.). They have to counter the Filipina image portrayed in the media which emphasizes their poverty and pitiable state such that they are forced to work in the sex trade in order to support themselves and their families. Filipinas in the third stage exert efforts to show the better side of Filipino culture by teaching community members various aspects of Filipino culture through cooking lessons, cultural presentations and the practice of certain traditions.

It should be noted, however, that not all Filipinas get to the third stage. This is the ultimate challenge, to integrate the two cultures by getting the best of both words.

Japanese Husband

The Japanese husband also meets considerable challenges, particularly since he is caught between the expectations of his society and the fact that he has defied the norms by marrying out of his circle. He has married a gaijin.

Acculturation, for him, however, is an option. Japanese husbands living in Japan may choose to completely block off the culture of his wife and insist only on the Japanese culture in their home. He may choose to speak only Japanese and not learn English, much less Filipino. He may choose not to eat Filipino food or observe Christmas or other Christian celebrations (Samonte 1986). Documentation of experiences shows that this pattern is usually the case. There are exceptions, however, particularly husbands who are more western-oriented or less bound by the norms of their society. This is easier on those who are not *chonan* (first-born male) than those who must carry their lineage. Husbands who are more willing to give the Filipino culture a place in their family and home endear themselves to their wives and their wives' families. They are even open to retiring in the Philippines (Samonte 1992). The relationship then becomes a mutually satisfying learning experience. Satake (2000) calls these husbands as "mabait" husbands who are more cross-culturally minded who dare defy the traditional Japanese norms and values. They question the patriarchal norm in Japan.

Japanese-Filipino Children

Whether they live in Japan or in the Philippines, Japanese-Filipino children must bear with the ostracism and prejudice of the larger society. In Japan, they are called "hafu" while in the Philippines, they are derogatorily referred to as "Hapon." In Japan, they are questioned because their mother does not speak Japanese fluently. In the Philippines, particularly the abandoned Japanese-Filipino children, they are asked about their absentee father or are teased about their being Japanese because of their Japanese names and features. Moreover, they are associated with Japanese cruelty during World War II. To aggravate the situation, those who are abandoned have to cope with their being poor, which relegates them to the lower ranks of society and the stigma of being children of former Japayuki.

The Japanese-Filipino children living in Japan usually choose the assimilation strategy. They are really more Japanese rather than a "combination." They, particularly those who are already of school age, speak Japanese fluently, observe Japanese traditions (like *shichigosan*), and eat Japanese food. Initially, they will speak some English but as they grow

older, they avoid speaking in English lest they be identified as gaijin. They have a strong need to belong.

On the other hand, the Japanese-Filipino children living in the Philippines are more Filipino than a "combination" of both cultures. They speak the language of their mother (be this Filipino or another Philippine language), observe Filipino customs and practices and eat Filipino food. Although they have some exposure to Japanese culture, for those who have not set foot in Japan, their Japanese heritage is as alien to them as it is to any ordinary Filipino.

There are times when these Japanese-Filipino children vacillate between the two cultures as in the case of some abandoned children who are now trying to gain recognition as Japanese nationals. On the one hand, there are economic pressures goading their mothers to have their children gain Japanese citizenship. On the other hand, these children are quite confused about their identity. Their peers call them "Hapon" but they are not recognized by their Japanese fathers as such (Samonte 1998).[1]

Filipino mothers who deal constructively with the prejudice convince their children that they are not just half-half; rather they are double, having something more than children who are either pure Filipino or pure Japanese.

Other Japanese-Filipino children deal with attempts to marginalize them by asserting themselves and learning more about "the other half" of their identity.

THE CHALLENGE

Many psychologists and social scientists have underscored the value of cross-cultural training and multicultural education (Brislin and Horvath 1997; Collier 1989; Imahori and Lanigan 1989; Hannigan 1990). The experience of Peace Corps Volunteers in the Philippines has shown the "profound change in the thinking of many volunteers after they had experienced Filipino culture on a daily basis for many months" (Brislin and Horvath 1997, 300). As Szanton (1966 as cited in Brislin and Horvath 1997, 330) has noted, "the differences no longer implied inferiority. And to respect cultural differences meant first to understand them, which required one to take one's time, to empathize, to comprehend."

Japanese-Filipino families are in that strategic position to integrate both cultures and be interculturally effective. Although research has shown that it is often the case that they choose to assimilate and live up to the

expectations of the dominant culture, it has also shown attempts of Filipinas and their Japanese-Filipino children to blend both cultures. More research is needed, however, to identify the personality, process and other variables that would contribute to the successful integration of these cultures. The challenge to these families would be to individually synthesize both cultures and acquire the intercultural effectiveness that would make them citizens not only of their respective host countries but also of the other part of their identity.

In many societies, the family is still considered the basic unit. A society is said to be as stable as its basic unit. A society that refuses to accommodate diversity may invite unrest among those who are forced to assimilate. With the growing number of cross-cultural couples and their children it goes without saying that there are numerous adjustments that need to be made by both the bicultural families and their families and societies of origin. Each member is a part of an open system, where a change in one element would mean a change in the others. These members will have to discuss their own individual responses and work out ways by which they can help each other to handle these more effectively.

We have to develop an environment that nurtures and helps products of intercultural exchanges to integrate the best of both worlds. This calls, however, for openness, respect and flexibility, an expansion of one's social categories. Stereotype thinking, which promotes simple schemas, do more harm than good and stifle the creativity that comes from a merging of cultures. Just as the Japanese will have to go beyond equating Filipinas who go to Japan with being entertainers or prostitutes so, too, do Filipinos have to go beyond self-denigration by equating Filipinos with being *tamad* (lazy) and Japanese as being hardworking. Filipinos also need to learn to celebrate the good in themselves and at the same time accept differences. We also need to have a positive orientation towards the maintenance of pluralism.

This challenge is posed not only to Japanese-Filipino families but to the rest of us who are in contact with them. We help shape their behavior, just as their reality continues to challenge our own schemas, attitudes and behavior.

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