

FILIPINO WOMEN DOMESTICS ON AN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC
MISSION:

A MULTI METHOD, DATA-MINING STUDY

by

SANJANA RAGUDARAN

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

The City University of New York

2011

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Professor Irwin Epstein

Date

Chair of Examining Committee

Professor Michael Fabricant

Date

Executive Officer

Professor Andrea Savage

Professor Michael J. Smith

Professor Nancy Foner

Professor Ana Paulino
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

FILIPINO WOMEN DOMESTICS ON AN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC MISSION:

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By

Sanjana Ragudaran

Adviser: Irwin Epstein

This dissertation explored factors contributing towards intentions of return migration of female Filipino domestic workers. Based on available data, I also addressed the reason for migration, individuals' domestic work experiences in the United States and their connection to the homeland during their absence. This was a multi methods study with a combination of Clinical Data Mining and Secondary Analysis in which the data was made available by The Urban Justice Center and Damayan Migrant Workers Association. This study drew from 182 self-administered survey respondents, 22 individual interviews and 4 focus groups of female Filipino domestic workers. In the research, convenience, snowball and purposeful sampling as well as quantitative and qualitative analysis were employed.

Findings from the survey data revealed that over half (N=110, 63.9%) of these women migrated primarily for financial reasons, to support their families. Majority (N=132, 74.6%) entered the United States with a Tourist Visa and many (N=96, 61.5%) reported having no legal status. Their lives in the United States have been challenging as domestic work is unregulated and therefore, women had negative experiences. In addition to an unfulfilling job, women maintained minimalist lives and shared

accommodation. By doing so, 93 (65%) remitted 30% or more of their income. During their time away from home, women also spoke of the negative impact their absence has had on themselves and their loved ones.

When discussing return intentions, 99 (59.6%) women reported wanting to return. Seventeen of twenty-two (77.3%) individual interviewees and 29 (93.5%) Focus Group participants indicated that they had return intentions. Due to the multi-methods nature of this study, I did not draw my conclusions solely from the quantitative data. The qualitative data revealed that although they seemed to initially be “target” migrants, despite their return intentions many continued to work as domestic workers solely because there was a continuing need to support their families financially. The “dream” of return at retirement was echoed in qualitative data where women spoke regretfully about working until they could work no more. I conclude this study with a discussion on policy, service and future research implications.

Acknowledgements

I believe that God has placed people in my path to help me through this journey.

Thoughts about embarking on a PhD were planted in my head by, Associate Professor Carol Irizarry when I was studying at Flinders University, South Australia. Thank you Carol for planting that seed!

Upon entry into the course at the City University of New York, I thank Professor Michael Fabricant for introducing me to Laine Romero-Alston, with whom I began my volunteer work with at the Urban Justice Center.

I am truly grateful to the staff at the Urban Justice Center and Damayan Migrant Workers Association for all their support and concern they have showered on me. In addition to providing me with access to the data, they welcomed me into their community and I never felt like an outsider when in their presence. Thank you for such wonderful support!

The one factor which is important before embarking on a dissertation is choosing the right adviser. I have been truly blessed with mine and no words can express my gratitude in how Professor Irwin Epstein has helped me in accomplishing my goal. You are one of a kind!

I would also like to thank my supervisory committee, Professors Andrea Savage, Michael J. Smith, Nancy Foner and Ana Paulino for their contributions.

On a personal note, I would not be here without my parents. They have made me what I am today. Their encouraging words and continued support motivated me to complete my dissertation. Amma and Appa, thank you for all the sacrifices you have made then and even now for your children. This is the fruit of your labor!

I would not have embarked on this journey without my husband. Thanks to his zealotness and never give up attitude, I have crossed the finish line. Thank you Ragu for encouraging me to do my PhD and making me finish it.

To my boys Shreyan and Adityan, who adhered to routine, giving me the time to write. I love you both dearly!

Finally, to my family and girlfriends who cheered me on till the end. Thank you for 'hanging in there' with me.

This dissertation is dedicated to two women who have inspired me achieve in life.

In loving memory of my grandmothers,
Ammachi and Appachi

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introducing Return Migration

People everywhere often move to another country in search of a better life. Some do this with the intention of staying, others with the intention to return. Whatever their original intentions, a certain percentage of any immigrant population will eventually return to their home country. In 1885, Ernest G. Ravenstein, a geographer, wrote on the “laws” of migration in which he stated that each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current, of which return migration is a component (Moltmann, 1980). “Return Migration” refers to the movement of a person back to his/her country of origin, usually after spending at least one year in another country (Perruchoud, 2004). The return, which is either voluntary or forced also, includes repatriation. Demographic data indicates that 30% of migrants who came to the US between 1908 and 1957 ultimately returned to their home country to live (Ghosh, 2000).

Historically, governments and researchers have had a tendency to monitor migration with minimal focus on return movement. Return migration has received more attention in the last two to three decades but still remains the great unwritten chapter in the cycle of migration. In this study, I hope to contribute towards this knowledge gap by exploring the intentions of return migration of female Filipino domestic workers in New York and New Jersey.

In order to understand the context in which my study is situated, the following discussion will provide some insight regarding the Philippines as a labor exporting country. In so doing I will then address the long history the United States and the Philippines have had with regards to labor supply and demand.

Philippines, a Labor Sending Country

The Republic of the Philippines has encouraged its citizens (also referred to as Filipinos) to seek employment overseas since the mid 1970s, to ease the country's high unemployment and foreign exchange problems (O'Neil, 2004; Samonte, 2003). Although this was initially considered to be a short-term measure, labor export became a permanent policy. The 2008 Philippine Census reported that there were just over 2 million overseas Filipino workers (National Statistics Office, 2008). In his report on managing migration from The World Bank, Ruiz (2008) estimated that over 8.2 million native Filipinos work or live abroad. This number encompasses approximately a quarter of the Philippine labor force (Ruiz, 2008). As of December 2001, there were 7.4 million Filipinos overseas, of which 3.1 million were temporary workers, and 1.6 million were undocumented (IBON Facts and Figures, 2002a & 2002b).

The Philippine government was able to alleviate the high unemployment rate of about 10% in 2002 by encouraging its citizens to work overseas (IBON Facts and Figures, 2003a & 2003b). The presence of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) in the family has also been shown to help elevate families out of poverty. When comparing Filipino households, those who have long-term OFWs in the family are least likely to be

living in poverty with an incidence of poverty of 5% to 6% (Ducanes & Abella 2008). In comparison, those who did not have an OFW in the family had a poverty incidence of 32%. During the International Dialogue on Migration in 2002, the Philippine representative attending predicted that the Philippines will continue to meet labor demands overseas (Weiss, 2002). The government is heavily dependent on remittances from OFWs and this rose from US\$421 million in 1980 to an estimated US\$11.6 Billion in 2005, its biggest source of foreign exchange (Appleyard, 1989a; Hugo, 2003; Osias, 2006). This figure has constantly risen over the years and in 2007, remittances amounted to US\$17 billion or 13% of the GDP (Ruiz, 2008).

Migration from the Philippines to the United States

As a country, the Philippines has had an intense and ongoing political and economic relationship with the United States. Colonization in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and the evolution of the global economy later, have resulted in demand for different types of labor in the United States. As a labor sending country, the Philippines has attempted to meet these demands in various ways. During colonization, in the early 1900s, many Filipino laborers migrated to the United States to meet the labor demands in the sugar cane, agricultural, and fishing industries. These laborers tended to be target earners who returned once they saved sufficient amounts to live comfortably in the Philippines (The Philippine History Site). A much smaller group of Filipino scholars went to the US for further education at the expense of the colonial government. A majority of these returned home to better paying jobs and promotions during the period of colonial rule. Years later, the introduction of the US Immigration and Nationality Act in

1965, resulted in occupational migration mostly in the medical field, and the sponsorship of immediate family. Since the 1980s the trend has been for relatively educated Filipina women to work legally in the nursing profession for example, or illegally as domestic workers or entertainers (Barber, 2000).

In the Philippine migration story, the outflow has become increasingly feminized due the need for domestic help in developed nations such as the United States, Europe and parts of Asia (IBON Facts and Figures, 2002b; Parrenas, 2001a; Samonte, 2003). IBON, a data bank and research center, reported that in 1975, only 12% of OFWs were women when compared to 47% in 1987. Asis (2003) notes that female Filipino migrants began outnumbering their male counterparts after 1992.

The need to study Return Migration

Sending governments such as the Philippines have benefited substantially from migration in closing trade gaps and lowering unemployment rates. However, some scholars argue that real gains should be qualified by the non-economic costs including that of social impacts (Appleyard, 1989a). Return migration can incur social and political costs for governments as well. Governments need to know the characteristics of returning migrants, as this has implications for policies and services that need to be established to facilitate their reintegration (Ammassari & Black, 2001; ESCAP Secretariat, 1986; Gendt, 1977; Ghosh, 2000). At times, the Philippine government has acknowledged the social costs of this mass exodus of educated individuals and that it is seeking for solutions to these problems (Osias, 2006). As a result, there are multiple

programs established by the Philippine government and private entities to help returnees. However, the success of these programs have been debatable as many returnees have not been able to save sufficient funds while abroad, end up unemployed upon their return and therefore, have to migrate once again (Friedman & Ahmed, 2008). It is not unusual for Filipino Overseas Contract Workers to extend their contract after the two year period as they inform that even though returning would mean reuniting with their families, they also have to come to terms with poverty which is why they left in the first place (Parrenas, 2001a). Some women also bring their daughters to Italy for example, to take over their jobs upon their retirement (Ochi, 2005).

Realistic policy formation is constrained, when only aggregate based data is available on returnees. The increasing mobility of people in trade and investment, and short term movements related to increasing economic globalization calls for the study of the characteristics of returnees (Ghosh, 2000). This is especially important in the Filipino context since people who leave tend to be relatively better educated. There can also be significant dividends to the home country if their citizens return, especially if they are highly skilled in areas of demand in the home country (Olesen, 2002). The sharp increase in the number of irregular or undocumented migrants is another factor that governments need to address. All these issues have policy implications but without adequate research on return migration, policy formulation is based on guess work.

Return Migration and Social Work

Return migration has been studied by researchers from different fields including Economics, Geography, Anthropology, History, Demography and Sociology (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000). Predictably, each of these specializations has primarily concentrated on key concepts and prevailing theories in their respective fields. In addition, many studies only account for the return migration of men, and the feminine perspective needs to be developed further. It is important for social workers to provide a different perspective as this phenomenon is beyond the economies of scale. Many psycho-social problems arise during migration, and the time spent abroad has a profound impact on the individual, the family and on the return movement. Social work research can help fill these gaps in knowledge by contributing towards macro and micro level understanding. In his overview on return migration, Guzzetta (2004) highlights that social workers need to attend to the phenomenon of return migration in order to be able to provide appropriate social services to those affected by it. The focus of my dissertation is on the predictors and indicators of the intentions of return migration among female Filipino domestic workers working and living in New York and New Jersey.

Domestic Work

What is domestic work? It is primarily “women’s work” that takes place in the privacy of the home and includes a multitude of tasks, most commonly cleaning, cooking, and caring for children and or the elderly. Often, these different tasks need to be carried out simultaneously by the same person. Domestic tasks such as these are not always classified as “work” because it is assumed women do them simply out of love for their families (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001). In addition, it is difficult to classify domestic work as a form of employment as “employment does not involve emotions and demonstrations of affective preference” (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001, p.10). Regardless of its lack of social and economic status, domestic work requires emotional, intellectual effort and skill in addition to substantial physical labor (Anderson, 2001 & 2000). Even when carried out by mothers and wives this type of labor is often unappreciated and, ironically even less so when it is paid for.

Many countries such as Hong Kong, Singapore, and the Middle Eastern nations import significant numbers of domestic workers from countries such as the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Indonesia through recruitment agencies and brokers (www.wikipedia.org). The receiving governments generally do not want such laborers to stay permanently in the country and therefore, domestic workers are on contract for a pre-determined period of time and must return home upon completion of the contract or extend their contract depending on needs basis. In the United States, domestic work is typically carried out by Caribbean and Latin American women (Rollins, 1985). However, it is difficult to quantify the number of domestic workers due to the fact that

many are paid ‘off the books’, are probably undocumented and are part of an “underground economy”.

My Study

In this combined “data-mining” and secondary analysis dissertation (Epstein, 2010), available quantitative and qualitative data are used to explore the intentions of return migration of a population of female Filipino domestic workers in the New York and New Jersey area. The data were collected and made available for study by the Damayan Migrant Workers Association, a Filipino advocacy group based in New York City. The resulting analysis could contribute towards their efforts to educate Filipino domestic workers, and provide information with respect to return migration. In addition, the information will help in their advocacy for better working conditions and wages in the United States, and also to advocate for policy changes in the Philippines. More generally, it is hoped that the study findings will contribute to our knowledge and theory about the phenomenon of return migration.

In Chapter two, I will discuss the theories behind migration of which return migration is a subset. There are *macro*, *meso* and *micro* level theories which help to provide insight into the phenomenon of return migration. Before explicating theories of return migration, four frameworks of this phenomenon will be discussed. Chapter three will encompass the review of available literature on return migration. Here, I attempt to list the varying reasons for individuals’ return home based on previous studies. In the fourth chapter, I describe the methodology for my study. I address the use of data-mining

and secondary analysis, introduce the two agencies involved in collecting the data, explain how the data were collected, and outline this exploratory analysis. Chapter five concentrates on the findings and analysis of the data which is followed by the final chapter in which I provide a summary of the findings, discuss policy implications and conclude with future research possibilities on this topic.

CHAPTER 2: THEORY AND FRAMEWORK OF RETURN MIGRATION

Scholars in the field proffer four major frameworks of return migration. These will be introduced because no one concept sufficiently describes or explains the essence of return migration. In this chapter, I will first address the frameworks of return migration. This will be followed by a discussion of the available theories about return migration.

Frameworks of Return

The first framework considers the levels of economic development of the countries linked by migration and return (Ghosh, 2000). Within this model, the first category is the *return or repatriation of migrants from less-developed countries*, often colonies or ex-colonies, to *highly-developed countries* often in a colonial metropolis. For example, once India gained independence from the United Kingdom, the British citizens who were working as government employees in major Indian cities returned to the United Kingdom. The second is the *return of labor migrants from the developed industrial countries to their less- developed home countries*. This includes Filipinos returning from North America, and Europe. The third type of *return movement is between countries of approximately equal economic status*, such as Britians returning from Australia.

A second perspective on return is based on temporal classifications where the length of time spent back in the home country has a relationship to these return periods, and types of migration that are involved with the return moves (Ghosh, 2000; King, 1986). The first category within this concept is *occasional returns* which are short-term,

and or periodic in nature, and include visiting relatives, attending family events, and a holiday. *Seasonal returns*, a second category, are related to climatic changes where jobs in agriculture, or construction, for example are available only during warmer months. The third category is *temporary returns* wherein the migrants return to the home country for a significant period, but have intentions to re-emigrate abroad. Finally, *permanent returnees* are those who resettle in their home countries. While these temporal types of return are based on observed behaviors, researchers have since been able to distinguish between intended behavior and the eventual migration outcome.

A third framework, initially proposed by Bovenkerk (1974), primarily concerns intent. Within this framework, the first category is *intended temporary migration with return*, known as “target migrants” who emigrate with the intention of returning, and who do in fact return. These migrants have a specific aim, with fixed plans, and their return is *predetermined* by the attainment of their migration “target” or purpose. The second category is the *intended temporary migration without return* where the migrant has definitive goals to return whenever plans were fulfilled. Migrants’ goals relate to education or the acquisition of practical skills and the desire to earn a definite some of money. However, return is put off, and for various reasons does not eventuate as originally planned. The third category is *intended permanent migration followed by return*, wherein migrants might have a change of heart, and decide to return or are forced by external factors to return. The final category is *intended permanent migration without return*.

A fourth perspective on return migration was developed by Crease (1974) who focused on the study of the return migration of Italians. This model was based on a more articulated and particularistic concept of return as it was built around the historical evolution of the migration process, and reflected the dialectical relationship between return and the acculturation of Italian migrants to American society. The *return of failure* involves migrants who fail to adapt to the host country, and thus return quickly to their homeland. The *return of conservatism* refers to migrants who remain for longer periods of time in the host country than intended. Nonetheless, their orientation has always been to their home country, with remittances and savings channeled home. They are less likely to assimilate into the host society, and their post-return behavior reinforces the values and social system of the homeland. *Return of innovation* takes place when migrants remain in the host country beyond their targeted period, but increasingly feel more and more assimilated into the host society. However, with time they realize that their acculturation can never be complete, and the return takes place. This is referred to as the return of *innovation* as they take with them new ideas, values and ambitions to their home country. Finally the *return of retirement* occurs when migrants reach the end of their working lives and return home to retire.

The foregoing frameworks to study return migration reflect the complexity of the process. Migration and return migration are based on different causes and effects, and theories of migration are helpful in addressing these relationships.

Linear Theories of Return Migration

As mentioned earlier, return migration is part of the migration process which is initiated by various linear cause and effect theories of return migration. I will place return migration in the realm of migration theory, as it is a subset of more general theories of migration. There are multiple causal theories on migration which attempt to provide theoretical understandings for return and these can be grouped into macro, meso and micro level theories (Ammassari & Black, 2001; Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1998). *Macro* theory and empirical research have focused primarily on migration flows, their volume, direction, composition and persistence. *Meso* level theories include the family, kinship, and other social or community clusters or networks that help to influence the migrant's decision to move, and to return. *Micro* level analyses have focused on the normative and psycho-social factors that determine the behaviors of individuals, and influence their decision making. None of these theories are exhaustive but rather are complementary, and help to provide a complex, multi-layered holistic picture of the migration and return migration process.

Macro Level Theories

Macro level theories tend to examine structural conditions, such as international economics, political relations of integration, and dependency of developing countries on industrialized ones, that shape migration flows (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Kubat, 1984). The Neoclassical Economic Theory has roots in models originally developed to explain internal labor migration in the process of economic development (Massey, Arango, Hugo, et al. 1998). A country with a large supply of labor relative to the amount of capital

available will have a low equilibrium market wage. The resulting differential in wages causes workers from low-wage or labor-surplus countries to move to high-wage or labor-scarce countries. Though this basic framework still holds, there are other economic and labor related macro-level theories that help to explain the complexity of the situation today.

Trade, for example, has encouraged the evolution of global markets, where the demand for different types of labor is significantly influenced by global forces (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999). Segmented Labor Market Theory (Massey, Arango, Hugo, et al. 1998; Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, & Taylor, 1994) views immigration as being demand driven, and being built into the economic structure of advanced industrialized nations. Modern capitalist societies tend to have a bifurcated labor market, thus creating a primary sector that produces jobs with secure tenure, high pay, excellent benefits, and good working conditions, and a secondary sector typified by instability, low pay, limited benefits, and unpleasant and even hazardous working conditions. Employers recruit immigrants to fill the secondary sector positions which have come to be rejected by natives. Bales (1999) states that this is a type of “modern slavery” where people who are used as such are treated as disposable and replaced. Domestic work would fall into this category as it remains an unprotected service sector.

The World Systems Theory (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Massey, Arango, Hugo, et al. 1998) helps in understanding the situation of the home country by arguing that international migration follows directly from the globalization of the world economy. As capitalism expands out from the developed countries, non capitalist patterns of the developing world are disrupted and transformed. In the process of market transformation, people are displaced from their livelihoods creating an uprooted and potentially mobilized population prone to migration. Accordingly, migrants send home remittances and the developing countries earn valuable foreign exchange through workers' remittances in addition to alleviating structural imbalances in their labor markets (Faini, De Melo & Zimmermann, 1999). This pattern is indeed directed by a few global economies looking for labor intensive operations in order to maximize production. The globalization of production puts downward pressure on wages, working conditions, and employment levels among workers with limited skills and education.

Based on these macro-level labor economic theories, return migration might take place when the home country's economy improves, and better paying jobs become available or when there is a downturn in economies of host countries. Thus, while migrants have returned when home economies have improved, and local opportunities increased, (Kubat, 1984; Klinthall, 2003; Patterson, 1968), these changes do not exclusively explain return migration. In addition, some people do return to their home country even when unfavorable wage differentials persist (Bratsberg, 1990; Gmelch & Gmelch, 1995). The research literature that follows this theoretical discussion will

illustrate that though economic theories which tend towards macro levels of explanation are useful, they do not provide a complete description or causality of return migration.

Meso Level Theories

At the meso level, local stratification systems, and culture can indicate which groups would tend to migrate and subsequently, return migration will be affected by the type of socio-economic organization in a particular area, depending on the constraints, and opportunities (Guarnizo, 2003; Kubat, 1984). The Social Capital Theory and the Migration Networks Theory refer to access to membership in networks and social institutions, which are then converted into other forms of capital to improve or maintain individuals' positions in society. Here, the development of networks is important, as social relationships across distances create social ties which maintain migration over time (Boyd, 1989; Cassarino, 2004; Lotharweiss, 2003).

A cumulative theory of causation begins with the individual's migratory experience, and leads to other mechanisms of self-perpetuation at the social structural level, one of which is network formation (Massey, Arango, Hugo, et al. 1998). Migrants are inevitably linked to non-migrants through social ties. Non-migrants draw on these relationships to gain access to employment abroad, reducing the costs and risks of migration. In addition, every household engaged in international labor not only improves its absolute income, but also its income relative to others in the community. This changes the relative deprivation experienced by others which in turn affects the propensity to migrate. The presence of the different networks reduces the costs of the

overall migration process (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Guarnizo, 2003; Fawcett, 1989). It stimulates the intent to migrate, provides access to jobs abroad, and can affect the level of assimilation in the host country. Networks have been linked to assimilation in the host country (Lindstrom, 1996; Orrenius, 1999), and have also impacted the return experience (Gmelch & Gmelch, 1995; Hill & Tiit, 2000; King, 1988).

In addition to community-based networks, Boyd (1989) and Fawcett (1989), introduce a different type of linkage in the migration system which relates to government regulation of sending and destination countries. Sending countries such as the Philippines depend on labor export to alleviate structural imbalances in their own labor markets and the local economy (Faini, De Melo & Zimmermann, 1999). Immigration policies of host countries have direct consequences for how easy or difficult it is to enter these countries. In addition, they also affect the number of immigrants who can enter host countries unlawfully (Djajic, 2001; Massey, 1999).

Micro Level Theories

At the micro level, the individual not only operates within a socio-cultural framework, but also within the constraints of larger economic and political factors in both sending and receiving societies. Personal and subjective aspects of decision-making include motivations, aspirations, expectations, and values (Ammassari & Black, 2001). The micro economic model of individual choice corresponds to the neoclassical economic model where the individual decides to move to where they can be most productive and earn the highest wages (Massey, Arango, Hugo, et al. 1998). According

to this theory, the individual measures the psychological costs in addition to the material costs of traveling, maintenance while looking for a job and effort in learning a new culture, language and way of life, versus the benefits which are mostly monetary. The experience in the host country, and the extent of ongoing involvement maintained to the home country influence the propensity to return (Ammassari & Black, 2001). The skill level of migrants is another factor influencing the propensity to migrate (Wyman, 1993).

Remarkably, most of the theories fail to address gender differences except when discussing female labor demands. With globalization and the push to maximize labor production, the structured activities in society are significantly gendered. The new mobile international labor force is increasingly female (Zlotnik, 2003), and much of it is unregulated (Robinson, 2000). Men and women take on different tasks in the domestic sphere and these form the basis for the social construction of gender in which women are excluded from certain activities and confined to others (Boyd, 1989; Lindio-McGovern, 2003; Pettman, 1998). Gender differences in the division of labor favor migration of women over men for certain types of work. Women are socially constructed as naturally patient, persevering, and good with their hands and assumed to be experienced in “women’s work”. Thus they are perceived as good at working in assembly line sewing and domestic work (Tolentino, 1996). Consequently, domestic work is primarily considered the province of women, stemming from patriarchy and prevailing assumptions about social reproduction (Anderson, 2000; Cox & Watt, 2002).

Although the involvement of migrant women in the labor force is growing statistically, they have been seriously underrepresented in studies of return migration flows (UN Secretariat, 1986). Based on socially structured divisions in labor, gender selectivity in the migration process inevitably leads men and women to have different migration experiences, and subsequently different impacts on the return move (Ammassari & Black, 2001; Chant, 1992; Morokvasic, 1984). At the same time, the migration experience can give some women a new sense of control and freedom, and returning could mean having to give up some of these advantages (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Cohen, 2000; Constable, 1999; Parrenas, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c). Therefore, in addition to addressing the feminization of the certain types of labor, there is a pressing need to research issues around the migration process, and what return migration means to women.

No one theory is sufficient in explaining the migration process, and all need to be more inclusive in attending to gender differences. The next chapter will provide an overview of the research literature available on return migration.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW ON RETURN MIGRATION

There are numerous reasons why men and women return to their respective home countries after spending time abroad. In this chapter I will discuss the findings on this topic offered by various empirical research studies conducted on this subject. As my study will focus on return migration from the United States to the Philippines, the studies I have included are limited to international return migration. I have excluded research on seasonal workers and those on contract since the primary and pre-determined reason for their return would be the end of the contract or job completion.

Economic Related Reasons

Economic Conditions in Host Country

People have often migrated for economic reasons (Callea, 1986; Gmelch, 1983, 1980; NIDI/EUROSTAT, 2001; Orrenius, 1999). In their analysis about how immigrants fare during economic boom and recession (business cycle) in the United States, Orrenius and Zavodny (2009) highlighted that immigrants experienced greater volatility in their employment when compared to the natives. When the economy was booming in the 1990s, immigrants were able to increase their employment opportunities and new immigrants also arrived for work purposes. However, during the economic downturn, the unemployment rate was more than 8 percent when compared with 6 percent of natives in 1994. Other researchers revealed that unfavorable economic conditions in the host country such as a recession, and the resulting layoffs and unemployment can trigger return migration (Bovenkerk, 1974; Gendt, 1977; Gmelch, 1980; King, 1988, 1986). Mixed patterns were noted in the return migration of people during the global economic

recession in 1973. Callea (1986) reported that in the Federal Republic of Germany, there were 190, 000 Spanish workers in 1973 and only 92, 500 in 1978. In Switzerland, and France the figures were 134, 766 and 271, 168 in 1968 respectively and these figures dropped to 49, 511 and 203, 990 in 1975. Amongst the Greeks, return migration exceeded emigration after 1973 (Robolis & Xideas, 1996). In their study, Robolis and Xideas (1996) found that Greeks were returning to two particular islands due to unemployment in the host country, Germany.

Though there generally has been strong support for return migration during the 1973 recession, Slater (1979) argued that return migration from Europe, was remarkably low during this time, as was the case during the Great Depression. Return migration did not increase in proportion to the decline in emigration. The Second World War was reportedly more effective in instigating a large-scale return movement.

Researchers found that an economic slowdown, increasing unemployment and wage changes in host countries such as Australia and Sweden have resulted in return movements to New Zealand, the United States, United Kingdom, and Germany (Glavac, 2000; Klinthall, 2003).

While economic downturn in host countries has had a tendency to trigger return movements in some situations, this has not always been the case. Kirdar (2004) found that a 10% increase in wages in Germany significantly reduced return migration to Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy and Spain. Yang (2004) reported that Filipino

migrants were less likely to return when they experienced positive exchange rate shocks during the 1997 Asian financial crisis. In addition to the economic condition of the host country, one has to also consider the economic conditions of the home country as job opportunities and an improvement in wages at home can affect return migration.

Economic Conditions in Home Country

Economic opportunity in the home country is a “pull factor” for migrants to return. In a study of migrants from 70 different countries, Bratsberg (1990) found that return migration from the United States increased with the rise in per-capita Growth National Product of the home country. Though the dominant factor in returning for Greek migrants during the 1970-1988 periods was unemployment in Germany, those returning to the island of Rhodes considered the economic growth there, especially in the tourism sector, as an opportunity for future employment (Robolis & Xideas, 1996). Lindstrom (1996) revealed that Mexican migrants from economically dynamic communities had a stronger incentive to remain in the United States for a longer period in order to accumulate savings, and returned to utilize these savings in diverse long-term investment opportunities. Return migration due to improving economic opportunities in the home country were also common reasons among Greeks and Jamaicans who were relatively successful in their migration to the Sweden and United Kingdom respectively (Klinthall, 2003; Patterson, 1968).

Studies have also established that migrants from wealthier countries are more likely to return. For example, Glavac (2000) highlighted that migrants from the United States, United Kingdom, and New Zealand were more likely to return from Australia when compared to migrants from Hong Kong, Vietnam, the former Yugoslavia, and South Africa. Alternatively, in a study of return migrants from Sweden, migrants from Southern European countries such as Greece, the former Yugoslavia and Poland were less likely to return than those from high-income countries such as Germany and United States (Klinthall, 2003). In Germany, 75% of European migrants returned when compared to only 45% of non-European migrants (Kirdar, 2004). This was also the case in another study which found that when considering immigrants from less developed countries, 70 percent remained in Denmark after 10 years (Jensen & Pedersen 2007). In their study of British immigrants, Dustmann and Weiss (2007) noted that migrants from the European Union, the Americas, Australia and New Zealand were more likely to return than migrants from India and Africa. Based on the above studies, it is evident that migrants are more likely to return to more developed or richer countries.

In the case of the Philippines, economic growth has averaged only 4.5% since President Arroyo took office in 2001, and barely grew by 1% in 2009. There is an urgent need to improve employment opportunities as the unemployment rate was estimated to be 7.5% in 2009 (CIA-The World Factbook). With respect to poverty, approximately 32.9% of the population lived below the poverty line according to 2006 estimates (CIA-The World Factbook). In his analysis of the Philippine economy, Plummer (2004) reports “Across the country, there is a huge gulf between the rich and poor, with the wealthiest

10% of the population earning more than 20 times as much as the poorest 10%”. In addition, Mohapatra and Ratha (2008) from The World Bank noted that the rising cost of living in the Philippines has had a negative impact on remittances and while the absolute value of remittances has increased over the years, it has only served the purpose of preserving the purchasing power of recipients back home.

Currently there is much talk about “The Great U-Turn” due to the global economic crisis where migrants from wealthier countries are returning home due to the economic downturn in the host countries (Barta & Millman, 2009). Although the return movement has proven fruitful for some as professional employment opportunities in China and India for example are thought to be as good when compared to the United States it is not the case with the Philippines. The current gloomy economic forecast of the Philippines would imply that Filipino men and women would continue to seek employment overseas and those who are already overseas would not consider return migration. The Philippine Census data revealed that the number of Overseas Filipino Workers continued to rise: there were 2 million men and women working abroad in 2008 when compared to 1.03 million in 2001. The Migrant Focus Magazine (2000a, 2001) highlighted that Filipino women who funded the education of their children or siblings were helping them to obtain jobs abroad. Therefore, the cycle of migration seems to be never ending.

Gender Differences in Economic Motivations

Some studies that analyze gender differences have found variation in return migration that relate to economic factors. Amongst Italian returnees, men gave more prominence to economic reasons while women gave more weight to family reasons for return (King, 1988). When considering Barbadians, Irish and Newfoundlander returnees, men were more likely to consider setting up a business in the homeland and becoming self-employed when considering the return move from the United Kingdom, United States or Canada (Gmelch & Gmelch, 1995). However, Constant and Massey (2003) found that gender differences did not exist among German guest workers from Italy, Greece, Spain, the former Yugoslavia or Turkey, with regards to the probability of return migration, and that the primary factor for both men and women was employment. The majority of the studies of return migration have focused on the movement of men. There is a need to include and conduct more research on gender differences in decisions to return.

Remittance

The magnitude and use of remittances provides the monetary litmus test of benefits from labor migration (Appleyard, 1989a). According to the World Bank, remittances at the global level in the year 2008 amounted to US\$328 billion, which was 15% (US\$281 billion) more than the previous year (Ratha, Mohapatra & Silwal, 2009). The Philippines was the top fourth recipient, receiving US\$18.6 billion after India, China and Mexico. However, remittance flows to Latin America and the Caribbean region have decreased since the last quarter of 2008 in view of the economic crisis. In contrast,

remittance to South Asia and East Asia have remained positive. Ratha, Mohapatra and Silwal (2009) added that although remittance flows from the United States have slowed, it remains positive from the Gulf countries. The Bangko Sentral ng Philippines (BSP) for example, reported a 2.9% growth in remittance in the first half of 2009 (Business World Online, 2009). Analysts added that it was because of OFWs who were usually employed in resilient industries. The forecast for remittance flows to developing countries has been lowered by 7% in view of the current financial crisis, and a recovery is predicted in 2010 and 2011(Ratha, Mohapatra & Silwal, 2009). Many governments depend heavily on remittances to boost the local economy, or to relieve trade deficits and foreign debt (Bouhga-Hagbe, 2004; Gammeltoft, 2002; Hugo, 2003). In desperately poor countries such as the Philippines however, a 50% increase in remittances between 2004 and 2007 has only helped in preserving the purchasing power of recipients (Mohapatra & Ratha, 2008). Remittances may also be unrecorded in order to evade taxation. In Bangladesh, for example, about 40% of remittances were sent through illegal channels (Hugo, 2003). Though some do violate tax laws, migrants send money home for altruistic reasons. Moreover, there are countless instances in which individuals do not like the work they do or where they do it, and yet stay on to provide a constant cash flow to their family in the home country (Burman, 2002).

Clearly, remittances are a significant element in determining return migration. Foreign workers in Germany, and Caribbean migrants in Britain, who remitted to family in their home country, were more likely to return (Byron, 1999; Clark & Drinkwater, 2001; Constant & Massey, 2002 & 2003; Davison, 1968; Merkle & Zimmermann, 1992).

Although studies have shown that remittances are a strong determinant of return migration, in her dissertation about Caribbean women and their children, Best-Cummings (2008) established that though mothers remitted while separated from their children, instead of returning, they sought ways to bring their children to live with them in New York City. Therefore, in this cases remittance were not tied to return migration.

With the increased participation of women in the international labor market, remittances should be reviewed with respect to gender disparity. No clear pattern emerges to provide evidence that women send more or less remittances home when compared to men (Taylor, 1999). Merkle and Zimmermann (1992) found that male guest workers from the former Yugoslavia, Turkey, Italy, Greece, and Spain, working in Germany remitted significantly more than females. The Philippine Census data also indicated that men remitted more than women but there were also significantly more men working overseas than women (National Statistics Office, Republic of Philippines). To be properly understood, remittances have to be compared as a percentage of the wage, cost of living in the host country, and other financial factors, before concluding if there are gender differences in remittances. In general, some studies have shown that sending remittance to the home country could lead to return migration as these individual's family members (i.e.: their dependents) are more likely to be in the home country. That attachment is the reason for sending remittances and therefore, may as well be the reason for return.

Investments / Savings

Return migration is often dependent upon how much one has invested economically as well as socially in the place of origin. Studies have shown that location-specific capital and amount of savings are key determinants of return migration (Colton, 1993; Crease, 1974; DaVanzo & Morrison, 1978; Dustmann, 1997; Galor & Stark, 1990; King, Strachan & Mortimer, 1985). Return migrants are likely to be those who have saved money, especially when they want to invest (i.e. buy property) in their home countries (Byron, 1999; Crease, 1974; Djajic & Milbourne, 1988; King, et al., 1985; Kirdar, 2004; Klinthall, 2003; Stinner, Albuquerque & Bryce-Laporte, 1982). Tongans and Samoans living in Australia with intentions to return transferred significant amounts of capital accumulation to their home country when compared with those who had no intentions of returning (Ahlburg & Brown, 1998). In a multinational study of Turkish, Moroccan, Egyptian, Ghanaian and Senegalese migrants, living in Spain and Italy, it became clear to researchers that return intentions of some hinged on accumulation of financial resources (Imhoff, 2001). The lack of financial resources meant that they had no return intentions in the near future (next 2 years). These studies clearly indicated a strong relationship between investments and savings and return migration intentions.

Where economic factors are concerned, remittances and investment and saving patterns of migrants have been shown to determine return migration. Economic depression in the host country is clearly an important reason for returning as well. Regardless, some people return home in the absence of economic depression in the host country. In such situations, the economic opportunities in the home country need to be

considered. Other studies have indicated that, though people consider economic issues, these are not usually the main factor in the return move (Gmelch, 1983; King, 1988). There are nonpecuniary benefits such as the socio-emotional benefits of going home to be with family and living in a culturally familiar territory (Shumay & Hall, 1996; Toren, 1975).

Family and Personal Reasons

For The Family

The strains of separation from family are one of the strongest reasons, and perhaps the dominant reason, for return (Callea, 1986; Casimiro, 2004; Conway, Potter & Bernard, 2009; Dashefsky & Lazerwitz, 1983; Gmelch, 1983; Hill & Tiit, 2000; King, 1986, 1988; King, Strachan & Mortimer, 1985; Kubat, 1984; Lidgard & Gilson, 2002; Reichert, 2002; Stinner, et al 1982; Toren, 1975). King (1988) found that Italian returnees from abroad cited family motives as the most common reason for return migration. Coniglio, Arcangelis and Serlenga (2005) found that an individual from Europe, America, Africa or Asia with two children in the home country was 16.8% more likely to return as compared to those who had children in the Italy. In addition this study found that the greater the size of the family in the country of origin the greater the intensity of return intentions. Other studies indicate that many return to run the family business, or the farm, or return to their real estate, and or to live in neighborhoods with certain qualities such as tranquility, scenery and neighborliness (Callea, 1986; Gmelch, 1983, 1995; Grindle, 2000; Hill & Tiit, 2000).

The needs of children, spouses, and extended family are also factors in the return move (Brown & Connell, 2004; Bryony, 2005; Callea, 1986; Conway, Potter & Bernard, 2009; Davison, 1968; Dustmann, 2003b; Maron & Connell, 2008; Wadhwa, 2009). Migrants with children were more likely than those without to return home to New Zealand from the United Kingdom and Australia and, to Tonga from multiple countries overseas in order to raise their children in the home cultural environment (Lidgard & Gilson, 2002; Maron & Connell, 2008). Greek returnees from Germany and Israeli returnees from the United States said that they wanted to educate their children in their home countries (Dikaiou, 1994; Elizur, 1973). Maron and Connell's (2008) study of Tongans found that in addition to wanting to raise their children in the Tongan environment and culture, they also had obligations towards caring for elderly parents and family members. This was also the case with many Indians and Chinese returning from the United States to India and China respectively (Wadhwa, 2009).

On the other hand, some Caribbean migrants did not return, as they preferred to educate their children in overseas countries such as the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom (Appleyard, 1989b). Likewise, Dustmann (2008) discovered that German immigrant fathers who invested in their son's education were less likely to return. Some who went abroad to obtain higher education, and married foreigners while away, were also less likely to return (Glaser, 1973). People were less likely to return if they had a spouse, children and or parent who lived overseas (Brown & Connell, 2004; Constant & Massey, 2002; Lindstrom, 1996; Stinner, et al 1982). In some cases, migrants who did not return involved their family in their decision to move (Byron, 1999;

Kim & Lee, 1979). In the Caribbean context, older female migrants decided to remain in Britain in order to help their children with their childcare issues (Byron, 1999). This strong inter-generational connection to family could be interpreted as the responsibility the grandparents have to the family in making the migration a success, even if it interferes with their own intentions to return.

In the case of the Philippines, families of migrant workers have been reported to experience some form of suffering in the absence of one or both parents. Research documents that children longed for the intimacy of the family as one unit and to be with their parents (Asis, Huang & Yeoh, 2004; Center for Women's Resources; Parrenas, 2004). Another study disclosed that children of OFWs experienced loneliness, dropped out of school, had unexpected pregnancies and other delinquent behaviors which field officers believed to be the effect of the lack of emotional and moral support (Ochi, 2005). While children of migrant fathers continued to have the same amount of care from their mothers, this was not the case with children of migrant mothers as fathers were not able to step in to the role of the absent mother (Parrenas, 2004). It is interesting to note that when Filipino children were asked about giving advice to friends about allowing parents to work overseas, only a very small minority would advise their friends to allow their mothers to migrate (Parrenas, 2001c). The Scalabrini Migration Center surveyed 709 elementary school Filipino children in 2000 and found that though children were lonely and had feelings of abandonment, they performed well and were not unruly or lazy (Parrenas, 2004). Presence of support from extended family helped in making children aware of the benefits of having a migrant parent. Studies revealed that children of

migrant parents who realized that their mothers were working hard and making sacrifices overseas were more likely to accept their absence and their efforts to sustain a relationship from a distance (Asis, et. al, 2004; Parrenas, 2004). In his statement to the United Nations, the Executive Director of Commission on Population said that “while migration of workers has satisfied many basic needs of Filipino families, we also cannot ignore the social costs attendant to migrant families as a result of prolonged separation. In some instances, separation leads to breakdown of families, the deterioration and underdevelopment of children and the development of a culture of consumerism”.

Married couples also have their share of hardships during physical separation from their partners as some were unfaithful during this time (Center for Women’s Resources). Regardless of the amount of emotional baggage that came along with the absent parent, especially an absent mother, return migration of the mother was often not possible. Economic pressures often resulted in migrant mothers staying away for very long periods of time (Parrenas, 2004). Other research indicates that some Filipino women hesitate to return as they experience gender-based liberalization overseas (i.e. contribution to household income, and participation in public life), and returning would diminish their advances (Constable, 1999; Parrenas, 2001a, 2001b).

The foregoing studies have demonstrated that return migration is not always a straightforward decision process or an individual matter. In other words, the decision to return is not always based on individual choice. Instead, it is based upon family members’ needs and circumstances where they are located as well as at home.

Return for Retirement

Retirement is part of a natural progression in the life cycle. Retired persons often return to be near family, especially after the death of a spouse, due to their own poor health or failing health of a spouse, or for financial reasons (Constant & Massey, 2003; Goulbourne, 1999; Kulu, 1998; Stoller & Longino, 2001; Waldorf, 1995; Walters, 2002). Caribbean returnees from Britain waited until retirement when they could secure their pensions (Byron, 1999; Byron & Condon, 1996). This was also the case in Germany, where non-European migrants were more likely to remain until they were eligible for a pension (Kirdar, 2004). Constant and Massey (2002) found that those who remitted money to their spouses in the former Yugoslavia, Turkey or the European Union, were more likely to return at retirement from Germany. In addition, Italians who returned from the United States at retirement felt that America was not a land for old people, and that they would be more comfortable living in Italy during the last stage of their life (Crease, 1974). However, the majority of Tongans and Samoans living in Australia, at near-retirement age or already retired, showed no intentions of returning (Ahlburg & Brown, 1998). One factor that was important but not accounted for in this study was the location of family. For emigrants, return moves were strongly tied to family, where there was a presence of extended networks which people would not have had otherwise. Thus, presence or absence of family in the home country, was a determining factor in considering return at this age. Coulon and Wolff (2005) found that migrants from other parts of Europe and Africa who decided to stay in France were motivated by the presence of children and family living there. Retired Spaniards and Italians who were living in Switzerland preferred the possibility of being Trans migrants traveling back and forth

from host country to home country, when they had social and economic resources (Bolzman, Fibbi & Vial, 2006).

Health Reasons

Ill health of the individual, or of a family member (in the home country), is another determinant in returning to the home country for some people (Callea, 1986; Dikaiou, 1994; King, 1988; Gmelch, 1980, 1983). Spaniards were more likely to return from Switzerland when compared to Italians as there was more support from the local social security system (Bolzman, Fibbi & Vial, 2006). Tongan returnees from overseas said that one of the pressing reasons for their return was to care for elderly parents and other family members (Maron & Connell, 2008). Besides sickness, some returnees also expressed the desire to return to warmer climates as they found the cold winters of the North negatively affected their health (Davison, 1968; Gmelch, 1980; Patterson, 1968).

Much previous research shows that familial situations affect return migration and that other family members are directly involved in the decision. However, future research needs to consider the situation of the female migrant specifically. Patriarchal hierarchy has meant that women are more likely to be affected by family situations and these dynamics need to be researched further.

Networks

The success of migration is dependent on social networks which are useful in obtaining information about job opportunities and settlement in the host society (Byron, 1999; Casimiro, 2004; Curran & Saguy, 2001; Orrenius, 1999). Return migrants are often those who are not successful in building their networks in the host country, and therefore, are unable to socially integrate into the host environment (Callea, 1986; Constant & Massey, 2002; Crease, 1974; Glavac, 2000; Kim & Lee, 1979; Stinner, et al 1982). Some Greek immigrants in Germany and Italian immigrants in the United States were not able to integrate in the host country as their motivation for return was nostalgia for “home” (Callea, 1986; Crease, 1974). The degree of social adjustment in the host country of the spouse, and children are important in the decision to return to the home country (Bovenkerk, 1974; Glaser, 1982). Kinship ties to experienced Mexican migrants in the United States helped facilitate the migration for new migrants in terms of obtaining jobs, reducing social isolation, thereby increasing the duration of stay (Lindstrom, 1996; Orrenius, 1999). King (1988) found that among Italian returnees, many were well networked in the host destination, where they were likely to have extended family, friends and even a job available. However, the decision to return was affected by the fact that most of their nuclear family remained in Italy.

Not all returning migrants are unsuccessful in assimilating in the host country. Knowledge about economic opportunities, and the ability to start up a business in the home country, helped with the success of the return move (ESCAP Secretariat, 1986; King, 1988). Some migrants from the United Kingdom, United States, Hong Kong, and

New Zealand living in Australia retained their ties in their homeland; they continued to integrate in the host country so that they could reap economic benefits, and returned when benefits outweighed the costs of remaining in the host country (Glavac, 2000). People also returned because they wanted to have the benefit of social networks and to live in a culturally familiar territory (Gmelch, 1983, 1995, Grindle, 2000; Kulu, 1998; Hill & Tiit, 2000; King, 1988; Shumway & Hall, 1996). The foregoing studies demonstrated in different ways how important networks were in both the integration and the return migration process.

Loyalty to Home Country

Feelings of loyalty, and patriotic commitment to the home country are mentioned as important considerations to many return migrants (Constant & Massey, 2003; Gmelch, 1980, 1983, 1995). This was the most prominent factor for many Israelis returning from overseas (Elizur, 1973; Toren, 1975, 1976). However, Toren (1976) found that less successful Israeli migrants were more likely to be motivated by patriotism to return to Israel, than successful returnees. Sentimental motives were expressed by returnees to Tonga from Australia who felt that there was no place like home where they were familiar with their surroundings and lifestyle and therefore, more relaxed (Maron & Connell, 2008).

Multiple Visits prior to return

Multiple visits to the home country can lead to an eventual return. Return visits play an important role for migrants as they use these trips to measure change in their homeland and career possibilities, and help migrants to position themselves in the wider social context (Conway, Potter & Bernard, 2009; Duval, 2001, 2004; Gmelch, 1980, 1983; Goulbourne, 1999). A study of Yemenis returning from Saudi Arabia indicated that the majority of returnees did not plan to return but ended up deciding to stay during a visit home (Colton, 1993). These returnees had no formal employment contracts, and their ties to the host country were negligible. In a study of Mexicans returning to Mexico to seek vocational rehabilitation services, many reportedly maintained regular visits to Mexico (Grimsley, Utecht & Shirley, 2003). Findings from the studies show that return visits were an indicator and a correlate of a more permanent return later on for migrants from certain countries.

Discrimination in Host Country

Researchers in various countries have established that some returnees experience extensive racial prejudice and discrimination which had driven them to return (Davison, 1968; Glaser, 1973; Gmelch, 1980). For example, Jamaican migrants in Britain, and overseas graduate students from India, Sri Lanka, Korea, Brazil and Columbia who were living in the United States, Canada or France, reported racial discrimination as a factor in return migration. Some returnees were also concerned about their own safety, and that of their families, as they felt at risk due to the level of crime and violence in the host country (Gmelch, 1983). In another study of Jamaican returnees, interviewees explained that they

had negative experiences that made them feel that they did not belong in the United Kingdom (Horst, 2007). As a result, they retained their Jamaican identity and aspired to retire in Jamaica.

Length of Stay Away from Home

Studies have provided varying explanations on relationship of length of migration, to return migration. Research found that the longer the absence from home, the less likely one was to return or intended to return (Comay, 1971; Coulon & Wolff, 2005; DaVanzo & Morrison, 1978; Gungor & Tansel, 2005; Jensen & Pedersen, 2007; Klinthall, 2003). Confounding the amount of time spent abroad is the skill level of the migrant. The level of skill for some migrants had a positive effect on the duration of migration, those who were more skilled and earned more over time were less likely to return (Stark, 1995). A study of migrants to Denmark indicates that those who lived longer in Denmark were less likely to return due to accumulated labor market experience (Jensen & Pedersen, 2007). Constant and Massey (2002) found that the longer immigrants stayed in Germany, the less the likelihood of return to the former Yugoslavia, Turkey, Spain, or Italy for those who did not remit money to the home country.

While the above studies suggest that a longer time spent abroad reduces the likelihood of return, Dustmann (1996) reports that though the average stay for German migrants was 14 years, over 50 percent reported return intentions before retirement age. The length of time in the host country also reflects the difficulty migrants had to go through to get into the country, and therefore need to maximize their stay in order to

achieve their goal of migrating (Stinner, et al. 1982). Parrenas (2001) notes that Filipino women experience great hardships in entering the United States and Italy, and therefore prolong their stay in the respective host countries to maximize economic gains.

There are multiple explanations for short stays abroad. A study of Turkish migrants in Germany indicated that the more educated and highly paid migrants were more likely to spend a shorter period of time in Germany before returning (Dustmann & Kirchkamp, 2002). Comay (1971) found that Canadian professionals who stayed in the United States for a period of two to three years used the host country as a training ground and brought their skills back to Canada. Another study found that for some migrants the presence of a working spouse helped in accumulating sufficient funds and therefore, shortened their stay in Germany (Constant and Massey, 2002). This group may be considered “target earners” who left with an intention of returning after earning a certain amount of money. A study based on returnees from United States, United Kingdom, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Vietnam, South Africa and the former Yugoslavia who stayed in Australia for a short period of time found that they were older, nonmarried, professionals and retirees (Glavac, 2000). The return of immigration failures, also took place after a shorter span of time; individuals were not able to succeed socially, economically, and or culturally in the host environment (Crease, 1974; Kim & Lee, 1979). Based on these divergent findings and rival explanations, the length of time spent abroad should not be used as a single or direct predictor for return movement.

Legal Status in the Host Country

Citizenship

Return migration is often affected by legal status in the host country. Successful migrants in Australia who had sponsored or intended to sponsor family members were significantly less likely to return to their home countries in Europe, the Middle East or Asia. (Khoo, 2003). A multi-national study of migration and return of professionals in France, Canada and the United States found that many of those who decided not to return wanted to maintain their newly acquired, residency rights or their citizenship status (Glaser, 1973). On the other hand, some identified strongly with the host country but chose not to become citizens. More research is needed in this area, but based on the available studies, citizenship in the host country does not appear to be a strong direct indicator of whether migrants will return to the home country.

Undocumented Workers

Despite more restrictive migration policies especially in the developed world, migration flows have been increasing because of economic, social and political factors elsewhere (Koser & Lutz, 1998). A considerable number of migrants are undocumented as they violate laws or legislation designed to control migration by entering without legal papers, or staying on beyond the time permitted in the host country. The US Department of Homeland Security estimated that 11.6 million unauthorized immigrants were residing in the United States as of January 2008 (Hoefler, Rytina & Baker, 2009). The Philippines had the 4th highest ranking with 300, 000 or 3 percent of the total unauthorized immigrant population in the United States as of 2008. The number of unauthorized immigrants from

the Philippines has risen by 33% between 2000 and 2009 and the current estimated number is 270, 000 (Terrazas & Batalova, 2010).

World Systems Theory explains that due to the displacement of labor in home countries, migrants seek work overseas (Cohen, 1996). At the same time, host countries have strict immigration laws to discourage permanent absorption of these labor migrants. Regardless of stricter immigration laws, many are likely to work irrespective of the type of visa with which they enter the country, and overstay due to increased costs involved in re-entering (Durand & Massey 2004; Orrenius, 1999; Stinner, et al 1982; NACLA, 1979).

Studies of Pakistanis returning from the Middle East indicated that many of them returned due to deportation and visa problems (Asian Population Studies, 1986; King, 1986). Undocumented workers were likely to stay for longer periods of time due to increased costs of border crossings, and they were less willing to undertake multiple border crossings for fear of injury or death. Similarly, Reyes and Reyes (1997) found that about 57% of undocumented Mexicans were likely to return to Mexico within 2 years, and only 26% remained in the United States for more than 10 years. Men were also more likely to be undocumented immigrants in this study. Contrary to popular belief, undocumented workers had some access to formal schooling, and had acquired modest educational credentials. The majority of them were semi-skilled to skilled workers, in urban-based occupations in their home countries (Cohen, 1996; NACLA, 1979). Undocumented workers returned primarily due to the lack of legal documentation

and owing to deportation, but other reasons existed in their decision to return and the timing of return, which require further exploration.

Many women from developing nations such as the Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and Latin America working in the United States, Europe and the Middle East are undocumented. Exploitation of these women has been well documented (Anderson, 1997, 2000; Chang, 2000; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Jureidini & Moukarbel, 2004; Mattingly, 2001; Wrigley, 1995). For example, there is a tendency for undocumented Filipino and Latino women working in the United States to be exploited as evidenced by mere wages and long working hours (Chang, 2000; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Parrenas, 2001c). Moreover, these women are unlikely to complain because they live in fear of being handed over to authorities and being deported.

Government Policies

Host Country

A prominent determinant of return is the government policies set out by host and home country respectively (Gendt, 1977). Host countries generally want foreign workers to return home rather than be absorbed into the country (Appleyard, 1992). Slater (1979) reported that the immigration policies of different European countries played an important role in whether new migrants were able to stay in addition to the labor market opportunities for migrant workers. There was a common belief that people were less likely to return or move to a different country if they received some form of government social assistance in the host country. Some provided evidence for this (Dryburgh &

Hamel, 2004), while others claimed to have found no significant variation in the receipt of government assistance and the likelihood of return migration (Regan & Olsen, 2000). Kirdar (2004) found that the effectiveness of the financial bonus offered by Germany to migrants to encourage return, depended on the purchasing power parity of the home country with Germany. A bonus of 10, 000 DM increased the rate of return migration of Turkish immigrants by 35% but only by 17% for Italian immigrants. European countries such as France, Netherlands and Switzerland introduced quota systems for foreign residents in the labor market, in addition to directly encouraging voluntary return migration to countries such as Greece, Italy, Morocco, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Tunisia and Yugoslavia (Asian Population Studies, 1986). They also implemented policies which prevent entire families from entering the country. Though the various governments have tried these policy measures, the rate of return migration has not been high. In addition, negative unintended consequences of these measures have become more visible and illegal migration to traditional labor importing countries such as to the United States has increased (Djajic, 2001). As of 2008, there were an estimated 11.6 million unauthorized immigrants living in the United States (US Department of Homeland Security). The flow of illegal immigrants to the United States takes place through the inflow from the north and south, across the land border with Canada and Mexico, and through initially legal arrivals from airports of tourists, students and others who overstay.

International organizations such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) have established bilateral ties between host and home countries which have helped to develop programs to encourage the return migration of skilled citizens (Olesen, 2002). The “brain drain” of skilled people has had an impact on developing countries. Governments have been working on bilateral agreements that help to build programs and enterprises to create jobs and hopefully encourage return migration in this process (Appleyard, 1989). However, even these policies and programs have not been so successful when individuals are not strongly motivated to return and view their employment prospects in their home countries as limited in comparison.

In light of the current economic crisis, some host countries in Europe such as Spain and the Czech Republic are providing cash benefits for unemployed migrants to return (IOM Policy Brief, 2009). Although 100,000 migrants were eligible under this scheme, less than 1,400 opted in the first few months since its introduction in November, 2008.

Home Country

With regards to return migration, government policies of the home country are relevant as well. More generally, the political situation of the home country is a variable that some return migrants consider. Before the dissolution of the USSR, Bratsberg (1990) found that people were less likely to return from the United States to a home country with a communist regime. Estonians reported that the independence of Estonia was a factor promoting return migration (Hill & Tiit, 2000). Bad governance plays a

major role in highly skilled people leaving their home country, and a change towards improved governance and improved economic circumstances increased the likelihood of return of highly skilled people (Iredale, Guo, and Rozario, 2003; Olesen, 2002). Other factors that affect return intentions are policy issues of the home country in encouraging return migration.

As stated above, the IOM has established programs in developing countries to encourage “brain gain”, the return of skilled migrants (Ammassari & Black, 2001; Olesen, 2002; Pires, 1992). The return and reintegration programs in Latin America and Africa have been somewhat successful, but achieving success has proved to be a labor intensive and costly process (Pires, 1992). Problems have arisen when there is no comprehensive system for home countries to harness the skill of returnees and therefore, re-absorption projects must be “demand oriented”.

Some European countries have provided reintegration services to meet the needs of return migrants (Gendt, 1977; Hugo, 2003). Countries such as Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain set up reintegration services to meet the needs of voluntary return migrants (Gendt, 1977). These have included employment counseling and training, services to utilize savings, and social services for the family. The Israeli government also implemented policies providing incentives for non-Jewish migrants to return home. Though these incentives may make re-integration easier, these did not impact the rate of return (Toren, 1975). Many Asian governments such as Malaysia, Taiwan, Korea, and China, have been encouraging return of skilled workers. In Malaysia, the government

was not successful in encouraging the return of migrants with its scheme of tax exemptions; out of the targeted 250, 000 skilled workers, only 104 returned (Hugo, 2003). Figures from Taiwan on the other hand indicated that about 50, 000 highly skilled expatriates returned during the period from 1985 and 1990. The economy of both countries was growing at that time, but Taiwan's economic growth was massive. While the Malaysian government offered tax exemptions in certain areas and offered permanent residence status for spouses and children, Taiwanese government vigorously advertised available jobs via overseas publications, actively recruited for Taiwan's universities, and developed a science based park. The Taiwanese government also provided "perks" such as subsidized western-style housing and commercial services, financial incentives, and provided planned infrastructure to companies willing to relocate. The more aggressive approach, higher quality of jobs, and better living situations probably made the Taiwanese program more successful. In September 2008, The World Bank concluded that financial incentives alone have not been generally successful in encouraging return of highly skilled individuals (Leipziger, 2008).

The emergence of transnational communities has promoted labor mobility and international networking (Ammassari & Black, 2001; Wickramasekara, 2002). Professional and business people who returned from Australia to Bangladesh, Vietnam, Taiwan and China indicated that the growth of transnational communities was a driving factor for their return (Iredale, et al. 2003). Indians were known to come to Silicon Valley to work in IT. However, as one reporter aptly stated, "the charm of the US is wearing off". India's own Silicon Valleys are now at the forefront of innovation and they

are attracting its shining lights back home from the US (Ahmed, 2010). It is estimated that more than 60, 000 Indian professionals returned in 2009. One could argue that this was partially due to the economic downturn in the United States during this period. While some people are enticed to return home, there are a selected number of Italian and Chinese scientists who have indicated that though they would like to return, the research environment in Italy and China respectively are not conducive for their career advancement (Bryony, 2005 & Long, 2008).

Home government policies linked to science and technology aimed at encouraging entrepreneurship, training, education and research are important. In the case of the Philippines, two individuals founded the Philippine Brain Gain Network (BGN), an online social/business network which aims to provide information for Filipinos overseas regarding opportunities available at home (Brain Gain Network). This initiative exemplifies an innovative approach that provides information on migrants' skills that are needed in the home country.

BGN aside, while some governments have been encouraging return moves of skilled workers, other governments such as that of the Republic of the Philippines, have been actively encouraging their citizens to leave the country in search of work abroad. The government institutionalized labor export by introducing the Labor Export Program (Migrant Focus Magazine, 2000b; O'Neil, 2004). Within the department of Labor and Employment, The Philippine Overseas Employment Administration provides licenses to private recruitment agencies. The government has created institutions to manage

migration and continues to provide services to its people in areas such as recruitment (Ruiz, 2008). During the International Dialogue on Migration in 2002, the Philippine representative emphasized the success of the labor export program, and encouraged the continual export of labor and services (Weiss, 2002). In 2002, the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration was working with migrant civil society groups in the Philippines to provide economic and social interventions for returning Filipino migrants. However, its success remains to be seen (Opiniano, 2002). In addition the government has set up the National Reintegration Center for OFWs (<http://www.nrco.dole.gov.ph/>) in which the government promises a whole array of services for this group of people. Services include counseling to help the individual who has been away and his or her family to reintegrate, provide information on employment opportunities, and help educate those who are interested in starting a business. However, these services need to be reviewed.

Clearly government policies of the home and host countries must be considered when discussing return migration. Though these policies have shown mixed outcomes in people's decisions to return, country specific contexts are important, and therefore, need to be considered in predicting return migration.

Distance

Distance predictably affects the likelihood of the return move; the closer the host country is to the home country, the more likely the return (Bratsberg, 1990; Borjas & Bratsberg, 2001; Colton, 1992; DaVanzo, 1975). In their study of return migration from the United States, Borjas and Bratsberg (2001) found that return was more likely to countries that were not poor and those closer in distance to the United States. In another study, longer distances increased the cost of making first-round migration mistakes as well as, the monetary cost of returning to the home country, and therefore, people were less likely to return (Bratsberg, 1990). Here as well there is a need for more research to understand the dynamics of distance and likelihood of return to the home country and the ways in which gender mediates this relationship.

Demographic Characteristics

Gender

Female migrants have accounted for about 46.6% of the total number of international migrants since the 1960s (Zlotnik, 2003). In addition, developing countries have seen increases in female migration since the 1970s. However, as indicated earlier, the majority of studies on return migration have focused on men. Nonetheless, the demographic information available from the few studies that included women indicated that women were as likely to return home as were their male counterparts (Lidgard & Gilson, 2002; Stinner, et al 1982). A case study of returning New Zealanders indicated no significant difference between men and women returning in 1990, but a sharp drop in men between the ages of 25 to 29 years returning home in 2000 was noted, with no

change in the rate of female returnees. These demographic differences tell a story, but what the underlying factors explaining this change, remain unknown.

With changes taking place globally, women have increasingly entered the workforce, and moved abroad to work. Asian women for example have been more successful when compared to men as women have been shown to be resilient through economic crises in maintaining jobs and continuing to send remittances (Asis, 2003). The economic conditions of labor exporting developing countries have worsened, and the success upon return has become increasingly difficult. This is even more the case for women where their work abroad tends to be service oriented, and therefore, they will face greater difficulties in gainful employment, and coming to terms with their suppressed status when they return (Asian Population Studies, 1986; Samonte, 2003). In addition, women are often in conflict with their gendered roles at home, versus some degree of liberalization experienced overseas (Constable, 1999; Parrenas, 2001a, 2001b). Even today, there remains a definite gap in knowledge with respect to the migration experience of women, and factors relating to their return.

Age

As with previous predictors, there are no fixed trends regarding age, across the studies. Regan and Olsen, (2000) found that those who migrated to the United States at an older age, were more likely to return to their home country when compared with a younger age group. However, in a sample of Irish and Newfoundland returnees from the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom, the average age of migration was about

22 years and returning migrants were between the ages of 25 and 34 years (Gmelch, 1983). A study of Costa Ricans and Salvadorans established that return migrants tended to be in their early thirties (Stinner, et al., 1982). Greeks returning from Germany in the mid 1970 to the mid 1980s tended to be between 30 and 40 years of age (Petras & Kousis, 1988). Dustmann (1996) noted that over 50 percent of the German migrant population intended to return in 1984. Migrants who were older at the time of migration were more likely candidates for actual return. This was also the case in a study of Swedish immigrants (Klinthall, 2006).

Some migrants were more likely to return when they were closer to the age of retirement (Brown & Connell, 2004; Constant & Massey, 2002; Gmelch, 1983; Klinthall, 2006; Waldorf, 1995; Walters, 2002). Klinthall (2006) revealed that Swedish immigrants who obtained an early retirement package returned sooner. Within each study, specific age groups were more likely to return, but no generalizable trends were noted between studies, except for return at retirement. This suggests that situational and historical circumstances, particularly at home, were critical rendering generalizations about age alone impossible.

Family Composition

As was discussed earlier, married migrants with family in the home country were more likely to return to be reunified with their families (Lidgard & Gilson, 2002; Maron & Connell, 2008; Reichert, 2002). In addition, individuals in small families, early in the life cycle, were more likely to return.

Education and Language Fluency

People who had completed more years of education were more likely to return when compared with those who did not (Adelman, Morett & Tolnay, 2000; Appleyard, 1989b; Campbell, Johnson & Strangler, 1975; Cohen & Haberfeld, 2001; Falk, Hunt & Hunt, 2004; Feindt & Browning, 1972; Hare, 2004; Kau & Sirmans, 1976; Mendoza, 2005; Regan & Olsen, 2000; Saenz & Davila, 1992; Shumway & Hall, 1996; Tolnay, 2003; White, 1987). Higher education attainment such as a college degree lowered the option value of remaining in the United States, as home country wages were correlated more highly for degree holders (Regan & Olsen, 2000). Some people migrated to improve their qualifications abroad and returned when there was increased value for their skill and experience at home (Appleyard, 1989). Foreign students in New Zealand who felt that there were opportunities at home tended to return immediately (Soon, 2010). However, a study of Canadian professionals living in the United States found that those with doctorate degrees were least likely to return (Comay, 1971). In addition, those who completed graduate degrees in the United States were less likely to return. This was also reflected in Soon's (2010) study of foreign students in New Zealand. In their study of return migration from the United States, Borjas and Bratsberg (1996) found that if immigrants from a country were less skilled, then the most skilled from that cohort would return home. On the other hand, if immigrants possessed above average skills, then the least skilled would return.

More generally, studies reveal that migrants with less education, are more likely to return from Australia to South Africa, Vietnam or New Zealand (Callea, 1986; Glavac, 2000). People who returned after a short period were less educated and skilled, and therefore, not as capable in processing information carefully and planning appropriately for migration in the first place (DaVanzo & Morrison, 1978; Morrison & DaVanzo, 1986). Other studies indicate that highly educated individuals from countries such as Australia, Canada and Sweden were more likely to move beyond their first migration experience because of better employment opportunities elsewhere instead of returning home (Dryburgh & Hamel 2004; Nekby, 2006; Newbold & Bell, 2001). In a Swedish study, Nekby (2006) added that due to the relatively compressed wage distribution and extensive welfare for individuals, low skilled immigrants have incentives to stay but not the highly skilled, the implication being that returnees were less skilled than those who remained. The complexity of all this suggests the extreme difficulty of arriving at generalizations that are not country-specific and historically situated.

Fluency in the English language has been found to affect return migration for Portuguese from Australia (Casimiro, 2004). Estonians indicated return migration was primarily driven by the desire to return to an Estonian-speaking environment (Hill & Tiit, 2000). Among Iranians living in the United States, those who preferred to speak in their native language said that this was a pull factor in returning to Iran (Hojat, Foroughi, Mahmoudi & Holakouee, 2010). Education, language fluency, and employment when combined can help in providing a more complete explanation for return migration.

Employment and Wage

Many studies report that whatever their country of origin, those who are unemployed, in the host destination, are more likely to return (Constant & Massey, 2002, 2003; Glavac, 2000; Jensen & Pedersen, 2007; Klinthall, 2003; Kubat, 1984; Saenz & Davila, 1992). However, job opportunities in the home country also triggered a return move (Hill & Tiit, 2000; King, 1988; Toren, 1976). In another study, returnees chose to be self employed upon their return from Germany based on their educational background, skill, and work opportunities in the home country (Dustmann & Kirchkamp, 2002). Research on Costa Ricans and El Salvadorans return migrants found that though they were employed in the host country, they decided to return predominantly due to family reasons (Stinner, et al 1982). Another study of migrants from Turkey, Morocco, Egypt, Ghana and Senegal indicates that secure employment was a reason for delaying return intentions from the host countries Spain and Italy (Imhoff, 2001).

Some return migrants report wages significantly lower in the home country when compared to wages available if they had remained in the United States (Bratsberg, 1990; 1975; Gmelch, 1995). In these cases, their wages in the host countries were higher and therefore, they could afford to take a pay cut or they returned for other more pressing reasons.

Other studies indicate that individuals with higher wages are less likely to return to the home country (Cohen & Haberfield, 2001; Regan & Olsen, 2000; Stark, 1995). In the case of Israeli migrants in the United States, those who were highly skilled received

higher wages, and were less likely to return (Cohen & Haberfield, 2001; Stark, 1995). Income differences between the host country and home country existed for all occupations but, the differences were more pronounced for some occupations than for others (Stinner, et al. 1982). Increase in wages of migrants in Germany had a positive or negative effect on the optimal migration duration and return migration (Dustmann, 2003a). On the one hand, migrants wanted to prolong their stay abroad in response to the higher wages (relative wage effect). On the other hand, the marginal utility of wealth decreased (income effect), resulting in counteracting effects. Dustmann (2007) also found that German immigrant fathers whose sons had steady employment with a wage were less likely to return.

Additionally, when discussing employment, the type of work also played a role in who returned; those who were unhappy with their working conditions, and unable to adjust to the industrial working climate, were more likely to return to their home country (Bovenkerk, 1974; Callea, 1986; Colten, 1993; Crease, 1974). People who were happy with their employment, and advanced over time, became more attached to the Germany and were more likely to settle (Piore, 1980; Waldorf 1995). There is some debate over the value of skill and occupational prestige, and links to return migration. More specifically, studies have found that the value of a certain skill and the occupational prestige linked to that profession in the home country, is a reason for return (Appleyard, 1989; Bratsberg, 1990; Constant & Massey, 2003; Stinner, et al, 1982). The likelihood of return migration from Italy of a relatively skilled illegal migrant was also 9.7% higher than the probability of someone with low or no skills (Coniglio et al. 2005). Nekby

(2006) and Long (2008) note that Italian and Chinese researchers report poor employment prospects at home as a push factor for remaining abroad. The studies indicate that the governments in both countries need to develop a positive research environment making it possible for those who have been away for many years to re-enter the research workforce.

Research concerning the phenomenon of return migration of domestic workers needs to be further developed. Women from developing countries such as Indonesia, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Latin America and the Caribbean Islands seek employment in developed nations such as United States, Middle East, Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Europe, as domestic workers mostly on contract. In the Philippine context, the primary reason for migration of these women has been to support their families financially. It is well acknowledged that domestic work is not a regulated occupation which has resulted in all kinds of exploitation (Anderson, 2001 & 2000, Rollins, 1985; Chang, 2000 & Parrenas, 2001c). Domestic workers are constantly challenged by low wages and long hours (Wrigley, 1995; Zarempka, 2000). Being in a job of low status and some stigma, domestic workers continue to be discriminated against (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001). For migrants in such positions with very little job satisfaction, and pay, there is a need to investigate their future aspirations and intentions of return migration, especially for those who are not under a contract.

Concluding Remarks

The literature review has shown that complex historical and multi-causal factors influence return migration. Table 1 provides an overview of pull and push factors. Economic factors, and familial-personal reasons seemed to dominate in majority of the studies. Other factors that play a role in return migration were historical shifts, the presence of networks, and visits to the home country. The optimal migration duration, legal status in the host country, distance between home and host country, patriotism towards the home country, and demographic elements were not as consistently important. It is not possible to make generalizations about reasons for return migration. Based on the literature review, it is evident that each host and home country is unique, making the study of migration and return movement of people between these countries complex.

Table 1

An Overview of Push and Pull Factors in Determining Return Migration

PUSH FACTORS	PULL FACTORS
❖ Unemployment	❖ Increased Employment Opportunities in Home Country
❖ Economic Slowdown	❖ Economic Growth
❖ Decrease in Wage	❖ Improved / Stable Political Situation
❖ Job Dissatisfaction	❖ Remittance
❖ Length of Stay	❖ Presence of Family and Friends / Networks
❖ Discrimination	❖ Government Policies promoting Return Migration
❖ Legal Status	❖ Return at Retirement
	❖ Poor Health
	❖ Multiple Visits before final Return

As mentioned earlier, no study accounted for all possible variables. Several studies utilized large data sets from various government data bases, or data collected by larger institutions such as universities (with the collaborations of respective host and home countries), which were useful in providing demographic patterns and economic characteristics (Borjas & Bratsberg, 1996; Bratsberg, 1990; Clark & Drinkwater, 2001; Cohen & Haberfeld, 2001; Constant & Massey, 2002; Coulon & Wolff, 2005; Dustmann, 2007; Dustmann & Kirchkamp, 2002; Glaser, 1973; Glavac, 2000; Jensen & Pedersen, 2007; Kirdar, 2004; Klinthall, 2003, 2006; Lindstrom, 1996; Slater, 1979; Waldorf, 1995). These included census data, other types of government data, and data collected from international organizations such as the United Nations. The sample size in these studies was generally large and majority was based on men alone (Cohen & Haberfeld, 2001; Constant & Massey, 2002; Dustmann & Kirchkamp, 2002; Kirdar, 2004). Those who conducted original surveys and did individual interviews on their own or as part of a larger study tended to have a smaller sample size (Ahlburg & Brown, 1998; Casimiro, 2004; Dikaiou, 1994; Duval, 2001; Feindt & Browning, 1972; Gmelch, 1983; Horst, 2007; King, et al. 1985; Kulu, 1998; Maron & Connell, 2008; Patterson, 1968; Robolis & Xideas, 1996; Toren, 1975).

Statistical analyses employed in these studies varied widely. However, most provided detailed descriptive data in the form of tables with percentages and graphs. In addition to descriptive figures, many used different types of regression in the analysis where the dependent variable was return migration, and the independent variables included personal demographics such as age and education level at migration, remittance,

family location, country of origin, years spent abroad, and income (Bratsberg, 1990; Casimiro, 2004; Clark & Drinkwater, 2001; Coulon & Wolff, 2005; Glaser, 1973; Klinthall, 2003; Robolis & Xideas, 1996; Lindstorm, 1996; Toren, 1976).

Despite these research efforts, there remain significant gaps in knowledge about gender and return migration. Due to the distinct characteristics and interplay between the home and host countries, there is much research to be done on migrants from different countries. There is a need to understand the social and psychological impact of migration on the family, community, and the nation, and how this affects return migration (Samonte, 2003; Schmitz, 2003). There is also a pressing need to include women in return migration studies (Ammassari & Black, 2001; Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Chant, 1992; Morokvasic, 1984; UN Secretariat, 1986). With changes in labor structures, more women are entering the workforce, locally and globally. There is a gap in knowledge in understanding women's experience with respect to return migration.

This is very important in countries such as the Philippines, where an increasing number of women are leaving the country to work overseas. The migration experience is beginning to have negative impacts for female migrants, and their families at home (Cohen, 2000; Constable, 1999; Parrenas, 2001a, 2001b; Samonte, 2003). Although Filipino women refer to the Philippines as "home", Parrenas (2001a) notes that global structural factors prevent them from returning. Going home would mean returning to poverty for many. Furthermore, some women do not want to return as it would mean giving up their liberalized lifestyles abroad. Others view migration as a means to escape

their troubled marriage. The migration experiences of Filipino domestic workers and their identity to both homeland and receiving country have been documented. There is a need to understand women's decision making process regarding their return plans. What are the characteristics of those who intend to return versus those who intend to stay or are not sure about where their future lies? What about those who are undocumented? These questions and concepts need to be developed further, in the context of women's reasons for return. This study of the return intentions of female Filipino domestic workers to the Philippines is intended to make a contribution of the foregoing knowledge gap. The following chapter will address the methodology employed in this study of women and return migration.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Purpose Statement

As I have highlighted in the literature review, return migration in general and return migration of women in particular is a multifaceted global phenomenon that requires further investigation. This dissertation is an exploratory study, in which I seek to unravel macro and micro-level factors that may influence the return migration intentions of Filipino domestic workers. Return migration completes the migration cycle and therefore it is important to explore all aspects of the individual's migration. Therefore, in studying return intentions of Filipino women, I also seek to understand their lives prior to their migration to the United States, describe their experiences in this country and how their migration has had an effect on their families in the Philippines. This is a multi-method, data-mining study in which available data have been accessible from Damayan and the Urban Justice Center, in New York City. This study will contribute towards understanding factors affecting women's intentions of return migration within this particular migrant population. The study findings may be useful to community organizations that reach out to domestic workers, in helping them plan their return move, and also to advocate for government changes in policy where appropriate. In addition, the study is intended to contribute more generally to theory-building regarding return migration of women.

Data-Mining Study

Although this study employs available data, it is not a typical Secondary Analysis (SA). Rather than employing a published data-base intended for scholarly research, the data were collected by the Damayan Migrant Workers Association (referred to as “Damayan” hereafter) and the Research and Policy Initiative (referred to as “RPI” hereafter) of the Community Development Project at the Urban Justice Center based in New York City. As such it comes closer to what Epstein (2010) has labeled “clinical data-mining” (CDM) although the data do not originate from a “clinical” social work setting. My analysis is descriptive and exploratory in nature whereby the phenomenon of the intent of return migration of Filipino domestic workers is the focus of study. The data collected is micro-level, derived from individual units of analysis (Grinnell & Unrau, 2005). The study is also multi-method in that it includes both quantitative and qualitative data which I will address in the Research Design section of this chapter.

Like typical CDM studies, the information I seek is potentially intrusive and personal in nature but the method is chosen to avoid intrusiveness and to enhance confidentiality. Gaining an understanding of intentions of return migration requires sensitive information about individuals’ life experiences. Furthermore, the majority of participants do not have legal status in the United States, and might be fearful in divulging information to a University student. By analyzing available and anonymous organizational data, I am avoiding the intrusive nature of original data analysis (Grinnell & Unrau, 2005; Kiecolt & Nathan, 1985). With the increasing difficulties in conducting

primary research today, I would like to develop knowledge by maximizing existing data (Grinnell & Unrau, 2005).

Though there are advantages of carrying out a CDM study as well as SA, they both present issues such as the lack of standardization and the omission of relevant variables (Epstein, 2010). Grinnell and Unrau (2005) for example, state that there may be lack of fit between concepts, and the variables that they contain. Since I have been directly involved in the methodological issues, I will explain in the following pages how I have tried to keep such concerns to a minimum. Although the dataset's primary focus was not on return intentions, I have reviewed the data collection tools, and feel that there is sufficient information to carry out a meaningful analysis.

There are other concerns about using the available data. The first of these is that we need to know how and when the available information was obtained. These concerns include the purpose of the initial data-collection effort, as it may significantly influence the findings, as might be the case with data collected to further the interests of a particular group (Stewart, 1984). The nature of the questions asked, could affect the result sought and the purpose of the study could confound the interpretation of the data. Unlike many other SA and CDM studies, where researchers were not involved in the collection of the data, I was involved in this project as a volunteer. In CDM studies, the researchers are often practitioners as well who have generated the original data and extracted it for research purposes. Nonetheless, my involvement as a volunteer research consultant at Damayan and RPI with research skills assured that there was relevant

training for others involved and provision of information that prevented these kinds of bias and maintained quality in the information gathered (Kiecolt & Nathan, 1985). For example, volunteers and staff who were designated to conduct the surveys were trained on how to approach potential subjects, introduce themselves, the participating organizations, talk about the purpose of study, and address issues around confidentiality of the data gathered. I will be elaborating on the contents of the training sessions later on in this chapter.

There may be concerns around carrying out a SA or CDM Study. Regardless, in this case, there are sufficient and relevant variables to conduct a meaningful analysis. In addition, I was involved as a volunteer during the formulation of the data collection tools, and the data collection phase. Therefore, I was aware of the methodological issues which I will address later on in this chapter while discussing the tools for data collection. The next section will provide brief descriptions about the organizations and why they decided to conduct their research study.

The Organizations

Damayan Migrant Workers Association

DAMAYAN Migrant Workers Association, Inc. is an independent non-profit grassroots organization based in New York and New Jersey that upholds and promotes the rights and welfare of Filipino migrant workers (<http://www.damayanmigrants.org/>). It also raises awareness and organizes around issues of migrant workers, particularly domestic workers, to understand the root causes of these issues. Damayan is a Filipino word that means helping each other. At the core of DAMAYAN is the leadership of highly committed Filipina domestic workers-nannies, babysitters, cooks, and housekeepers. Realizing that ninety percent of the 1,700 Filipino women who leave the Philippines everyday become domestic workers in foreign countries, DAMAYAN currently focuses on organizing Filipina domestic workers in New York and New Jersey, while being open for membership to all migrant workers and individuals who want to be involved. Detailed information about the services that Damayan provides are attached (Appendix A).

Urban Justice Center

The Urban Justice Center is a non-profit organization established in 1984, to provide legal representation, and advocacy to poor New Yorkers (<http://www.urbanjustice.org/>). Using a broad definition of community development, the Community Development Project provides legal and technical assistance to grassroots community groups working for positive social change in low-income communities in New York City. The Community Development Project's Research and Policy Initiative

links applied social science research and social policy advocacy to the organizing efforts of community groups to improve the working and living conditions of low-income and immigrant communities throughout New York City. Research efforts are based on a model of participatory research, through which they work to promote maximum involvement of the communities and community groups at the various stages of the research project. Through this process and in partnership with grassroots organizations, they explicitly aim to build community leadership and local capacity for change.

The Research and Policy Initiative at the Urban Justice Center seeks to develop the skills and experience necessary within partner groups so that community-based research is used in future organizing work. In addition, it works closely with community partners to incorporate the process and results of research initiatives into their long-term strategies and in the development of specific campaigns to strengthen their organizing and advocacy efforts.

Minimal research of Filipino migrant workers in the United States has limited Damayan's advocacy and organizing efforts. Damayan embarked on a research project to understand and educate the public on the conditions that cause many Filipinos to leave the Philippines, to describe how they came to the United States, the working conditions of Filipino domestic workers, and the effects of migration on family and social life of the migrants. For this reason Damayan chose to conduct a research project called, Pagsusuri Sa Migrasyon: A research study of the migration and labor of Filipino Domestic Workers. The research initiative consisted of three components, 208 surveys (Appendix

B), 25 individual interviews (Appendix C), and 5 focus groups (Appendix D). The data contained information from both female and male domestic workers. Staff at Damayan worked with the RPI to help them with the research. Damayan and RPI came together at the end of 2003 to embark on this research project.

I have been a volunteer staff at RPI since January 2004, and worked on this project up until 2009. RPI developed the surveys, the individual interview guide, and the focus group guide with inputs from Damayan, as they were more knowledgeable about the context. My involvement in this project has been to draft these instruments with inputs from both organizations, provide assistance in carrying out the research, and analysis of the results with the RPI team. I spoke with staff at Damayan and RPI, and they have permitted me to use the data for my dissertation. The letters of consent from both organizations is provided in Appendix E.

During the time I was volunteering at the RPI, staff members were grounded in participatory action research and social policy advocacy due to their nature of work. The forthcoming section will illustrate the research model that provided the fundamentals that guided the investigation.

Participatory Research Model

The RPI linked applied social science research and social policy advocacy to the organizing efforts of community groups such as Damayan to improve the working and living conditions of low-income immigrant communities throughout New York City. RPI's research efforts were grounded in the participatory research model, where the involvement of community groups in the research process was crucial.

A participatory research model was used to collect the data, due to the community based context in which this research took place. Participatory research goes by many names, including community-based research, participatory action research, and collaborative research (Todhunter, 2001). Fundamentally, it incorporates a value-base that is committed to promoting change through research. The two main principles of participatory research is democratization of the knowledge process and social change (Greenwood & Levin, 1998; Ospina, Dodge, Godsoe, Minieri, Reza & Schall, 2004; Todhunter, 2001; Williams, 1997). It is a congregative process through which Damayan and the RPI came together to conduct research, understand, and resolve problems of mutual interest (i.e. the welfare of Filipino domestic workers). It is a social process in which knowledge in multiple areas, such as research skills, form the basis for co-created knowledge and social change (Greenwood & Levin, 1998).

As a community organizing group, Damayan took the lead in this research initiative and made the major decisions about content and implementation. Most of the primary staff, board members, and active members were domestic workers, and therefore, their direct involvement in the research process was vital in empowering them and aimed at bringing about emancipation and social justice (Ospina, Dodge, Godsoe, et al 2004; Sohng, 1995; Todhunter, 2001; Whyte, 1991). Damayan staff formulated the questions for the survey, focus groups, and individual interviews, with inputs from staff at the RPI. In keeping with the participatory research model, which places community members in the role of active researchers, Damayan staff and members, and volunteers from the Filipino youth group, carried out the surveys (Neuman & Kreuger, 2003; Sohng, 1995). The role of RPI staff and volunteers, was that of friendly outsiders, or coaches, who reviewed technical aspects of the data collection materials, took feedback from Damayan staff, and made changes in accordance with the research goals and principles (Greenwood & Levin, 1998; Whyte, 1991). RPI was more of a technical resource, where we met, to discuss problems in a collective manner, and helped Damayan staff to move through the research process. Having provided a description of the organizations that collected the data, and the theory that guided data collection, the next step is to discuss the multi-method research design.

Research Design

The literature review presented in the previous chapter reflects the level of complexity involved in the overall phenomenon of return migration. Since both qualitative and quantitative methods can be complementary in nature (Creswell, 2003), I felt I would obtain a more comprehensive view of the research question by carrying out a multi-method, data-mining effort (Epstein, 2010; Neuman & Kreuger, 2003). I have addressed the SA, CDM nature of this study and now will focus on the multi-method aspects of the study. There are many characteristics that entail a multi-method study (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2010). To begin with, the methodology frequently contains both quantitative and qualitative aspects. Quantitative data would be helpful in the descriptive aspect of this research design. It would facilitate in summarizing the characteristics of the population from which the sample is being drawn (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006; Weinbach & Grinnell, 2001). I provide descriptive analyses of the different areas this study will entail such as the employment of women, as is laid out in the research goals. As this is an exploratory study, I analyze the possibility of relationships between one or more variables depending on what the data reveals (Neuman & Kreuger, 2003). For example, I have been able to reflect if differences in work experience exist between those who intend to stay versus those who intend to return to the Philippines. Another important variable is the legal status of these women. Accordingly, it is important to note whether there is a difference in return intentions between those who have legal status and those who are undocumented. While quantitative approaches have their merits, they tend to oversimplify the complexities of real world experiences, and fail

to address subtle but powerful contextual factors that are not easily quantifiable (Patton, 1990).

The nature of the phenomenon that I have studied also lends itself towards a qualitative design as it is often difficult for people to conceptualize their attitudes, beliefs, or experiences in a linear continuum. More specifically, open-ended questions help in capturing and give meaning to the experience of Filipino domestic workers (Neuman & Kreuger, 2003). This study seeks to explore the future aspirations and return intentions of Filipino domestic workers (Miles & Huberman, 1994). For example, the quantitative survey data did not include topics such as the pain of separation from family or the extent of discrimination and hardships the women experience as domestic workers in the same way that qualitative interviews and focus groups did. Hopes and dreams are hard to capture quantitatively. Individual interviews and focus groups combined with quantitative data helped in providing a holistic, systematic, encompassing, and integrated view on the experiences of participants. The qualitative data provides greater depth and make possible “thick” description. In addition to providing a more detailed and nuanced picture of the lives of these women, the exploratory investigation of available qualitative and quantitative data is intended to generate discovery, both theoretical and empirical.

Both types of data will complement each other for the purpose of this dissertation. Contradictions may yield further insight. The quantitative analysis provides a broad overview, likened to that of a skeleton while the qualitative data gives life and meaning to the overall frame of the subject. Although, the quantitative and qualitative data were

collected concurrently, Damayan began with carrying out the surveys. About halfway through this process, they began to conduct interviews and focus groups. There was ongoing feedback on the data collection tools which were discussed and amended accordingly. Still, the findings that resulted from one type of data tool did not influence the development of the other during this phase. The specific goals of this study, which I will discuss, depend on quantitative and qualitative data drawn from different data gathering tools.

Specific Goals

The literature review has illustrated that return migration is a complex phenomenon with multiple layers of explanations. As indicated above, based on the multifaceted nature of the topic, this research is exploratory in which I intend to study the return intentions of female Filipino domestic workers. This is a data-mining study using multi-methodology where both qualitative and quantitative data are entwined. The research questions that follow are mostly descriptive as they are non directional and seek to explore and describe the experiences of these women (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006). I will provide in-depth information about the key content areas I intend to study later in this chapter.

My research goals include the following:

1. To characterize Filipino domestic workers lives in the Philippines prior to their migration.
2. To establish their reasons for migration to the United States, and describe the migration experience.
3. To portray their domestic work experiences and lifestyle in the United States.
4. To describe the situation on the home front, in the Philippines.
5. To address the push, pull factors that drive their intentions for return migration.

Data Collection

Surveys

The first type of data collection was that of the survey. The survey consisted of five sections which focused on life in the Philippines, migration history, work and living experiences in the United States, family, and demographic information (Appendix, B). The purpose of the survey was to attempt to obtain information from many individuals in order to broadly describe their migration experience, their working conditions, and social and family lives, as a whole (Grinell & Unrau, 2005). Surveys are a systematic way of collecting certain types of information from respondents. The survey is descriptive in nature as there are specific descriptions of variables that help in bringing light to certain themes that we seek to understand in greater depth with the qualitative data (Grinell & Unrau, 2005).

The survey underwent minor transformations in terms of the use of language and placement of certain questions. Although the majority of the Filipino women subjects were able to converse in English, it became evident that the survey had to reflect simple, day to day language. In addition, some questions such as those on possible abuses experienced at work were strategically moved to the end of the survey where respondents would have 'warmed up' to the interviewer.

Survey Sampling

The sample was obtained in a number of ways. The survey began with convenience sampling. Damayan began by surveying their active members in June 2004 (Neuman & Kreuger, 2003). The sample then took on a snowball nature, where active members reached out to non-active Filipino members and friends in the community. Damayan also reached out to individuals in certain neighborhoods which had a substantial Filipino population such as Jackson Heights, in Queens, New York and certain areas in New Jersey. They also reached out to domestic workers who visited certain parks during weekends when the climate got warmer. In addition, staff were also purposeful in their sampling as during the review of the demographic information half way through data collection, they decided they wanted to target workers with certain characteristics such as those who lived with their employer. Therefore, the sample was a mixture of convenience, snowball, and purposeful sampling (Grinell & Unrau, 2005; Neuman & Kreuger, 2003). One might conclude that it was ultimately a highly inconvenient convenience sample. Certainly, it wasn't systematic. Nonetheless, it is compatible with the exploratory nature of the study. Not a random sample by any means,

claims cannot be made that it is representative of the Filipino domestic worker population in New York City and New Jersey in general. Still, Damayan was able to reach an otherwise extremely inaccessible population including those who were undocumented. Thus, the use of techniques such as snowball sampling was especially helpful as an informal method in reaching hidden populations (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). Hidden populations would not be willing to provide personal information easily, but when introduced through a trusted friend, and when assured anonymity, Damayan was able to break this barrier. Additionally, through this process, Damayan was able to educate the workers about their rights, and how they could be involved in social justice issues. Hence, Damayan's "practice" and policy agenda was already promoted during the research and data-gathering process and prior to the data-analysis and presentation of findings.

Table 2 reflects that more than half of the survey respondents were 41 years, or older (N=117, 68%). There were very few migrants under 30 years (N=17, 9.9%). Many respondents reported having completed college (N=106, 59.9%) and having professional jobs (N=91, 68.4%) prior to leaving the Philippines for the United States. Where marital status is concerned about half (N=91, 51.4%) of the women were married while just over a quarter of the respondents were single (N=52, 29.4%). The majority of women reported having children (N=113, 81.3%).

Table 2

Demographic Characteristics of Survey Participants

	Frequency	Percent
Age		
Mean 44.91		
Standard Deviation 10.835		
Under 30 Years	17	9.9%
31-40 Years	38	22.1%
41-50 Years	63	36.6%
Over 50 Years	54	31.4%
Total	172	100%
Education		
Elementary	5	2.8%
High School	22	12.4%
Some College	44	24.9%
Completed College	84	47.5%
Higher than College	22	12.4%
Total	177	100%
Occupation		
Professional	91	68.4%
Non-Professional	42	31.6%
Total	133	100%
Marital Status		
Single	52	29.4%
Married	91	51.4%
Separated	14	7.9%
Divorced	14	7.9%
Widowed	6	3.4%
Total	177	100%
Children		
None	26	18.7%
1-2 Children	62	44.6%
3 or more Children	51	36.7%
Total	139	100%

Survey Interview Procedure

Surveys were conducted in English. The data collection for surveys took place in two ways. The first was by self administration, and the second was face-to-face interviewing. Damayan staff interviewers were diligent in explaining the organizational purpose of the interview to potential respondents, and on most occasions, worked through the survey with them. However, there were occasions where participants completed the survey on their own, after a brief introduction to the survey by staff. Early on, I raised the concern about reliance on self administration of surveys as the response rate was not as helpful as it might have been with face-to-face interviews (Grinell & Unrau, 2005). In addition, participants may have provided more thoughtful answers if they were probed by the interviewers (Neuman & Kreuger, 2003). Some of the questions were personal, and the interviewer was given the opportunity to interpret why this was important to the research. Participants were also able to clarify doubts and fears they had about certain questions, and this helped in increasing volume, the validity and the reliability of the information we obtained.

The objection to face-to-face interviews that Damayan raised involved time constraints and resources. Damayan had reached out to a Filipino youth group to help with carrying out interviews. In ensuring that there was consistency in how data were collected, and that participants were not coerced into completing the surveys, we conducted training sessions for volunteers. Interviewers were told not to talk about worker's rights, until the interview was complete. In keeping with the participatory research model, the survey was used as an educational and organizing tool in reaching

out to Filipino domestic workers, and informing them about their rights. Participants were not provided with any direct incentives. However, the interview also served as a recruitment device for Damayan as after surveys were completed, the interviewer would educate the participant about Damayan and speak further about any concerns they had, be it at work or at home.

I was involved in conducting training sessions with RPI staff as well, which helped volunteers understand why we were conducting the research, why we needed certain information, and helped them to develop their interviewing skills. Firstly, the research goals were discussed, so that volunteers were able to articulate this information to potential participants. During the training sessions, volunteers were constantly reminded about ethical issues such as confidentiality and anonymity. The confidentiality and anonymity of the information was stressed, and participants were informed about who would be looking at the information (Neuman & Kreuger, 2003). The fact that only aggregate data would be published, and their individual identities or response would not be revealed, was reinforced. Participants were informed that they did not need to answer all questions, and were allowed to discontinue the survey at any time. Once surveys were completed, they were stored in locked cabinets at the RPI. Staff and Volunteers at RPI including myself keyed in the data into SPSS as it was being collected. I have checked the SPSS data set twice to ensure that the information was accurately coded and entered. Out of 208 surveys of female and male domestic workers that were carried out, I used 182 surveys from female respondents for the purpose of this study.

Individual Interviews

Damayan wanted to conduct individual interviews in order to give a voice to those interviewed in the survey. They felt that stories of women would give flesh to the quantitative data. The content areas covered in individual interviews included the participant's life in the Philippines, their migration history, domestic work experience in the United States, living experience in the United States, family connections, immigration, and expectations in migrating (Appendix C). While majority of the interviews were conducted in English, a few participants preferred to speak in their native Tagalog.

The purpose of interviewing was to develop a more in-depth understanding of the experiences of the women by asking them to tell their story (Patton, 1990). In addition, interviews permitted more flexibility than self-administered survey questionnaires (Grinnell & Unrau, 2005). The interviews were open-ended in nature where an interview guide was provided for the interviewer to follow. The topics and issues covered were predetermined. In addition, the sequence of questions and probes were laid out for interviewers. There was a guide for interviewers, although they were not expected to ask questions as worded and in a particular order. There needed to be continuity in the interview, and there were instances where order of questions had to be shuffled. Interviewers were able to explore the themes and obtain more in-depth responses in this process. The outline was useful in increasing comprehensiveness of the data, and gaps in information were filled in this process (Patton, 1990). Some changes were made to the guide based on feedback from the interviewers after the initial interviews were

conducted. These were pertaining to the flow of the guide, use of some language, and the need to add prompters to certain topics.

Individual Interview Sampling

A stratified purposeful sample was formulated by Damayan and the RPI. Damayan became aware of the differences in experiences that existed due to certain characteristics based on their interactions with domestic workers. As indicated earlier, there were specific comparisons that Damayan was interested in exploring, such as undocumented workers versus documented workers, those living with their employers versus those who lived on their own, and those who had positive working experiences as opposed to those who had negative experiences. These helped in assuring organizationally meaningful as well as theoretically meaningful comparisons in the data analysis.

Out of 25 individual qualitative interviews conducted, I used responses from 22 female domestic workers as the other 3 were men. I have given pseudonyms for all 22 women when discussing the findings in the next chapter. Table 3 provides an overview of the demographic information of the individual interviews. Only 9 of the 22 interviewees provided their age. 2 women were under 45 years of age while the remaining 7 were 46 years or older. Where education was concerned, 9 women had completed Elementary up to some College education whilst 10 had completed a college degree or held a higher qualification. 13 women reported having professional jobs in the Philippines while 9 held non professional jobs prior to their migration to the United

States. When considering their marital status, the majority of women reported being married (N=14). 16 women informed that they had kids where 10 women had 3 or more children.

Table 3

Demographic Characteristics of Individual Interviewees

Age	Frequency
Under 45 Years	2
46 Years and Older	7
Total	9
Education	
Elementary	1
High School	1
Some College	6
Completed College	6
Higher than College	4
Total	18
Occupation	
Professional	13
Non-Professional	9
Total	22
Marital Status	
Married	14
Separated	1
Widowed	1
Single	6
Total	22
Number of Children	
1-2 Children	6
3 or more Children	10
Total	16

Individual Interview Procedure

Damayan staff, myself, and volunteers carried out the individual qualitative data collection. Two people, usually a staff member or an active member, and a volunteer conducted the interviews. Members and volunteers underwent training in carrying out surveys and individual interviews. Issues concerning confidentiality, anonymity and protection of human subjects of data were addressed, similar to that of survey interviews. Damayan staff made the initial contact to inform potential participants about the research, and sought their interest in being interviewed. Once the respondent agreed to be interviewed, the staff and volunteer contacted the participant to meet in a neutral location, where they carried out the interview (Grinnell & Urnau, 2005). We discussed tape-recording interviews, and though Damayan staff and volunteers were initially apprehensive, as they felt that participants would not be comfortable to be taped and refuse to be interviewed, I repeatedly stressed the advantages of taping (Patton, 1990), and encouraged them to allow the participant to decide if they allowed the tape-recording of their interview. Participants were asked if the interview could be taped, and informed that the interviewer would transcribe the interview, after which the research team would analyze the data. They were informed that the tapes would be stored at the RPI with the surveys. Interviewers informed participants that they could turn off the tape if certain information was too sensitive, and take handwritten notes, and resume taping once the participants were comfortable to do so. All respondents gave verbal consent for the interview to be tape recorded.

Focus Groups

The third type of data collection involved focus group interviews (Appendix D). The main content areas included migration history, current workplace issues, home and family life, and their expectations and realizations. A total of 5 focus groups were carried out, in English, and the depth of information from different sections of the research question changed based on the information gathered from the earlier focus groups, and depending on the gaps that needed to be filled. I used responses from the 4 focus groups which had only female participants. When the focus group guide was developed we realized that it was ambitious to cover all the topics. After the first focus group, Damayan and the RPI staff decided that it would be most effective to focus on certain topics to provide more time for the group to discuss instead of having to rush through the guide.

The main purpose of the focus group was to obtain information based on the interaction between participants within the realm of the research questions. This interaction enabled participants to ask others questions, as well as to re-evaluate and reconsider their own understanding of their specific experiences. Focus groups elicit a multiplicity of views and emotional processes within a group context (Gibbs, 1997). In addition, focus groups were a powerful organizing tool for Damayan. It brought people together, and sharing experiences helped members realize that they were not alone and empowered them by providing them with information, about the organization, and about their rights (Greenwood & Levin, 1998). In other words, it was a forum for mutual

support and social exchange, and social change during the focus group, and afterwards (Gibbs, 1997).

Still, focus groups alone are limiting as the researcher has less control over the data produced. The moderator has to permit flexibility by allowing participants to talk to each other, ask questions, and debate opinions, while generally keeping participants focused on the topic (Patton, 1990). In addition, focus groups do not generate descriptive findings and generalizations about an entire population, given the small number of people participating and that they are not a representative sample. This is true in the case of this research project, as obtaining a representative sample was difficult due to unwillingness of many Filipino domestic workers to participate. Many were unwilling to participate as certain sensitive topics were raised, and therefore, some potential participants preferred to only participate in the survey.

Focus Group Sampling

Again, the sample was the result of a combination of convenience, snowball and purposeful techniques. It began as a convenience sample with active members as Damayan encountered difficulty in bringing people together for a focus group (Gibbs, 1997). Once people came to know about the focus groups from talking to those who had participated, they were more willing to come forward as is in a snowball sample. Finally, Damayan wanted to make sure that they got the views of domestic workers who lived with their employers as well as those who had their own accommodation and from

individuals who worked in New York as well as New Jersey. So, in that sense, the sampling strategy was also purposeful.

Focus Group Procedure

Focus groups occurred on weekends, because many domestic workers worked six day weeks and long hours and had very little discretionary time available. Damayan attempted to overcome this problem by having house groups where existing and potential members were invited to an active member's residence (usually an apartment). All attendees of house group meetings were made aware of the focus group session prior to the meeting.

Understanding the Filipino culture was also important since respondents felt more comfortable in a home environment, and getting together around meal times served as an excellent ice-breaker (Neuman & Kreuger, 2003). Everybody had lunch while Damayan provided information about the organization, and their work, and the research was introduced. After formal introductions, the purpose of the focus group was explained, and those who wanted to participate were encouraged to stay on. Where confidentiality was concerned, participants were asked to openly share information if they were comfortable to do so, and also asked to keep information within the room. It was difficult to obtain absolute confidentiality as we are not able to control the communication of others. We did not tape record focus groups as Damayan staff felt that this would deter participants from openly discussing issues in the group (Patton, 1990). Instead, there were two people taking extensive notes during the group sessions. The focus group was

conducted in English but, there were times when participants were not able to express themselves, and thus switch to the Filipino national language, Tagalog. During this time, one of the Damayan staff, would interpret the information while I or another Urban Justice staff or volunteer took notes.

Though focus groups have advantages, they are best employed in triangulation of data sources (Gibbs, 1997; Patton, 1990). Each focus group in this data collection process tended to focus on different themes. For example, one group emphasized workplace issues and discrimination while another group centered on the migration process. Consequently, different aspects of the overall study were covered by different groups. As a result, focus-group information collected was somewhat fragmented and based on the unique experience of the people who attended the particular session. Therefore, it is especially important to recognize that for this study the focus group data were used to only supplement and enrich other data sources.

Observational Data

In a study such as this, it was important to spend time at the organization, with members and their friends. Patton (1990) provides reasons why observational field work can benefit qualitative research which I will relate to in the current study. First, by directly observing what went on at the organization and talking to members I gained an understanding of their major concerns. Although I am of Asian origin, observation facilitated in learning about their cultural background and how this impacted their lives in the United States. Therefore, I was able to comprehend issues through their 'eyes' which

otherwise could have been discounted. In addition, field observation could lead to discovery, as at times we do not give due attention to certain topics. The nature of the research was sensitive in addition to the fact that many participants were undocumented. Therefore, there were moments when I was able to learn more during personal conversations since participants might not have been willing to talk about certain topics during the interview.

Much of the field data is based on time spent with individuals during periods of informal interaction. These moments took place before meetings with Damayan staff when we were formulating the data collection tools, before and after training sessions, the individual interviews, focus groups, and during Damayan events. I was open to the topic of discussion as I wanted to know what was important to individuals. Everyone I had contact with was aware that I was a research volunteer and that I was using the data for my dissertation. Regardless, I found that they were open to sharing, sometimes more so than during the individual interviews. It is important to note that I am not relying solely on observational data for any of the variables in this study. Rather, its intended use is to enhance the disposition of the story the rest of the data reveals.

Ethics Committee Approval

I have been successful in obtaining approval from the Institutional Review Board at the Hunter College of the City University of New York to carry out this research as a Data-Mining study. Appendix E provides a detailed description of what was required of me to obtain the endorsement.

Key Content Areas and Variables Covered

In CDM studies, Epstein (2010) emphasizes the importance of creating an “inventory of variables”. The content areas and key variables employed in this study are described below.

Life in the Philippines

This term refers to an array of content areas regarding the domestic worker’s life in the Philippines prior to their migration to the United States. It includes demographic information such as their age, educational background, occupation, marital status, and a description of their economic situation. Their economic status would include factors such as the ownership of property, agricultural land, business and the possible presence of debt.

Migration

The concept of migration encompasses the women’s motivations for migrating and the migration experience itself. Rationale for migration includes financial reasons, unemployment in the Philippines, or to join relatives who were already working in the United States. The migration experience refers to the individual’s struggles in getting to the United States. It extends to the type of visa they obtained to enter the United States, fees paid in obtaining the visa, and whether the individual traveled to another country, before coming to the United States. The final variable in this dimension is their legal status.

Life in the United States

This dimension covers the length of time women have been living in the United States, their description of domestic work and their personal lives. Domestic work is an unregulated occupation and thus it is important to draw attention to their job description, hours worked, income, benefits provided, job location, their networks and the mental and physical impact this type of work has on these women. In addition to their work experiences, this content area describes their lifestyle and accommodation. It includes information on their living arrangements, professional development outside of domestic work, and ways in which they socialize in their free time. Finally, it also discusses their overall experiences in the United States, characterizing their expectations and reality.

Family

Family is a complex term to Filipinos as it covers the individual's immediate and extended family's current needs and situation. This dimension describes their children's ages, occupation and country of residence. Many individuals remit regularly to support not only their children but also their siblings and their families and therefore, this complicated dynamic is addressed. In the section on Family, I describe how women stay connected to their loved ones beyond remittance through contact via long distance or visits home. The emotional impact of being away from their families, and the consequences of their absence on their families and will also be addressed.

Return Intentions

This content area seeks to understand if women have return intentions. I go on to address the push and pull factors that have an association with the dependent variable, return intentions. These include the economy of the Philippines and the United States, family needs, investments and savings in the Philippines, remittance, visits home before return, length of time spent in the United States, immigration status, and the possible influences of demographic variables such as employment, age, marital status, education and occupation. In addition to addressing return intentions, their future plans are also laid out.

Operational Definitions

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this dissertation is a multi-method study as it draws on three sources of data. Each key variable will have measures from at least two or possibly all three sources of data. The survey data will provide aggregate information based on questions that are outlined in the tables for each variable. The individual interviews and focus groups will provide deeper understanding into each variable. This information may be provided in an aggregate manner or highlight individual responses. Details on the operational definitions are provided in the Appendix F.

Reliability and Validity of Data

Reliability

When assessing reliability of secondary data, there are two areas that need to be addressed (Grinnell & Unrau, 2005). First, one has to address the presence of changes in conceptual and operational definitions over time. Second, is the issue of the presence of changes in reporting of statistics and what gets reported, over time. Having reviewed the data with respect to these two issues, there have been no changes. Training volunteers and staff in the data collection of the surveys and entering the information into the database was helpful in maintaining consistency (Epstein, 2010). In addition, I checked the entries in the database against the surveys to ensure that the information was accurately entered into the database. However, since no multi-item attitudinal scales were employed, statistical measures of reliability such as Alphas could not be computed.

Where qualitative research is concerned, reliability refers to controlling the quality of data collected (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The training provided to interviewers was helpful in ensuring that they understood the purpose of the study, their role, and understanding of the interview guides. Interviewers were able to meet and discuss their experiences in data collection and similarities in experiences were noted. We were able to review and question the guide and discuss sensitive situations. Majority of the interviews taped in English were transcribed by me. All transcriptions were read by those who conducted the interviews to ensure that nothing was missed and I coded the information for the purpose of this research.

Finally, triangulation of the data has revealed consistency as the findings do indicate the presence of parallel information across all three types of data as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Internal Validity

The “truth value” of the data needs to be addressed in this section (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Validity in qualitative research is greatly dependent upon the skill and competence of the interviewer (Patton, 1999). As mentioned earlier, the interviewers for both quantitative and qualitative data underwent training, and ongoing feedback sessions were conducted to maintain the quality of data collected (Epstein, 2010; Grinnell & Unrau, 2005). Still, the rigor to which data collection procedures were followed especially with regards to the survey data is at times questionable. For example, it was difficult to approach domestic workers who were not Damayan members and therefore, in attempts to reach out to different groups, surveyors may have not been persistent in attempts to get respondents to answer all questions. Based on discussions with Damayan, the staff feels that the content is valid, reliable and reflects the plight of Filipino domestic workers. When reviewing the triangulation of information from all three data sets, similar results emerge. In addition, as data analysis was carried out, I noted that findings seemed coherent and internally consistent.

Original operational definitions often include irrelevant concepts and may also fail to include relevant aspects of the phenomenon (Judd, Smith & Kidder, 1991). Triangulation of data sources is very helpful in overcoming this potential problem. This dissertation involves data collected from three different qualitative and quantitative sources and therefore, triangulation has helped in reducing such risks.

External Validity / Generalizability

The purpose of the initial survey was for Damayan to gain a general and descriptive understanding of migration and labor of Filipino domestic workers in New York and New Jersey. Generalizability is potentially compromised as respondents in this study could not be selected using random or representative sampling techniques (Grinnell & Unrau, 2005). Instead the survey data and focus groups consisted of a combination of a convenience sample, a snowball sample, and purposeful sample. The individual interviewees were chosen based on a stratified purposeful sample. The results can be generalized to Filipino domestic workers living and working in this region. In addition, there are certain concepts that relate to return migration which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Missing Data

Missing data is a common concern when carrying out any form of data analysis. This is especially true, however, in studies relying on available data sources (Epstein, 2010). However, in a data-mining and secondary analysis it is particularly important to understand why the data is missing and what to do with missing data. In assessing the

extent of missing data in a secondary analysis we have to pay attention to whether it is due to random or systematic errors (Epstein, 2010; Grinnell & Unrau, 2005). There is missing data in this survey, for which I will attempt to provide an explanation. In my discussion earlier about the nature of the study, I emphasized that it is especially difficult to obtain information from this particular population particularly because many respondents were undocumented. The surveys were conducted on the streets, at parks, at gatherings, at the Damayan office, and at domestic worker residences. Before completing the survey, respondents were informed that they did not have to answer all questions if they were not comfortable doing so, and could stop at any time. The lack of privacy in the location that the survey was conducted could also have affected the response rate. In addition, the domestic worker may not have had time to complete the survey and thus, overlooked certain questions. Also, many surveys were self administered and therefore, respondents may have skimmed through the survey, answering questions that they were comfortable with, or those that they may have felt most important, or they may not have understood some questions and therefore left them blank. Another important reason for missing data was that the respondent may have felt that the question was inapplicable to her situation. For example, if she was single and did not have children, she may not even have answered the question on how many children she had. Instead of putting zero, she may have skipped the question. This would suggest that most of the missing data could be considered random with some systematic errors.

Having analyzed the missing data, and having understood why the data may be missing as suggested above, I decided to omit the missing data in my analysis. Listwise deletion simply excludes the particular case from the analysis (Allison, 2002). I have utilized valid percentages in the next chapter when reporting the figures and analyzing the data. By using valid percentages, I excluded the missing data in my discussion of the findings.

The Individual interviews also presented issues around missing data. There were questions that some respondents were not comfortable with such as their age. Some respondents were shy about revealing their age especially since the interviewers were much younger. A few questions were not relevant to their situation. Some interviews focused on certain issues depending on the respondent's need to spend time on that particular subject matter which meant that there was insufficient time to complete the interview. All respondents showed interest in the individual interview and were willing to participate regardless of the sensitivity of the topic. I saw no bias present in the missing data.

Recoding of Data

Many questions in the survey data were recoded for the purpose of my analysis. I have provided explanations and details of how I recoded the responses in the Appendix G and will discuss them further as required in the next chapter when addressing the findings.

Statistical Analysis

Quantitative Data Analysis

I used the SPSS software for analyzing the survey data. My initial plan was to provide crosstabulations as a means to discuss the possibility of any association between the dependent variable return intentions with the respective independent variables. As I set out to do this, I realized (with guidance from my advisor) that I was not telling the story of these women. In addition, the presentation of data was shallow, very sterile and lacking subtly and nuance. Consequently, I reworked the presentation of survey data by using frequencies (valid percentages). I used Crosstabulations at the end of the chapter for the selected independent variables that indicated significant association to return intentions, the dependent variable. In some cases I have reported results regardless of statistical significance as I felt that it was important to know why there was no relationship between the two variables.

My other original intention was to end with exploration with a Logistic Regression which would have drawn on independent variables that showed statistical significant relationship to the dependent variable, return intentions. However, when I immersed myself in the data, I felt that the triangulation of data revealed a much stronger and more compelling story that I wish to portray, beyond what the logistic regression analysis revealed. In addition, the initial research did not employ random sampling and in order to carry out statistical analysis, it is recommended that one has a random sample or as close as possible to a random sample. Clearly, this study employed a convenience, snowball and purposeful sample, all of which are not even close to a random sample.

Based on these factors, I have decided to omit the Logistic Regression analysis from my dissertation.

Qualitative Data Analysis

For the purpose of this study, the survey data was not sufficient in telling the “whole story”. No study would be. The individual interviews, focus groups, and field data provide valuable information on the subject matter. I did not utilize any qualitative software for the analysis. I began to analyze the content by reading the interviews and focus groups and making notes, comments and initial coding in the margin (Patton, 1990). As I continued reading interviews, core categories arose along with the sub categories. It was appropriate to use cross case analysis for the purpose of this study in which I grouped answers from different respondents or presented their views on an issue (Patton, 1990). By carrying out a cross case analysis, I wanted to provide more depth in the understanding of what pulled the individual towards intentions of return migration (Miles and Huberman 1994). I also referred to field notes taken during the course of my interaction with the respondents during individual interviews and focus groups.

Data Presentation

There are multiple sources of data in this study which resulted in initial confusion as to whether to present the data together or in a fragmented fashion where I only discuss one data source at a time. Once I began working on the data, I quickly realized that the analysis should combine both the quantitative and qualitative data from various sources. The survey data provided the numbers on the subject matter while the qualitative data offered a voice and added meaning to the study as a whole. In keeping with the multi-methodology nature of this research, it seemed coherent when using both forms of data to enlighten the reader about the experiences of the women. In the next chapter, both data types and all sources were linked, or built upon each other throughout the discussion (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2010). Although much discussion draws on both data types, there are some content areas where I have also used only qualitative data. We cannot expect either data sources to provide everything. That would be a miracle. The qualitative data lead to some discovery and vital information that the quantitative data did not address. Therefore, I also used only one type of data to discuss certain subject matters.

Although the focus of this dissertation was initially on the intentions of return migration of female Filipino domestic workers, during the data analysis it became evident that there was more data on their reason for migration, life experiences in the United States and how they maintained connections to their families. This relates back to the original reason for data collection. I could not neglect such valuable information and

therefore, have included this data to tell the story of these women. In describing their journey, I am better able to make the connection to their intentions of return migration.

In the next chapter, I present the data by beginning with the life of women in the Philippines prior to their migration. This comprised their reflections of their life, demographic information such as their age, marital status, educational background and occupation. The second section addresses the migration itself where I raised the issue of why they migrated and the process it took for them to get to the United States. The third segment of the chapter considers their life in the United States which includes their expectations and the “reality check” upon arrival, the importance of networking, what their work entails, and how they live outside of work hours. In the fourth part of the chapter, I highlight family matters. This includes demographic information on the number of children they have if any, their age, where they are, and what they are doing. In addition, to the basics, I explore how mothers stay connected to their children from a distance, and the impact of her absence on her children, spouse and herself. I also delve into remittance and its use in this section. The final section addresses their return intentions in which I highlight the independent variables which showed statistically significant association to the dependent variable return intentions through the use of cross tabulations. Some variables did not indicate any significant association but I also addressed them as it is equally important to understand the lack of relationship to the dependent variable. In concluding, I analyze the qualitative data which illustrates the trials, tribulations and frustrations of these women which impact on their decision making process.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND DISCOVERIES

The Journey Home – A Dream Deferred

This study is exploratory in nature. Ultimately, I am hoping to understand the driving force(s) behind female Filipino domestic workers' intentions to return to the Philippines and what keeps them here despite their intentions. In doing so, I tell their stories by integrating the survey data with the data drawn from individual interviews, focus groups and field data. These sources of data will help in providing a more complete picture of the situation of Filipino domestic workers.

Life in Philippines

Economic growth in the Philippines has averaged 4.5% a year since 2001 (CIA World Factbook). Although there has been economic growth, increasing population and inequitable distribution of income has resulted in increasing poverty. In addition, the unemployment rate was 10% in 2002 and therefore, the government has continued to encourage citizens to work overseas. Women in this study generally reflected that although they were working, their income was insufficient to provide for their families' needs.

Trying Times

The life of women in this study when they were in the Philippines, prior to their departure, is important in understanding their situation and how migration helped them and their family. I begin this section by drawing from qualitative data to describe how women viewed their lives prior to migration as this provides a picture of their economic situation pre-migration. I then present the quantitative data on land ownership and demographic information including age, education, occupation and marital status.

In interviews, while talking about their life in the Philippines, I noticed respondents' faces brighten up as they conversed about the life they had. Participants in focus group 4 for example reflected on their life in Philippines as being "very happy" and "very nice". When the subject was raised, one participant immediately said, "I love the Philippines, love Philippines a social life..... nice life there". Despite their employment as domestic workers in the USA, many women considered themselves to be middle class. They said that their children were either attending private schools or good government schools. Some individuals even joked that they could hire domestic workers in the Philippines and now were working as domestics in this country. Four out of six participants in Focus Group 4 mentioned previously hiring domestic workers in their homes. However, as time wore on and as economic conditions deteriorated, they were not able to maintain their lifestyle in the Philippines. Some lost their homes, others sold cars and businesses that were once booming and were beginning to incur huge losses. Individual interviewees reflected on this time period as described below.

Emma summed up her lifestyle as “we were middle class in the Philippines. She (her daughter) went to a good school.” She said that they “hit rock bottom” when her husband had to borrow money and she had to pawn her jewelry for cash. “So he borrowed the P280, 000 (US \$6,000). I could sense that we were going down at the time, because my husband was no longer able to get money from his own pocket for the business. I was forced to pawn all my jewelries for over P1, 000,000 (US \$21, 600).” Emma and her husband had to foreclose on their 7 bedroom beach home which they had mortgaged for the business.

Sarah reflected on the boom and bust of her internet business and how she tried to make ends meet.

“At the time, the internet business was located in the three main roads in our area. We were the pioneers at the time. We were servicing the university, the hospital, and others. At the time, our business was really strong. We were making P25, 000 (US \$544) a day but slowly business went down. So other internet cafes started to be built around our business. People went to the newest business; new companies had newer machines, etc. So because of the stiff competition, we had to cut down on the rental of our computers, but somehow new businesses were able to go down further on their prices. We had to stick to P30 (US \$0.65) rental of our computers, and our competitors were able to cut it down to P15 (US \$0.33). The reason for that was we had better machines, so we had to charge more, and they had less expensive machines. Because we couldn’t beat their prices, they were able to siphon our customers. So our business went down. At the time, we had three cars, and we had to sell them.”

While failure of their respective businesses meant that Emma and Sarah could not afford basic needs for their families, there were families with stable jobs who were also unable to sustain their monthly expenses. Xavier was an assistant auditor with a monthly salary of P7, 000 (US \$153). Her husband was a police investigator. Xavier had sufficient funds to employ domestic workers at home. However, she could not maintain this lifestyle and wanted to improve the life of the family financially especially with respect to the education of her children.

Land Ownership

In understanding their socio-economic status prior to migration, the survey data supplemented the personal reflections above by providing information on the ownership of land and demographic information of the women. Table 4 shows that majority of survey respondents (N=141, 77.5%) reported owning residential land, signifying that they were likely to be middle class. A smaller number of individuals owned agricultural land (N=55, 30.2%). This also implied that many of the women were probably living in cities rather than in rural or agricultural areas.

Table 4

Land Ownership

	Frequency	Percent
Ownership of Residential Land		
Yes	141	77.5%
No	41	22.5%
Total	182	100%
Ownership of Agricultural Land		
Yes	55	30.2%
No	127	69.8%
Total	182	100%

Although the majority of those surveyed owned land, the topic of land ownership was not a key topic in most of the individual interviews and focus groups. 5 women in the individual interviews said that they owned homes and 2 women owned agricultural land. All 6 women who participated in Focus Group 4 owned a home. Although many women did not mention home ownership during the individual interviews, they did come across as doing so during my personal interactions. They considered themselves to be middle class but at the same token, struggling even in this socio economic group as was reflected in Emma's, Sarah's and Xavier's stories.

Demographic Background – Further Clues on Shaping Socio Economic Status

Demographic data obtained from the survey included women's age, marital status, education and occupation are provided in Table 6.

Age

The survey data revealed that the mean age of respondents was 45 years. The OFWs data in Table 5 indicates that majority (78.2%) of the individuals going overseas were under 40 years of age which was different from the Damayan data where majority (73.8%) of the women in the survey were 40 years and over. With respect to the individual interviews, among the 8 respondents who revealed their age, 2 were under 45 years of age and the remaining 7 were 46 years and over. Both data sources for this study revealed that women were in their middle ages.

Table 5

Age Comparison of OFWs Census Data with Damayan Data

Age Group	OFWs Census Data	Damayan Data
	968 Number (In Thousands)	182
	Percentage Breakdown by Age Group Categories	
15 – 24 Years	13.5%	4.7%
25 – 29 Years	28.8%	5.2%
30 – 34 Years	20.3%	8.7%
35 – 39 Years	15.6%	7.6%
40 – 44 Years	10.3%	20.3%
45 and Over	11.6%	53.5%
Total	100%	100%

Notes: Details may not add up to total due to rounding.

Source: <http://www.census.gov.ph>

Table 3: Number and Percent Distribution of Overseas Filipino Workers by Age Group and Sex: 2007 & 2008

Marital Status

Where marital status was concerned, slightly more than one half of the women (N=91, 51.4%) reported being married (Table 6). 34 women reported being divorced (N=14, 7.9%), widowed (N=6, 3.4%) or separated (N=14, 7.9%). Though almost half of these women may be considered to be single, they could still have the financial burden if they were raising children as was reflected in the individual interviews or supporting other family members. Alice, June and Queenie for example were separated from their husbands but continued to provide financially for their children. When considering the marital status of the individual interviewees, 14 respondents reported being married, while 2 were single, 3 separated from their husbands and 2 were widowed. Consequently, whether married or not, these are mature women with sufficient family responsibilities to keep them in the United States.

Education

Level of education respondents attained in the Philippines was a good indicator of the type of occupation they held. Table 6 clearly shows that the vast majority of respondents had some college education (N= 150, 84.8%). 18 respondents in the individual interview discussed their educational background. 1 individual reported completing Elementary education and another up until High School. Out of the remaining 16, 6 women attended college but did not complete a degree. Another 6 completed college and the remaining 4 had obtained qualifications higher than a bachelors degree. Both data sources revealed that for domestics, these women were generally very well educated. Based on their education levels, many women would have held professional jobs as will be discussed below.

Occupation

The survey question Damayan derived on occupation did not fully capture the nature of respondents' work, as the groupings were not appropriate (eg: Farm Worker/Peasant). In order to maximize responses to this question, the data from the question on occupation, and from those who provided more information when they placed themselves in the "other" category, were collapsed. All responses were then recoded into Professional and Non-Professional types of work. Out of 133 responses, 91 women (68.4%) reported holding professional jobs while 42 (31.6%) were considered to be in non-professional fields (Table 6). Amongst the 22 individuals interviewed who discussed their occupation in the Philippines, 13 of them had professional jobs while 9 had non professional jobs. Bella and Sarah informed that they were business women

while Helen, Kelly, Umi and Yuma were teachers. Combining education and occupation revealed that the majority of these women domestics were highly educated and held professional jobs. This clearly implied that they were mostly from the middle class.

Table 6

Demographic Characteristics of Women from the Survey Data

	Frequency	Percent
Age		
Mean	44.91	
Standard Deviation	10.835	
	Under 30 Years	17
	31-40 Years	38
	41-50 Years	63
	Over 50 Years	54
	Total	172
		9.9%
		22.1%
		36.6%
		31.4%
		100%
Marital Status		
	Single	52
	Married	91
	Separated	14
	Divorced	14
	Widowed	6
	Total	177
		29.4%
		51.4%
		7.9%
		7.9%
		3.4%
		100%
Education		
	Elementary	5
	High School	22
	Some College	44
	Completed College	84
	Higher than College	22
	Total	177
		2.8%
		12.4%
		24.9%
		47.5%
		12.4%
		100%
Occupation		
	Professional	91
	Non-Professional	42
	Total	133
		68.4%
		31.6%
		100%

Correspondingly, a majority of women interviewed considered themselves to be from the middleclass, and were trying to make a decent living for their families. These women's inability to sustain themselves and maintain their families' middle-class lifestyle in the Philippines seemed to have been a major push factor for migration which will be addressed next.

Migration

Economies of Scale

There has always been at least one major push factor in migration. In this case, many respondents quoted their reason as being economic. The survey data revealed that 63.6% (N=110) of respondents primarily migrated for financial reasons. One has to understand that the US Dollar has been much stronger than the Philippine Peso. The currency exchange for 1 US Dollar is approximately 46 Pesos. Qualitative data revealed that many women were just trying to keep their families afloat by coming here. In the focus groups, all participants said that they came to the United States primarily for financial reasons. Some individual interviewees indicated that they had businesses that were once booming but slowed down; increasing debt had driven these women to seek domestic work in the United States.

For example, June's husband owned a car rental service and an auto repair shop. She occasionally sold homemade hotdogs to neighbors and friends to supplement their income. They also owned a coconut plantation that she had inherited from her parents. Their financial troubles began when the price of coconuts fell from 20 pesos (US \$0.43) to 8 pesos (US\$0.08), due to fluctuations in the global market. The loss of this substantial source of income meant that June and her family could not maintain their middle-class lifestyle and she made the dramatic decision to become a domestic worker overseas.

Those who didn't have their own businesses had secure employment and likewise considered themselves to be middle class. However, they were still not able to sustain themselves and their families at home. Aspirations for their children to attend college have driven them to look for higher paying jobs overseas.

Umi, a high school teacher of 30 years was earning 15,000 pesos (US \$321) as a department head but her net income was only 6,000 pesos (US \$128). Her husband's income was 25,000 pesos (US \$536) and yet their combined income was insufficient to cover rent for their home and their five children's private school tuition. The cheapest college tuition they had to pay per semester was 30,000 pesos (US\$ 643). She said that "prestige cannot pay for my children's education". Eventually the bills mounted and they could not sustain themselves on their monthly income.

Government Corruption

Though economic growth has averaged 5% since President Arroyo took office in 2001, the Philippine economy continues to face many long term challenges. There is an urgent need to improve employment opportunities as the unemployment rate is estimated to be 7.4% in 2008 (CIA-The World Factbook). Mohapatra and Ratha (2008) from The World Bank note that the rising cost of living has had a negative impact on remittances. Although remittances have increased over the years, they have only served the purpose of preserving the purchasing power of recipients. The gloomy economic forecast implies that Filipino men and women would try increasingly seek employment overseas and those who were already overseas would not consider return migration. The Philippine Census data revealed that the number of Overseas Filipino Workers has continued to rise where there were 2 million men and women working abroad in 2008 as compared to 1.03 million in 2001. Table 7 provides the breakdown of occupation by gender. There is a huge disparity in gender with respect to laborers and unskilled workers where many more women (54.7%) are represented in this category when compared to men (11.6%). Similarly, there are many more men involved in occupations related to Trade (28.3%) and Plant and Machine Operators and assemblers (23.2%) when compared to women (2.1% for both categories).

Table 7

Occupation of OFWs (Philippine Census Data)

Major Occupation Group	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Total (Number in Thousands)	2,002	1,034	968
Officials of government and special-interest organizations corporate executive, managers, managing proprietors and supervisors	2.7%	3.9%	1.3%
Professionals	9.6%	9.9%	9.4%
Technicians and associate Professionals	6.2%	7.5%	4.9%
Clerks	5.6%	4.4%	6.9%
Service Workers and shop and market sales workers	14.3%	10.3%	18.5%
Farmers, forestry workers and fishermen	0.6%	0.9%	0.2%
Traders and related workers	15.7%	28.3%	2.1%
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	13.0%	23.2%	2.1%
Laborers and unskilled workers	32.4%	11.6%	54.7%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Notes: Details may not add up to total due to rounding.

Source: <http://www.census.gov.ph>

Table 5: Number and Percent Distribution of Overseas Filipino Workers by Major Occupation Group and Sex: 2007 & 2008

Women mentioned having faith that the Philippines could become a global economic competitor. However, they were frustrated and angry that there was much government corruption and lack of proper leadership. During her interview, Nancy reflectively remarked that at home “naturally, life is hard. Because there’s no work. Even if there is work, the salary is not enough. The entire economy is down because the government officials are corrupt. They only think of themselves. They’re the only ones getting rich.”

Umi, on the other hand, had been very active in fighting against government corruption. She was part of the EDSA (Epifanio de los Santos Avenue) which is an acronym referring to the peaceful mass demonstrations that took place at Epifanio de los Santos Avenue in 1986 in protest of the corrupt President Ferdinand Marcos. However, she felt that it was ultimately all in vain.

“I was also an activist. But when I realized how rotten the government was, I just forgot about my principles. In college, I was part of the EDSA people power. But then, after we tackled Marcos, another rotten president was put in power. And life became more miserable for all of us. During Marcos’ time, I was happier as a teacher because at the time, the Makati government equaled our pay, which was coming from the national government. So our salary doubled. So after the EDSA people power, the local government counterpart disappeared. So the teacher’s lives became miserable again, while around us, we saw the alligators in the government. Those who fought for the people just died without getting justice.”

Zena’s friend advised her to come to the United States to work. “She said I would have a better way of earning a living here compared to the Philippines. Because in the Philippines, it’s starting to go down. People are like crawling to make a living. It’s hard. The economy is totally collapsed.”

When questioned about why life is getting harder, Zena says, “because of the government. Corrupt. Corrupt. All corrupt. That’s the first reason. And the things for sale constantly increase in price. The profit of business people keep shrinking. And the money to buy things increase. So that’s why people really can’t bear it anymore. So what will happen is that it will really collapse.”

When asked why many Filipinos go abroad, Xavier responded by saying, “because of the economic problem that besets the country. A lot of Filipinos are looking for work elsewhere to live a better life.” She said that “corruption in the government and too much politics” makes life hard for people at home. Stephanie also expressed that “there’s really no hope in the Philippines. It doesn’t matter how great your education is, or how many courses you’ve done, you cannot really improve your life.”

In addition to economic reasons for migration, the qualitative data revealed that the awareness of wide-scale government corruption was another factor in the women’s decision to migrate. A corrupt government that activist women felt powerless to change also meant that while the country faltered economically there was nothing to do but seek employment elsewhere.

Migration to Other Countries – The Roundabout Journey

The survey data indicates that 39.5% women (N=64) had migrated to other countries before coming to the United States. Coming to the United States was not cheap and therefore, some women may have chosen to work in countries such as Singapore, Malaysia or the Middle-East as contract domestic workers. Wilma and Yuma for example, were working in Hong Kong and Saudi Arabia respectively, prior to coming to the United States. They revealed that they came to the United States with their employers from these countries respectively. When comparing the currency exchange of the various countries to the Philippine Peso, it was obvious that earning in US dollars would bring home more Pesos. For example, 1 Hong Kong Dollar translated to only 6 Pesos while 1

Saudi Arabia Riyals converted to 12 Pesos. On the other hand, 1 US Dollar when converted was 46 Pesos. That made coming to the US desirable and their employers presumably covered the costs of their coming.

Costs Incurred for Travel Abroad

For most others coming from the Philippines, there were heavy costs involved when traveling overseas. There were fees imposed by the Philippine government for virtually everything for those who wanted to travel abroad. The list of expenses of a newly-hired Filipino migrant is given below in Table 8. The individual worker is responsible for the cost of these fees. Those who are middle-class would probably be able to afford these fees. Others who were originally poor or recently poor would have had to take sizable loans in order to be able to leave the country to work abroad.

Table 8

Expected Migration Costs for an OFW

1. National Bureau of Investigation (NBI) Clearance	P55
2. Passport	P650
3. POEA Placement Fee / Processing Fee	USD100
4. Overseas Worker Welfare Administration (OWWA) fund Contribution	USD25
6. OWWA Medicare	P900
7. Pre-Departure Orientation Seminar (PDOS)	P50-150
8. POEA Overseas Employment Certificate (OEC)	P100
9. Agency Placement Fee	P15, 000 to 65,000

Source: Migrant Focus Magazine, Oct-Dec 2000. Vol. 1(2)

The table below (Table 9) reflects that survey respondents were more likely to pay for Passport fees (N=92, 50.5%), Airport fees (N=78, 42.9%) and Medical Exam Fees (N=49, 26.9%) than others. Since many respondents traveled to the United States on a tourist visa, they probably did not incur many of the costs listed in Table 8.

Table 9

Types of Government Fees Paid by Survey Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	
Passport Fees	Yes	92	50.5%
	No	90	49.5%
	Total	182	100%
Medical Exam Fees	Yes	49	26.9%
	No	133	70.1%
	Total	182	100%
Philippine Overseas Employment Fees	Yes	35	19.2%
	No	147	80.8%
	Total	182	100%
Class Fees	Yes	5	2.7%
	No	177	97.3%
	Total	182	100%
Orientation Fees	Yes	13	7.1%
	No	169	97.3%
	Total	182	100%
Airport Fees	Yes	78	42.9%
	No	104	57.1%
	Total	182	100%

Type of Visa Entry into the United States

The majority of survey respondents entered the United States with a Tourist Visa (N=132, 74.6%). When reviewing the qualitative data, ten respondents from the individual interviews arrived on a tourist visa while four of them accompanied their employer from another country to the United States, and the remaining were either sponsored by family or came through a business or religious visa.

June and Florence for example, followed their employers from Switzerland and Saudi Arabia respectively when they moved to the United States. Leanne, a pastor and teacher in the Philippines, obtained a religious visa to attend a conference in a mid western state. Alice obtained a business visa as she was involved in buying animals for breeding purposes in the Philippines. Although the majority of women entered by the means of a tourist visa, others obtained entry through other types of visas. Despite these differences, their objective was the same: domestic employment in order to send US dollars back home.

Application process for a Tourist Visa

When applying for a tourist visa, one had to convince the visa application interviewing officer at the US Embassy that they were entering the United States for a vacation, that they had sufficient finances, and did not need to work while they were visiting, or had no intentions of overstaying. The different ways of demonstrating wealth included carrying cash, reporting assets such as one's business, cars, house, and even the job as indicated in Table 10. The most common means was to show that they had money

(N=76, 41.8%). In order to 'look rich' on paper, some went through an agency to fabricate papers.

Bella for example, paid \$6000 USD in agency fees in order to fabricate documents. "As a tourist, you need to pay the agency \$6000 and they will take care of your papers. Pretend that you are rich in the Philippines that you are not going to stay in the United States." She went on to provide data about what documents the agency fabricated to help her with her visa application interview at the American Embassy.

"They made my business look like multi-million dollar, that I am the owner of this catering, I have different cars, different titles, I have \$3000 money market in this bank, I have \$100, 000 money market... You know those... I have millions of money in the bank."

Agencies charged fees depending on what needed to be done to improve the client's chances of obtaining the visa. In addition to fabricating documents with respect to their wealth, age and even family size, they helped the applicant feel confident that they had all the necessary information for the interview.

Table 10

Collaterals Used in Obtaining a Tourist Visa

	Frequency	Percent	
Showed Money	Yes	76	41.8%
	No	106	58.2%
	Total	182	100%
Showed Car	Yes	40	22%
	No	142	78%
	Total	182	100%
Showed House	Yes	49	26.9%
	No	133	73.1%
	Total	182	100%
Showed Job	Yes	51	28%
	No	131	72%
	Total	182	100%
Loaned Money	Yes	23	12.6%
	No	144	86.2%
	Total	182	100%

Olivia, Wilma and Zena took out loans to facilitate their visa application to come to the United States. Olivia was in grave financial strife. She needed money to process her tourist visa application to the United States and decided to approach a friend. “When I got to my friend’s house, I told him that I really needed help because I don’t have work and I really want to go to America because I was having some financial problems with my house and the social security. I didn’t have to talk to him over and over; he just asked me what I needed.”

In order to secure her visa application and a job in the United States, Zena needed 250, 000 pesos. Zena said with great relief during the interview that "... with the mercy of God, I was able to put the land title on loan for 250, 000 pesos. So, I was able to leave." Alternatively, Kelly used her job as major collateral during the tourist visa application interview at the US embassy. She said that the US embassy, "...asked for my certificate of employment, leave of absence and income tax." She went on to talk about the interview by saying that "I made the embassy believe that I had to come back because of my job."

Considering that the majority of women entered the United States with a Tourist Visa, I will be addressing their current legal status in the country. It was obvious to me in my interactions with these ladies that they were predominantly undocumented. The survey data reflected this as 103 (59.9%) of respondents reported that they did not have legal status at the time of data collection. 54 women had their application pending through their employer or family member. 9 (50%) individual interviewees reported having legal status while 9 (50%) others admitted to being undocumented. Legal status of these individuals seemed to have had an impact in their workplace which will be discussed in the next section. It also affected one's decision to return to the Philippines that will be addressed in the final section of this chapter.

This section on migration reveals that the majority of women came to the United States to work due to economic reasons. They did so at great costs personally and financially. The qualitative data helped in shedding some light on the desperation women have faced in tough times, in order to sustain the lives of their families, may have had to migrate for work. It has not been easy for these women to enter the country but the next sections show just how determined they are to maximize the length of their stay in the United States.

Life in the United States

Living in the “Land of Milk and Honey”

Many of the women studied entered the United States between 1999 and 2003 (N=89, 53.4%). I was expecting a drop in figures after 2001 due to the impact of 9/11 but in fact, the greatest number of entries into the US was in 2002 (N = 28, 16.8%). This trend was also reflected in the qualitative data where 10 individual interviewees arrived after the year 2001. The qualitative data provided a painfully ironic picture of their expectations and the reality with respect to their experience of coming to the United States. Women knew that they would most probably be seeking domestic employment in the United States. They were appalled with the working conditions and the unjust treatment of employers.

Bella, for example, talked about her elation when she obtained her tourist visa and then the disappointment when she eventually got to the United States. “When I left the room, I jumped. I thought it was heaven already (obtaining the visa). I did not expect to be treated like this. I thought I won the lottery when I got the visa. It is really disappointing that... I thought just clean houses, get money and save.” She mentioned that she expected a “good job, good salary” and that she “came here so excited”.

Kelly reflected on her expectations of what United States as a country would have looked like and what she really felt when she got here.

“I was expecting what I can see here will be so different from what we have in the Philippines in terms of the environment. I was so surprised that I can also see homeless people here. I did not expect to see homeless people here as you know in the Philippines, America is known as the land of milk and honey. I didn’t imagine what it could be like as I didn’t have any idea how my life will be here. There are some relatives who went home to the Philippines to visit and they always said good good. Always you hear good good. But that good, when I was here I thought it was not really good.”

Leanne shared similar feelings by revealing that her “expectations were very high before and then reality is just sugar coated”. May expressed her emotions about coming to New York by saying that “I was so nervous, this is New York. When I was in the Philippines, I thought if I can only go to New York, (it would be so great) I would die. Now that I’m here, I know it’s not really that great. It’s not that beautiful.” Many women said that they had such high expectations of coming and working in America but they soon realized upon their arrival that the reality was quite different. The next section provides a description of the nature of their work and their lifestyle in the United States.

Getting Started – The Importance of Networks

When an individual is newly arrived into the country, it is important to have some point of contact or seek out this contact in order to survive. Here the development of networks is vital as social relationships across distances create social ties which maintain migration over time (Boyd, 1989; Cassarino, 2004; Lotharweiss, 2003). Anderson (2000) reported that some women use informal networks (i.e.: that of family and friends) to help them secure jobs before their arrival. Other researchers have shown that the success of migration is dependent upon social networks which were useful in obtaining information about job opportunities, assimilation and settlement in the host country (Byron, 1999; Casimiro, 2004; Curran & Saguy, 2001; Orrenius, 1999).

Twelve individual interviewees in this study said that they either had relatives or friends living in the United States. However, it became evident that when some women relied on relatives to provide them with jobs when they initially came, they were not treated well. Olivia for example, first arrived in California where her brother lived and when she felt that she was being under paid, she called a friend in New York who said that there were a lot of jobs and suggested that she move to New York. Ivy had a very bad experience as although her relative sponsored her visa to come to the United States and work at their home, she was virtually imprisoned in the home, not allowing to leaving the house, or use the telephone or even watch Television in her free time. Subsequently, Ivy left and found multiple part-time jobs with the help of friends.

Women who had friends were also able to find work. May, for instance, had a friend in New York who helped her find her first job. Many of their friends were also domestic workers and, therefore, asked their employers and other friends for available work. Even if they initially did not have a contact in the United States, most individual interviewees mentioned that they obtained jobs through networks. Networks not only helped women when they were new in the country, but also during their time here as highlighted later in this chapter.

A handful of women used an agency at some point in their job hunt. During my time spent with Filipino women, I noticed that they were very friendly, and even if they did not speak English as fluently as I did, it did not deter them from conversing with me. This strength of theirs has helped them in networking as they were not afraid to ask questions, were always looking out for opportunities, and sought out what they needed.

Domestic Worker the Super Woman

Domestic work is a broad term for work involving very different types of household tasks. It includes caring for the young or the elderly, carrying out housekeeping, laundry, ironing, or cooking. The survey data included terms such as babysitter, nanny, and baby nurse in order to ensure that all these types of work were captured in the data. Table 11 below provides an overview of the type of work survey respondents were carrying out during the time of the survey. The data indicated that many respondents were involved with caring for children as there were 71 (39%) women working as babysitters and 45 (24.7%) who worked as nannies. It was interesting to note

that nearly one-third were also likely to carry out some level of housekeeping (N=59, 32.4%).

Table 11

Types of Domestic Work

		Frequency	Percent
Babysitter	Yes	71	39%
	No	111	61%
	Total	182	100%
Nanny	Yes	45	24.7%
	No	137	75.3%
	Total	182	100%
Housekeeper	Yes	59	32.4%
	No	123	67.6%
	Total	182	100%
Caring for the Elderly	Yes	41	22.5%
	No	141	77.5%
	Total	182	100%
Cook	Yes	16	8.8%
	No	166	91.2%
	Total	182	100%
Baby Nurse	Yes	4	2.2%
	No	178	97.8%
	Total	182	100%

Individual interviews revealed that those who worked as nannies or babysitters also did housekeeping, laundry, ironing and some also cooked for the family.

Alice, for example, described her live-in job in New Jersey where she had to care for four children. She stated, “I was sleeping on the couch and I have to work until twelve in the midnight. When the baby cries I have to get up and pacify the baby. In the morning I have to get up at six o’clock to cook their breakfast.” When asked if she had to clean the house, cook and do laundry, she replied “everything, everything.”

Ivy did “everything” as well. She reflected on her live-in job by stating that she did “everything. I cook, I clean, I fix the house, like fixing, like a carpenter you know and washing clothes.” This was in addition to caring for the employer’s four year old son.

Domestic workers who did not live with their employers did not seem to work as many hours, but they did have similar chores. Kelly said that when she went to her employer’s home in the morning, “they just give me the baby and the house. The house which is all things in the sink, in the table. Everything that they use on the floor, whatever. They just leave and just entrusted everything to me.” With evident pride, however, she added, “When they come back in the afternoon, their house is brand new.”

When interviewing women, they talked about multi-tasking, caring for one or more children, cooking meals, helping with homework and completing other chores around the house. Some women mentioned that their employers preferred Filipino domestics to other nationalities as they had a good command of the English language and therefore, coached the children after school. This was also echoed in other studies where

domestic workers carried out multiple tasks around the home in addition for caring for children or the elderly (Anderson, 2000; Chang, 2000; Parrenas, 2001 & Wrigley, 1995).

Employment

At the time of data collection, a majority of survey respondents were employed full-time (N=136, 74.7%). There were 32 (18%) women who were working part-time or had multiple part-time jobs and 10 (5.6%) were unemployed. When considering the individual interviews, 5 women said that they were unemployed. Although women may have been unemployed, I noticed that these few were not distressed about their lack of employment. Apparently, they had sufficient savings to survive in the short-term. Some also mentioned friends stepping in to help them with accommodation and food until they found a job. They would also help the unemployed friend to find a job through their contacts. Therefore, networking and a sense of community support continued to play an important role as these women had no job security as I explained in the upcoming sections.

Endless Hours of Work

Previous research has highlighted that domestic workers carry out multiple tasks and work very long hours (Anderson, 2000; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001 & Parrenas, 2001). This was reflected in the individual interviews of this study where those who had a primary job such as babysitting or elder care tended to work at least 12 hours a day or more.

Women reflected that they worked very long hours especially when they lived with their employer. Florence for example said that at her current job she started work at 8am and went to bed when her employers return at around 9.30pm or later. Alice reflected on her first job by stating “I have to work until twelve in the midnight. When the baby cries I have to get up and pacify the baby. In the morning, I have to get up at six o’clock to cook their breakfast. I only rest like six, seven hours.” Emma had similar experiences as she informs “I (Emma) was a live-in person, I was trying very hard to be a live-out. I worked there for 12 hours average”. During the second focus group discussions, all participants agreed that on average, they worked 12 hours a day regardless of whether they lived with their employers. It was interesting to note that the survey data did not reflect the information in the qualitative data to this extent. Among those who responded to this question, 67 (44.4%) reported working an average of 40 hours a week while 84 (55.6%) respondents reported working more than 40 hours a week.

Wage

The minimum wage in New York and New Jersey effective from July 2009 is \$7.25 per hour (United States Department of Labor) which amounts to \$290 for a 40 hour week. For those who work more than 40 hours a week, they are entitled to 1.5 times the regular salary and if the domestic worker lives with the employer, this applies after 44 hours. When comparing the wage of survey respondents to the minimum wage, more than half earned over the minimum wage as indicated in the Table 12 below. About half of the respondents in the survey data (N=80, 47.9%) reported earning \$500 or more on a weekly basis. Even when respondents worked overtime, the majority did not receive

additional pay (N= 87, 56.1%). The qualitative data also supported this trend; the majority of the interviewees worked long hours but did not receive additional pay. Many women worked a five day week and did not work on Saturdays (N=111, 61%) and Sundays (N=152, 83.5%). Although the majority of domestic workers who participated in this study earned above the minimum wage, they carried out numerous tasks and there was much uncertainty in their employment as it was an unregulated form of work. In addition, a majority of respondents did not receive benefits such as medical coverage (86.3%).

Table 12

Weekly Income of Survey Respondents

Weekly Income	Number	Percent
Under \$200	5	3%
\$200 - \$400	39	23.4%
\$400 - \$500	43	25.7%
\$500 - \$600	45	26.9%
Over \$600	35	21%
Total	167	100%

The Fragile Job

The survey data revealed that the majority of women were working for less than 2 years in their current place of employment (N=90, 57.7%). The qualitative data illustrated that working in this field was precarious as it was an unregulated form of employment.

Alice described domestic work as one of “no security. I pity those people who now they have a job, then next time no job. You will always fear that you will not have a job the next day. That is the bad part of domestic work”. Several women got terminated or decided to leave due to disputes at the workplace. Ivy and Zena, for example, chose not to remain in their respective jobs as their employers were abusive and accused them of stealing. Seven interviewees reported being terminated at some point as domestic workers. Reasons given for termination included not showing up for work due to being ill, talking back to the employer for increasing workload and or working hours, fixing the car seat incorrectly, being accused of breaking the dishwasher, and disputes regarding back payment of salary. The most common reason for termination was when women talked back or tried to reason with their employer. Florence described her employers as “They treat me really nice at first you know, that is what I learnt from working. That, you are treated nice as long as you are not against them. I do a lot of work. I don’t complain too much. Only if I am really pushed. And I answered back so, they were too offended and they call me, I’m fired.”

Alice describes the incident that led to her termination.

“It happened in, I was an assistant nanny for H (an employer). They’re so wealthy, they’re very wealthy. I made a mistake in the car. We had just come from Austin. I made a mistake on the snapping of the car seat, the car seat of the baby. It (the buckle) was reversed, but it snapped (in). When we wanted to take out the baby, it couldn’t get out. We couldn’t pop the fasten to take it out because I reversed (it). It was all dark. How would I know? As long as it fastened, there was a click, I thought it was right, but it was reversed. So we had to get a saw and cut it. The following day, I didn’t have a job”.

Diana reflected on her experience with her employer G.

“What happened with G (an employer) was that it was like 23rd of December 2002. I was asking her because you know, she owes me money. And then I told her it’s Christmas. I told her G, it’s Christmas. You owe me money. Can you give me so much money so that I’ll have it for Christmas? And then she shouted at me. And then she yelled at me. Then she told me you’re fired! That’s what she told me. I can’t do anything at that time.”

During conversations, a number of women also spoke about their frustrations with regard to termination during the holiday season. They looked forward to the holiday bonus so that they could remit more money that particular month. However, when terminated during this time, they would be fortunate to receive their due salary least of all a bonus! For their employers Christmas appeared an opportune time to terminate them.

Job Benefits

Part of the survey was devoted to benefits provided by the employer. Respondents were asked about twelve different benefits, including healthcare, personal days off, paid sick days, paid holidays, dental care, severance pay, regular paid transportation, cab fare when working late, access to a phone, access to the internet, meals and breaks during working hours. Table 13 below reveals that provision of meals (N=115, 63.2%), and paid holidays (N= 109, 59.9%) were the most typical benefit provided by employers. Less than half the respondents (N=86, 47.3%) however, had access to a telephone. During personal interactions with women, they did mention that cell phones were an absolute necessity in order to communicate with their own family. Therefore, the lack of access to a telephone at their employer's house was not seen as a major problem.

Table 13

Type of Benefit provided by the Employer

		Frequency	Percent
Health Insurance	Yes	25	13.7%
	No	157	86.3%
	Total	182	100%
Personal Days Off	Yes	79	43.4%
	No	103	56.6%
	Total	182	100%
Paid Sick Days	Yes	65	35.7%
	No	117	64.3%
	Total	182	100%
Paid Holidays	Yes	109	59.9%
	No	73	40.1%
	Total	182	100%
Dental Care	Yes	13	7.1%
	No	169	92.9%
	Total	182	100%
Severance Pay	Yes	7	3.8%
	No	175	96.2%
	Total	182	100%
Paid Transportation	Yes	38	20.9%
	No	144	79.1%
	Total	182	100%
Receive Cab fare	Yes	56	30.8%
	No	126	69.2%
	Total	182	100%
Access to Telephone	Yes	86	47.3%
	No	96	52.7%
	Total	182	100%
Access to Internet	Yes	36	19.8%
	No	146	80.2%
	Total	182	100%
Receive Meals	Yes	115	63.2%
	No	67	36.8%
	Total	182	100%
Receive Break	Yes	84	46.2%
	No	98	53.8%
	Total	182	100%

Health Insurance and Work Based Injuries

It's no surprise that employers wanted to maximize the amount of labor they could get out of a domestic worker but at the same time, they avoided providing some important benefits such as medical coverage. Rollins (1985), for example, reported that the domestic workers she interviewed did not have medical coverage and if they were sick, they had to forfeit pay. In another study, Anderson (2000) commented that when a domestic worker experienced work related injuries and could not work, she most probably lost her job. In addition, the employer did not help with any medical bills.

Similarly, in this study, only 25 (13.7%) of respondents were provided with health insurance. This was also reflected in the qualitative data where focus group participants stated that they did not receive health or dental benefits from their employers. Furthermore, although two participants reported having work based injuries, their employers refused to help with medical costs. A few participants in focus group 3 reported receiving money to cover doctor visits when they were sick. Among all the individuals interviewed, only Yuma's employer paid for her treatment and doctor's visits when required. Emma hurt her back and was in so much pain that she could not walk. Her employer was willing to take her to the doctor but when she asked about the medical fees, the employer refused to pay. In response, Emma remarked that "It was one of the saddest memories of my life. I was standing by the train. The guy said that seat is empty why don't you sit. I knew that if I sat, I wouldn't be able to stand up." That was the extent of her pain.

June was involved in a car accident while taking an employer's child to school. She needed time off to attend therapy and for doctors visits. Her employer eventually cut her pay as she was not able to work the long hours she did previously. In addition, the employer was unwilling to help with medical costs that mounted to \$8000 for the surgery.

Holiday Bonus

Some employers were more humane in their treatment of domestic workers than others. The individual interviews revealed that many respondents received bonus pay at the end of the year. Bella said that her employer, "always gives me (an) increase at Christmas time because it is bonus time." Helen was happy with her employer as "in fact I was sick in December, but they give me \$200 as my bonus." Florence, Olivia and Xavier said that their employers provided them with 2 weeks paid vacation. Four women got paid for major holidays such as New Year's and Christmas. Geena divulged that though she did part-time housekeeping, her current employer paid her for the whole month and "during holidays, they call me and say Geena you don't have to go and work". I soon realized that Geena was very fortunate with her employer as the majority of women did not experience such good relationships with their employers. Paid holiday and vacation were rare benefits for most.

Got Food?

Provision of food as a benefit was raised as a significant incentive by domestic workers. During the interviews women reflected on their experiences with different employers reporting that very few employers provided what they ate at mealtime. Some provided insufficient food or frozen dinners while others did not provide food at all. Queenie said that “She (her employer) is very good with food. Before, my employers had their own food. But now, whatever my employers are eating, they share with me. If they have steak, I have steak.” Geena also reported having good experiences with an employer who would even wait for her at meal times. Very few women, however, had such pleasant experiences as Queenie and Geena with respect to the sharing of food at mealtimes.

Xavier had a very different story to tell. She stated that “when it comes to food, I usually bring my own. Because I don’t like the food she (employer) provides. She gives me frozen dinners. Their food is usually put in the microwave, and that’s it.” Other women reported that the food provided was insufficient which resulted in them bringing their own food.

Leane said that at one household where she worked, “it is my employer who will put rice on my plate. My employer will say that’s enough.” Leane was diabetic and the quantity of food she received was insufficient. She said that the children would ask

“Nana what if you are hungry at midnight. Don’t worry, I will not be hungry. Then at 9 or 10 o’clock the boy after the parents went to sleep he will say nana, let’s go downstairs. Then I ask, what are we going to do down there? We will eat, we will eat (Leane laughs). Then we will go down and just get bread and then go up again.”

It is sad that the child she cared for understood her need for more food unlike the adult employer.

Those who worked full days at their employers’ homes found it problematic when employers did not provide sufficient food, as women did not have the means to go out and buy food during the time they were working. In addition, some were not allowed to bring in food from outside and therefore had to hide and eat while the employer was not looking. June commented,

“after two week, I was told by my employer that she will not provide food, and she told me that I cannot even eat in her house, that I cannot bring food. My employer told me that I should eat in my house before I go to work, that I cannot eat in her house. What I do, I still bring food, and when my employer is not around, I eat. I cannot work for 8 hours without eating.”

The majority of women interviewed had major concerns about food at some point of their career as domestic workers. The topic of food hit a sore nerve during the focus groups with a majority of participants. They discussed that there were cultural differences regarding food as Filipinos were used to substantial hot meals and salad and

pizza were considered snack items back home. The lack of variety in meals, insufficient amount of food, and constant provision of frozen dinners which Filipino women were not used to resulted in many of them bringing their own food to work. While conversing with women, they joked that their employers live in multi-million dollar homes, earned so much money and yet did not bother to provide proper food. They found this very degrading. In their eyes, it reflected the lack of job status.

In another study of Filipino domestic workers in Los Angeles and Rome, Parrenas (2001) related that the women she interviewed were only offended when they ate food that was less expensive in comparison to what the employer's ate and when they were expected to wait until their employers had completed their meals before they could eat. In addition to the lack of some important benefits, and food women experienced other types of abuses at work as well.

Physical / Emotional Abuses on the Job

A number of women spoke of experiencing some form of abuse. It was difficult to pursue such matters when doing research as other studies reveal that respondents tend to say that they have nice employers. Nonetheless, researchers have found that some employers are emotionally abusive, yelling at employees, threatening them, isolating them from the outside world, and playing 'mind games' in terms of drawing boundaries (Anderson, 2000, Chang, 2000; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001, Parrenas, 2001 & Rollins, 1985). The survey questioned respondents about emotional abuse, being yelled at, whether their passport was taken, whether they have been threatened, insulted, pushed or

shoved, hit, sexually harassed or sexually assaulted. Table 14 below reveals that the vast majority of survey respondents did not report any form of physical or emotional abuse. Interviews told another story, however.

Table 14

Physical or Emotional Abuse Experienced at the Workplace

		Frequency	Percent
Emotional Abuse	Yes	8	4.4%
	No	174	95.6%
	Total	182	100%
Yelled At	Yes	19	10.4%
	No	163	89.6%
	Total	182	100%
Had Passport Taken	Yes	0	0
	No	182	100%
	Total	182	100%
Threatened	Yes	1	0.5%
	No	181	99.5%
	Total	182	100%
Insulted	Yes	12	6.6%
	No	170	93.4%
	Total	182	100%
Pushed	Yes	1	0.5%
	No	181	99.5%
	Total	182	100%
Hit (Physical Abuse)	Yes	0	0
	No	182	100%
	Total	182	100%
Sexual Harassment	Yes	0	0
	No	182	100%
	Total	182	100%
Sexual Assault	Yes	1	0.5%
	No	181	99.5%
	Total	182	100%

Individual interviews and focus groups revealed that many women had experienced some form of physical or emotional abuse, the most common being yelled at and insulted. The difference in reporting such abuse on the survey and in the interviews is probably due to the nature of data collection. Participants in the qualitative data collection had more time and a sense of safety with which to ‘open’ up to the interviewers and in many cases knew at least one of the two interviewers. This meant that they were more comfortable revealing information unlike in the survey data.

Don't Yell at Me

Jane, for example, related a situation where “I was holding a plate, and it almost fell from my hand, but I caught it. My employer saw that. She said so many bad things to me because of that and so I decided that job was not for me. I can put up with long hours and hard work, but I can’t put up with bad treatment.”

Diana had bad experiences with an employer as she felt that her employer was “two-faced. She’s going to say blah, blah, you’re like this, you’re like that, when you back is turned. And she makes up stories.” During focus group 4, one participant talked about how her employer threw clothes at her face and went into a yelling frenzy during an incident. When focus group participants and individual interviewees talked about their workplace abuses, I felt their emotional hurt. They felt betrayed because they did so much with so little pay and their employers treated them in an inhumane way interpersonally as well.

I Spy...

Some domestic workers reported that their employers were suspicious of them. Florence, for example, mentioned that “she (employer) is very suspicious and what you call this.... Everything that is missing she asks me, where it is.” During her interview, Ivy talked about an employer who started off being nice but then began being suspicious of her stealing items. “It is actually the lady boss, she is very nice” says Ivy. “And she became like very, always, you know, fighting over my job. She is becoming paranoid because she is always like abusing all the staff like somebody was stealing this, stealing that, and you know.” Helen worked for an employer who warned that she had cameras everywhere in her house. There were instances where her employer would be suspicious and accused her of ruining her clothes.

“One time she asked me oh, did you see my dress? Before it was in the bag. I told her I don’t see what kind of dress. She said I leave it here. She said it is only you. If you ever burnt anything when you iron just tell me now, maam I burnt it. The truth is I did not see it. How could I do it? All her good clothes go to the laundry. Dry cleaning. Only we wash the towels, house dress. How can you consider. I felt uncomfortable.”

Women spoke about the psychological impact of such accusations. These were educated, psychologically sophisticated women who came from a middle-class background. When accused of stealing, it put a “dagger through our hearts” as one lady put it to me. Already physically exhausted from their work, they did not need this psychological abuse as well.

Wage / Hour Abuses on the Job

Research on the conditions of domestic work has revealed that women experience long working hours and have added responsibilities without additional compensation (Grande & Kerr, 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Rollins, 1985; Wrigley, 1995 & Zarempka, 2000). Some domestic workers also talk about their employers having unrealistic expectations such as simultaneously having to care for children and carry out housekeeping tasks (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001). The Damayan survey questioned respondents on wage and hour abuses which included no payment, delayed payment, work without breaks, not allowed to leave during hours not working (particularly for domestic workers living with their employer) and increasing work without a pay increment. Table 15 indicates that the majority of women did not report wage or hour abuses in response to the survey. The most common form of abuse was increasing their work without additional pay (N=29, 15.9%) and delaying their payment (N=15, 8.2%).

Table 15

Wage and Hour Abuse experienced at the Workplace

		Frequency	Percent
Did not Pay Salary	Yes	4	2.2%
	No	178	97.8%
	Total	182	100%
Delayed Payment of Salary	Yes	15	8.2%
	No	167	91.8%
	Total	182	100%
Breaks	Yes	8	4.4%
	No	174	95.6%
	Total	182	100%
Not Allowed to Leave Workplace	Yes	5	2.7%
	No	177	97.3%
	Total	182	100%
Increased Workload without Additional Pay	Yes	29	15.9%
	No	153	84.1%
	Total	182	100%

Maximizing Labor

Still, the 22 individual interviewees and focus group participants from the 4 focus groups revealed that all women interviewed experienced some form of wage and hour abuse. As in the survey, the most common type of abuse was adding on work or increased expectations without increase in salary but apparently, the survey data vastly underrepresented the extent of the problem. This was probably the case as during qualitative data collection, interviewees spent more time with interviewers and therefore became more open to talking about unpleasant topics such as wage and hour abuses.

Alice, for example, in her interview reflected on a former employer by saying that “if I don’t do the job well, she will tell me. Even if it’s already good, she needs more. She needs more.” When interviewed, Emma explained that “when she (employer) noticed that I was good at ironing, she tried giving me some of their clothes.” Emma also said that she was initially supposed to care for the 7 year old boy in the family but ended up also caring for the 10 year old girl, and had light housekeeping added on to her daily chores. Work was added on as time went by for many of the domestic workers as employers realized that they were good at these tasks.

Kelly reflected on this by saying,

“Yeah, sometimes they know that I know how to iron an when we work, it is natural for us to work like slaves. They know I am very good in ironing, so when they know, they give me more. Giving me more. Yeah, And then they know also, mending their clothes. They know also, that I am very good in mending clothes, they give me ahh, something to do. I am also good in wrapping gifts. When they have celebrations, they have gifts to wrap so they give me again something to do. They say, oh you are good at this. So, I say thank you.”

Domestic workers were more likely to tolerate the additional hours and work especially when employers was good to them. Rose reflected on her experience and stated “there are no hours, they are kind to me and when my employer is kind, I don’t give them hours. It’s ok with me as long as they don’t treat me like a slave.” A participant in focus group 1 informed that she agreed to working 10 hours a day as a housekeeper and babysitter with set chores. However, her employer added on more cleaning jobs and she also had to care for the pets which were not part of the initial agreement.

When talking to domestic workers it was evident that they were suffering inside but were reluctant to complain. Many had tears in their eyes when they talked about how much dirty work they had to do in order to earn that additional US Dollar and the abuses they had to tolerate to hold on to a job so that they were able to remit. Women said that they would bear the long hours and additional work as long as employers treated them with decency. The Filipino women with whom I interacted were by and large very giving and gentle in nature. They were experiencing so much pain and torment that it was just unimaginable to a person like me. Writing about this I came to realize how resilient they were in tolerating all that they experienced. Their determination to support their family is truly remarkable.

Effects of Job Stress on Mind and Body

When discussing job stress, these women reluctantly described the effects it had on them emotionally and physically. Alice felt that employer treatment towards domestic workers was “psychologically demeaning”. Bella talked about dealing with a ‘crazy’ employer. “Oh my god! I am so stressed. I have all this pain in my body especially my knees as I have arthritis.” Emma summed up her experiences by saying “I already knew that it wouldn’t be easy, but I didn’t know it would be cruel.”

Kelly reported feeling depressed due to job stress. She stated, “I was so depressed during that time because, number one the job is so stressful and I am not used to that. And eh, probably because the situation I was away from my family, and the job actually makes myself very busy at nighttime, I was tired, very tired.”

Emma reflected on how her live-in jobs affected her psychologically by stating, “It’s very hard. Well, you lose your identity, you get alienated. You lose yourself. You lose your confidence and self- respect unless you get lucky to find a decent employer.” She goes on to mention that when she lived with employers, “you don’t know anything; after work, I would just stare at the window and I don’t see anything. I don’t see anything; the only people that I see are the people I work for. It’s very sad, it’s very disempowering”.

Sarah worked very hard on her jobs just like her peers but felt that employers were not appreciative of her hard work,

“It was spring at that time. So you know, there were so many dead flowers, and it was also raining at the time. I do my best to clean the house, because I wanted to show my employers how hard I could work; to appreciate my work. But the children and the grandfather, when they came into the house, didn’t bother to shake their shoes, as if nobody cared that I cleaned the floors. So that really hurt me, and made me cry. I really wanted my employers to see how hard I worked, but it didn’t happen.”

Zena described an awful experience with her first employer with whom she lived resulting in suicidal thoughts before she finally left. She reflected:

“They were making me go hungry. I was starved. Then they wouldn’t let me sleep until late in the evening, even early morning. Its like was like... I was thinking to just kill myself. I thought about it. I thought about it because I couldn’t take it anymore. I just wanted to go back to the Philippines. But I was thinking about my children. I was going to go back to the Philippines but what about my children. I thought I’d rather die in the Philippines with my family instead of being here, killing myself. I didn’t have much of a fight being by myself.”

Many domestic workers decided to quit when they were not able to tolerate the abuses and or accusations from their employers. Ivy reported an incident where her employer had accused her of stealing, “it made me (Ivy) feel bad. I don’t want to argue with her. I told her that she can find another housekeeper. I really can’t take it anymore.” Zena who was living with her abusive employer escaped with the help of a friend who then introduced her to the Damayan organization where she found support.

Immigration Status and what it means at Work

Chang (2000) and Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) observe that there is a tendency for undocumented Filipino and Latino women in the United States to experience long working hours and low salaries. During the individual interviews, women raised the issue of the impact that immigration status has on their job.

Ivy, Leanne and Rose agreed that the lack of legal status impacted on their salary and quality of the job. Leanne states that “because of our status, we are hard to find a better job. Even for our pay. Because of our status they base it on status even our pay. It is very fortunate for an individual to have an employer who doesn’t look at the status.” Ivy reflected that her employers “treat you (her) like you’re not a human being sometimes they are-because they know that you don’t have papers so they can abuse you whenever they want.”

In addition to a lower salary when undocumented, Sarah and Umi also said that their lack of legal status was a barrier in obtaining a better job. Sarah stated that she “almost got a really good job, but it did not happen because I didn’t have papers.” During her interview Umi reflected with much regret that her “greatest barrier here (in USA) is my undocumented status”.

Bella had an interesting story to tell as she entered the country with a Tourist Visa but has since obtained legal status. When she was undocumented, she experienced exploitation as employers paid less and expected more work out of her. However, she strongly felt that obtaining legal status has had no impact on obtaining a better job in the field of domestic work. She has had lots of interviews but no job as yet.

“I thought if I can get my papers, I can get that... but I have a hard time now. You know when the employer interview(s) me now, I have a lot of interviews. They know that you are so smart, they don’t like you. They like the ones that they can step on their head you know the stupid one the one who says yes yes yes. Well, these people that I have interviews with now, they want you to have papers. They want you to be legal. But still they don’t want you to ask a lot of stuff. How about the holidays, how about if you are on vacation, are you still going to pay me? They don’t like that seriously. I noticed. I have 25 interviews already but nobody wants me. I know my rights now and I know what kind of benefits I can get.”

Abuse presented itself in so many different forms. Domestic workers endured so much exploitation as I have reported. It is evident from the data that these women continued to bear these hardships to their best ability for the sake of their families.

Location, Location, Location of Work

During discussions on formulating the survey, Damayan staff felt that those who worked in the city tended to experience better treatment than those outside of the city. Their theory was that employers living in Manhattan were more likely to be wealthier. Moreover, news about domestic worker maltreatment may spread quickly and stain reputations in Manhattan's social networks. In addition, the domestic worker's pay in Manhattan was probably higher than in other areas of New York and New Jersey. Based on the quantitative data available on this topic, those who did work in Manhattan were slightly better paid. Participants from focus group 1 indicated that jobs in New Jersey, especially in the suburbs, were not as good and did not pay as well as in Manhattan. The survey data revealed that 97 respondents (56.7%) worked in Manhattan, while 27 women (15.8%) in the greater New York area, and 31 (18.1%) in New Jersey (Table 16). However, there was no difference noted with respect to employer abuses.

Table 16

Location of Workplace

	Frequency	Percent
Manhattan	97	56.7%
New York City (excluding Manhattan)	12	7.1%
Greater New York	31	18.1%
New Jersey	31	18.1%
Total	155	100%

Domestic work takes place in the privacy of one's home, making it one of the most unregulated types of employment. The data from this study make it clear that it is not an easy job. Though their income may be higher than the minimum wage, it is an unstable job, and so workers never know when they will be terminated. Moreover, the income received is not commensurate with the working conditions and hours worked on the job. Furthermore, many women did not receive precious and important benefits such as health insurance. We are well aware of the cost of health care in this country. Besides the dreary working conditions and lack of benefits, women encountered many different types of abuse on the job.

Based on the voices of the women in this study, domestic work is one of the most unsatisfying types of work and yet, women remained resilient. Women lived a very low key life in order to earn the US dollar for their loved ones.

Living a Minimalist Life

Part of the survey and qualitative data queried women about their life in the United States outside of work. Domestic workers provided information about their health coverage, accommodation, and how they spent their free time.

Saving on Accommodation

A majority of women who were surveyed and interviewed reported living outside of their employer's home (N= 146, 81.6%). Obtaining suitable and decent accommodation was not an easy task as many reported during the individual interviews. Bella, for example, reported living in a basement for two years during which time she developed arthritis as she felt that the space was too cold. Emma described her first accommodation saying that she

“found a small place, it's not really a room, in some old houses above the stairwell there's a little room, and it has windows around it. It's outside of the main house, but in New Jersey, there's a little house like that. And they rented it to me for US \$125 a month. That was the cheapest that I could find. So, I stayed there and in winter I slept there with my coat on.”

Many women talked about finding cheap accommodation just like Bella and Emma did so they could save money.

Table 17 reveals that many women shared their room with at least one person (N=84, 60%). The table also shows that 152 respondents shared their apartment with one or more persons. Living and sharing an apartment with other people was not an easy task as many women revealed. Ivy said she had lots of problems when living with five

people, as her housemates were constantly fighting. Umi reported living in very cramped conditions.

“We were several people in one room, but the others were all live-in. But later on, I realize it is harder to live in that house because I had to get along with more people. I am the sixth person in the house. There are two rooms, we were four in our room, and there were two other people in the other room. There were only three beds that could fit in our room, so if all those live-in roommates were there, I would not be able to sleep on any of the three beds. I would sleep in the sofa.”

To keep their accommodation costs to a minimum, a majority of women shared their living spaces but at a great personal cost. Women explained that when they were between jobs (unemployed), friends would either let them stay at their apartment or find alternative accommodation for them. There was a certain understanding and level of empathy as housemates were aware that the individual was unemployed and so she usually was not expected to pay rent during this period. She would, however, help with chores and cooking during this time. Therefore, maintaining and creating new networks helped in their personal lives as well.

Table 17

Sharing Accommodation

		Frequency	Percent
Share a Room	With 1 Person	84	60%
	With 2 or more People	56	40%
	Total	140	100%
Share an Apartment	With up to 3 People	96	63.2%
	With 4 or more People	56	36.8%
	Total	152	100%

Live-In Jobs

The qualitative data revealed that some women experienced live-in jobs at some point in their employment history in the United States. At the time of the survey, 30 women (17.5%) lived with their employer. Living at the employer's home may have helped domestic workers new to the country to save money on accommodation and transportation as other research has indicated (Anderson, 2000, Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Parrenas, 2001c & Wrigley, 1995). However, many domestic workers complained of the long hours they have had to work, mounting work loads and feelings of isolation from the outside world.

Florence's first job, for example, was live-in where she worked from 7am to 10 pm. Her employer always added on jobs and never liked to see her resting. Florence avoided going out on her days off in order to save money and so her employer asked her to sew dresses for herself and her daughter on her days off.

Zena's first experience could be deemed horrific as she worked 7 days a week, was on call 24 hours a day, was expected to clean up after parties which were frequent at her employer's home, and had no proper food and adequate bedding for the winter. In addition, she

“was told to never ever use the phone. That's what they (the employers) strictly enforced. I wasn't able to leave the house. Nothing. I wasn't allowed to be seen by other people. Nothing. They (The employers) would hide me.”

Therefore, even though women initially thought that they could save on accommodation by living with their employers, many mentioned that it was just not worth the mental and physical strain.

Health Insurance equals to Don't Get Sick!

In the previous section, I reported that only 25 (13.7%) domestic workers had the benefit of healthcare provision through their employer. The intention of this section is to expand on how domestic workers have obtained health insurance and if they do not have it, then how they have managed without it. The vast majority (N=135, 76.7%) of women did not have any form of health coverage. It has been a well known fact that it is expensive to receive medical treatment in the United States. When asked about how they managed, many women mentioned that they tried to remain healthy by eating a well balanced diet and by consuming multi-vitamins. Some even took pride in the fact that they never got sick. Yuma, for example, mentioned that "I never get sick when I work." Geena also stated that she never got sick.

Interviews revealed that majority of women who fell ill managed with over the counter medications such as Tylenol and cold medications. There have been in situations where they have fallen ill and sought medical attention. During such incidents, women reported paying out of pocket for their medical visits. In cases where treatment was ongoing, all of them mentioned paying for their own medical bills.

Ivy, for example, was diagnosed with arthritis while in the Philippines and needed medical treatment, for which she says, “I just pay, I pay the doctor.” Xavier talked about an incident where she had to be admitted in the hospital for serious bleeding. Her medical bill mounted to \$7,000 for which she approached social services at the hospital. She was fortunate to be discharged without being held accountable for that amount. She continued to seek medical treatment at the same hospital but was paying her bills personally in installments. Some women who had a pre-existing medical condition brought their medical supplies from the Philippines because it was cheaper to do so.

Kelly mentioned that “I bring with me medicine from the Philippines, and my daughter sends me medicine from the Philippines. My maintenance medicine came from the Philippines.” Healthcare in the Philippines ranges from good care mostly in the city, to non-existent facilities in the rural areas (wikipedia.org). The majority of healthcare is provided by private health providers. The proposed National Budget for Health in the Philippines for 2010 is 28 Billion Pesos which is equivalent to USD 597 million (Department of Health, Republic of Philippines). This amounts to 310 Pesos (USD 7) per person. Therefore, although the Philippine government does not provide its citizens with much health coverage, medical costs are relatively cheap when compared to the United States. When women needed medical attention, they found ways to alleviate the cost or paid in installments. They also sought alternative ways to obtain their medical supplies and just remained as healthy as possible in the meantime.

Professional Development – Attempts to Break Away from Domestic Work

The survey queried women about whether they were able to practice the prior profession they were trained for in the United States. 113 (75.3%) women reported that they were not able to do so. Although many held professional jobs such as business women, and teachers in the Philippines, they were involved in some form of domestic work in the United States at the time of the survey.

Women were asked about whether they would be interested in being able to work in the profession they were trained for (Table 18). Many (N=98, 63.2%) responded that they would be interested. However, when asked about their future plans during the individual interviews, only two women talked about being able to try and break away from domestic work.

Alice was successful as she became a member of an association in her field of expertise and through networking, has since secured a teaching position. The remaining women were entirely focused on making more money through domestic work in order to continue supporting their families.

Damayan wanted to know if domestic workers who were interested in doing other work besides domestic work were taking steps such as attending classes in order to be able to gain other employment opportunities. The table 17 indicated that about one fifth of the respondents (N=35, 20.6%) were attending some form of additional class. Individual interviews revealed that Xavier and Yuma were taking a course to be nurse's aides. However, they continued to do domestic work as the pay was higher. Xavier said

that the pay for a nurse’s aide was “a measly \$7 an hour”. Clearly, it was not as easy to breakaway from domestic work and do something in their field of expertise. Even if they did attend courses, domestic work seemed to provide better pay as suggested by Yuma and Xavier. While talking to women about this, it was evident that they needed the money to help their families financially and therefore, many could not spare the cash to upgrade themselves.

Table 18

Professional Development

	Frequency	Percent	
Able to Practice Profession	Yes	37	24.7%
	No	113	75.3%
	Total	150	100%
Aim to Practice Profession in the US	Yes	98	63.2%
	No	57	36.8%
	Total	155	100%
Additional Class	Yes	35	20.6%
	No	135	79.4%
	Total	170	100%

Having a Life Outside of Work

When asked about the types of organizations they were involved with, Filipino domestic workers were mostly engaged in religious organizations (N=45, 24.7%) as indicated in Table 19. Many women also reported not being involved in any type of organization (N=78, 42.9%).

Table 19

Organizational Involvement outside of Work

	Frequency	Percent
Religious Organization		
Yes	45	24.7%
No	137	75.3%
Total	182	100%
Civic Organization		
Yes	11	6%
No	171	94%
Total	182	100%
Community Organizations		
Yes	20	11%
No	162	89%
Total	182	100%
Not Involved in any Organizations		
Yes	78	57.1%
No	104	42.9%
Total	182	100%
Other Organizations		
Yes	12	6.6%
No	170	93.4%
Total	182	100%

Ten individual interviewees reported attending church when discussing how they spent their free time. They also talked about socializing with other domestic workers, usually through social gatherings on the weekend at each other's apartments in order to reduce expenditure. Others talk about attending functions organized by Damayan. Leanne mentioned that she "sleep(s), work(s) in the house, (laughter). I just watch TV. Go to activities of the church and Damayan. If I am too busy, I cannot come to Damayan activities." Though the majority of women found the time to go out and do something be it church or other social activities, a few reported that they preferred to stay home or work in their free time.

Rose said that “I felt like my time to have friends was very limited. I am a very sociable person, but I chose to put my time in working.” Sarah mentioned that to “avoid spending, I only stay at home and sleep on all my days off. So it’s only work and home for me.” During personal interactions with Damayan members, it was evident that church was a vital part of their lives. Besides attending services, they enjoyed pot luck dinners at their friends’ homes. It was an economically efficient way in which they socialized and networked within the community.

Overall Experience in the United States

When questioned on their expectations of the United States, a majority of individual interview respondents talked about looking forward to good jobs and salaries. Leane stated that “my expectations were very high before and then reality is just sugar-coated.” May reflected on her desire to work in New York by stating that “I thought if I can only go to New York, (it would be so great) I would die. Now that I’m here, I know it’s not really that great. It’s not that beautiful.”

The women mentioned the shock they experienced when they got here and the hardships faced and sacrifices they continue to make. Leanne related her experiences by stating,

“before I thought United States was full of grace. When I was here for a few months, and a few years, oh my god, I said... I should not have experienced all of these things in my life. It is only because I am here that I experience such things. Because here you can’t live without things. You cannot go on without the social system without money. So whether you like it or not, whether you are hard up, whether you are tired or sick, you have to do something for your life.”

Nancy said that “ when you say the US its like wow, its easy to find a job even if its just domestic work you are able to fund things in the Philippines and send money. That there are a lot of jobs here and they are easy to find but you really have to be determined and make sacrifices.” Queenie related her experiences by stating that “it’s a very difficult life. I did not experience these hardships in the Philippines like I have here. I never worked this hard in the Philippines. I have no choice here.”

Though Filipino women had positive expectations of the United States, these dreams were demolished and reality set in almost immediately. The data demonstrates that domestic work involves much hardship and sacrifice as it is an unregulated form of work. Women keep their personal lives simple as they are separated from their families and at most attend church and friendly gatherings. Their sacrifices and hardships encountered in the United States have been detailed in this section. The next part focuses on their family, the reason behind this huge sacrifice.

Family Ties

This section looks into family matters. I will report on the number of children they have, their ages and where they live. I will discuss how frequently they stay in touch with their family, whether they remit and how many dependents they support. The next part will reveal if they have family living abroad, in the United States, and if they have intentions of petitioning their family to come to the United States.

Demographic Information of Children

Age of Children

113 (81.3%) of the women surveyed reported having at least 1 child. Table 20 shows that approximately half of the women who responded had their first born under the age of 18 years (N=59, 54.1%). Those who tended to have their first born over 18 years were also more likely to have the second child over 18 years of age (N=47, 61.8%).

Table 20

Age of Children

		Frequency	Percent
1 st Child	Under 18 Years	59	54.1%
	Over 18 Years	50	45.9%
	Total	109	100%
2 nd Child	Under 18 Years	29	38.2%
	Over 18 Years	47	61.8%
	Total	76	100%
3 rd Child	Under 18 Years	18	40%
	Over 18 Years	27	60%
	Total	45	100%

In the individual interviewees, out of the 16 respondents who reported having children, 14 of their first born are over 18 years. Where the second child was concerned, twelve of the sixteen interviewees reported that their child was over 18 years of age. 4 women reported that their third child was under 18 years.

Where are their Children?

In most cases, women said that their children were residing in the Philippines (Table 21). There were 80 (74.8%) first born, 50 (70.4%) second children and 32 (76.2%) third children living the Philippines. Out of the 27 first born who lived abroad, the majority were residing in the United States (N=20). This was also the case when the second child lived abroad; 18 of the 21 children were living in the United States. Where the individual interviewees were concerned, 2 women who had obtained legal status were successful in bringing their children to the United States. In addition, 10 other women mentioned interest in bringing their children over at some point in time. The survey data also indicated that 26 women petitioned to have their children come to the United States.

Table 21

Country of Residence of Children

		Frequency	Percent
1 st Child	Philippines	80	74.8%
	Abroad	27	25.2%
	Total	107	100%
2 nd Child	Philippines	50	70.4%
	Abroad	21	29.6%
	Total	71	100%
3 rd Child	Philippines	32	76.2%
	Abroad	10	23.8%
	Total	42	100%

In addition to where their children were residing, survey respondents were asked whether they had family working abroad and living in the United States. 106 women (78.5%) reported having at least one family member working overseas and 107 women (60.5%) indicated having family residing in the United States. Eight individual interviewees also stated that they had their mother, sibling or distant relative living in the United States. The presence of a relative seemed to have provided support for some women when they initially came to the United States. Bella’s mother for example helped her to obtain accommodation and work upon her arrival. “Well, I started looking, my mom tells her friends, oh my daughter needs a job. So, they call me oh there is a job here two weeks reliever so I survived.” Ivy’s relative sponsored her visa for the United States. She stated that “the first time here, I worked in New Jersey. It was a babysitting job for my relative who took me from the Philippines and, you know, gave me the visa to come

here so it was like eight months.” Olivia initially came to California and lived with her sibling for a few months. Women related that although they initially stayed with a relative or obtained networks to gain employment and accommodation, it was clearly short-term. They moved on to establish their own networks and reconnected with friends who helped them obtain better paying jobs and accommodation. Although Olivia lived with her sibling in California for the first couple of months, when she asked her sibling for help, the response was “Use your head. I was really sad and depressed.” Therefore, she connected with a friend in New York and moved to find work over here.

Occupation of Children

It was important to ask whether their children are dependent on their mother’s income. Table 22 below shows that majority of the children were studying; 57 (65.5%) of the first born and 34 (54%) of the second born children were involved in some form of formal education. Although not much information was captured in the qualitative interviews regarding the occupations of grown children, women in general said that they were either supporting their children through college or supplementing their incomes.

Table 22

Occupation of Children

		Frequency	Percent
1 st Child	Studying	57	65.5%
	Working	30	34.5%
	Total	87	100%
2 nd Child	Studying	34	54%
	Working	29	46%
	Total	63	100%
3 rd Child	Studying	20	46.5%
	Working	18	41.9%
	Total	38	100%

Based on the data provided by the respondents concerning their children, about half of them were over 18 years of age, the majority continued to reside in the Philippines and were likely to be studying. The fact that women reported that though many of their children were over 18 years of age they continued to study, means a continued dependence on their mothers for remittances.

Remitting the US Dollar

Most of the Filipino women in this study migrated solely for financial reasons. A majority of survey respondents (N=89, 68.4%) reported supporting 3 or more people whereas 32 (24.6%) women reported supporting 5 or more family members (Table 23). All the individual interviewees mentioned that they are currently supporting family in the Philippines. Therefore, I would expect many of them to be remitting a sizable amount of

their income to their families at home. 87 survey respondents (71.3%) remitted more than 30 percent of their income.

Table 23

Family Dependency and Remittance

		Frequency	Percent
Number of Dependents			
	Up to 2 Family Members	41	31.5%
	3-4 Family Members	57	43.8%
	5 or more Family Members	32	24.6%
	Total	130	100%
Percentage of Income Remitted			
	None	21	14.7%
	Up to 29%	29	20.3%
	30%-59%	57	39.9%
	60% or more	36	25.2%
	Total	143	100%

I was curious to see if the age, occupation and country of residence of the children had any relationship to the percentage of the salary women remit. Table 24 below reveals that women remitted 50% or more of their income regardless of whether their children were under 18 years or over 18 years. For example when considering the 1st child, there was no significant differences between children under the age of 18 years (N= 25, 67.6%) and children over 18 years (N=25 67.6%) when considering the mother's remittance at 50% or more. In addition, the occupation of children did not affect the size of remittance especially when considering the third child where 13 (76.5%) children who were studying and 11 (84.6%) who were working. Although the majority of mothers remitted 50% or more their income regardless of where their children lived, it was more evident

when the children lived in the Philippines. When looking at the data for the second child, 6(60%) of children who lived abroad while 33(76.7%) of children who lived in the Philippines received 50% or more of remittance. This is understandable as when the children are abroad, they are more likely to be living with the mother and therefore, in these cases, remittances would probably be for other reasons. The qualitative data provides further insight regarding remittances sent and its use.

Table 24

The Extent to Which Children are Dependent on Remittance

	Age	
	Under 18 Years	Over 18 Years
Mother Remitting 50% or more of Income		
1 st Child	33 (75%)	25(67.6%)
2 nd Child	15(75%)	26(74.3%)
3 rd Child	12(75%)	16(84.2%)
	Occupation	
	Studying	Working
1 st Child	31(73.8%)	13(61.9%)
2 nd Child	20(80%)	13(65%)
3 rd Child	13(76.5%)	11(84.6%)
	Country of Residence	
	Living Abroad	Living in the Philippines
1 st Child	8(66.7%)	48(70.6%)
2 nd Child	6(60%)	33(76.7%)
3 rd Child	3(60%)	23(82.1%)

Despite low pay and long working hours, 18 of 22 domestic workers interviewed continue to send a substantial amount of their income to support their nuclear and or extended families at home. 13 women reported sending more than \$500 a month for education expenses. Focus group participants also reported that they remitted most of

their income and kept only a small amount for their minimal needs in the United States. The most common reason for remitting was for their children's' or siblings' high school or college fees.

Bella said that she remitted "just to look after education and food for the kids." Xavier also pointed out that a substantial portion of the money she remitted was for her children's education. Single Filipino women were found to be taking care of their siblings and their children. Florence, for example, had financed her younger siblings' college education and was helping her nephews and nieces. She promised her family that "who ever will have good grades, I will send to college. That's what I can help you. Everything, college fees, books. Yeah, everything. 2 college and 1 high school. Like a scholarship." Similarly, Yuma and Geena were providing financial support for the education of her nieces and nephews.

Women also sent money for monthly the maintenance of their families and emergency funds in the case of sudden illness in the family. Kelly had two adult children who had their own families. Still, they were financially dependent on her. She talked about her son's mental health concerns by stating, "we have to maintain a psychiatrist for him to take care of his health, which is also why I have to work hard here, to earn for to support his family. He has two kids." As I mentioned earlier, much of the Philippine's healthcare is provided by the private sector. Therefore, remittances also go towards medical costs, especially when family members require medical attention for prolonged periods.

It was common for Filipino women to also support their own parents and or extended families. Ivy, for instance, stated that she sent home “\$600 a monthly, except when my mom gets sick I need to send more money.” Rose said that she helped her siblings and their families financially as they had businesses which were not profitable and due to bankruptcy, needed support. Leanne mentioned that she remitted monthly “if they need something like medicine or you know their basic needs in the house like the food.” Yuma, a single middle aged Filipino woman remitted about \$500 a month or more to help over ten family members. In addition to helping with the education expenses of her nieces and nephews, her remittances provided monthly sustenance for her extended family.

When talking to these women, it felt like they were the main “financial resource” for their families. Many were altruistic in not only helping immediate family but also their extended family members, especially nieces and nephews in terms of education expenses. I felt that the list of recipients was endless in some situations.

Staying Connected

Domestic workers were separated from their families and at times the only means of staying connected was via telephone calls. 79 survey respondents (51.6%) stated that they spoke to their family members at less than once a week while 71 survey respondents (48.4%) called home at least once a week (Table 25).

When talking about their families, individual interviewees mentioned how important it was to stay connected to their children and loved ones. Many women reported spending approximately \$20 a week on phone cards to stay connected. It was important to stay connected to their children to ensure that they were on track with their education and had not gotten wayward.

May, for example, reported that she “really maintained good communication with them (her children). Do you know, at one point, I was spending \$600 a month on phone conversation to the Philippines.” Other women spoke about talking to their children frequently and even ensuring that their children had access to call them when they felt like hearing “mommy’s voice”.

On the other hand, when asked about whether they had returned to the Philippines to visit their families, more than half of the survey respondents (N=73, 52.5%) reported that they had never returned while 66 women (47.5%) had been home at least once (Table 25). Being able to return and visit their family helped in staying connected to their loved ones.

June and Wilma returned out of necessity when they learned that their children began using drugs. As a result, June decided to return for 6 months during which time she had to find her daughter and take her to a drug rehabilitation center. None of the women interviewed returned for a vacation. Returning for a vacation was probably not a

viable option for women who were undocumented. For them, it would be extremely difficult if not impossible to obtain a visa to gain re-entry into the country.

Table 25

Staying Connected

		Frequency	Percent
Frequency of Calls Home			
	Less than Once a Week	79	51.6%
	At least Once a Week	22	14.4%
	At least Twice a Week	52	34%
	Total	153	100%
Number of Visits to the Philippines			
	None	73	52.5%
	Once	31	22.3%
	Twice or more	35	25.2%
	Total	139	100%

Impact of an Absent Mother

A mother's absence during a child's life can impact their development. Parrenas (2001c; 2004; 2005) and Dreby (2010) describe how children of migrant Filipino and Mexican women yearn for their mother's love and guidance. Though the prolonged absence of either parent is likely to have negative consequences, many Filipino children reported that they would more likely advise their friends to allow their fathers to work abroad but not their mothers (Parrenas, 2001c). For the most part, Philippine and Mexican fathers are not able to carry out the role of the absent mother and usually pass that task on to another female family member. The Center for Women's Studies reported on the social trade-offs of Filipino migrant women. Though 60% of children were in

favor of their mothers working overseas prior to their departure, 81% said that they would rather have them home after experiencing the absence of their mother. In addition, about half of the children interviewed said that they longed for the guidance of their mother. In her study, Parrenas (2004) concluded that children of migrant mothers need to believe that their mothers are making a sacrifice and that they need to channel this positively to accept their absence.

The qualitative data in this study revealed that some women reported that their absence was difficult for their children but at most they have come to understand the situation and have moved on. Umi, for example, felt that her children “are both sad and happy. My son would tell me that they don’t really ask for things I send them. They think that they would be happier if I would just come home and stay with them.” However, she went on to mention that her children realize the need for this separation and have come to accept the situation.

Zena explained that her children were initially concerned about her situation in the United States but as her life improved she said that “they (her children) are happy now that they know that my life is better unlike before.” Things were a little different for Xavier as she stated that her son who was initially agreeable to her coming to the United States but now is very sad that she is away. She also described her daughter, who is now thirteen, as extremely stubborn due to the lack of parental guidance.

Other mothers felt that their absence and therefore, lack of guidance, have led their children down the wrong path. During her interview, Wilma disclosed that her second son began consuming drugs as a teenager. At times she had regrets as this may not have happened had she been home to supervise his whereabouts. She stated “maybe my son would not have this kind of experiences because I would be with him. When my son would come home at night, I would always look for them and I’m not such a strict parents but I’m always concerned with them.”

Sarah also revealed that her “eldest (son) would ask me why I left instead of their father. I think that’s one of the big reasons why my eldest son started taking drugs. He couldn’t understand why I had to leave.” Olivia mentioned that her daughter “rebelled against me (Olivia). Because she was only 10 years old, or 11 years old, I think, when I left her. Then... she finished high school, but when it come to college.. she sort of had friends and she couldn’t finish. Then she got pregnant”. More generally, these mothers felt that their absence had an impact on their children and they were not able to physically be there to channel them onto the “right” path.

During focus groups 1, 2 and 4, participants discussed how the lack of parental guidance during their absence affected their children. One participant in focus group 1 reported that her children were sitting outside the principal’s office due to disciplinary issues and had to “rope” her mother in to guide the children in her absence. Other women talked about how their children started viewing their mothers merely as a financial resource with a consequent loss of affection and bond between mother and

child. Regardless, most women interviewed felt that this was a trade off or sacrifice they were willing to make in order to try and give their children a better future than they would have had otherwise and a better life than their mothers had.

Impact on the Marriage

In the absence of their wives, one would expect husbands to take on more responsibilities around the household. Research on Filipino husbands whose wives were working overseas indicated the contrary (Parrenas, 2004 & Center for Women's Resources). Husbands handed over care giving responsibilities to female relatives, and many became financially dependent on their wives' remittances (Center for Women's Resources). To make matters worse, several reportedly spent the hard earned money that their wives remitted on alcohol and other luxuries. Research also indicates that higher levels of remittance are associated with a lower likelihood of the husband being employed (Cabegin, 2006).

The interview data revealed that some husbands felt 'lost' in the absence of their wives. Leanne, for instance, said that her husband felt lonely and confused during the early days of her absence. She stated that "one time my husband wants me to go home now. 3 months eh, he was a little bit confused you know. I was here and he was there. Nobody there. So, blah blah, blah. Okay... okay. I got used to it already. 5 years already so used to this kind of life. It doesn't matter to us."

Although some husbands weathered the absence of their wives, five women reported having serious marital issues since coming to the United States to work. June, for example, revealed that her husband had multiple extramarital affairs during her absence. Women left home with the expectation that their husbands would be responsible for their family's needs in the Philippines while they were working abroad. However, Xavier, for instance, stated that her husband began to ignore the needs of the family during her absence. "There were times when my children had nothing to eat. Everything had gone to my husband's drinking habit."

When talking about her husband, Olivia claimed that he "has a lot of complaints against me because he says that I abandoned him." She went on to mention that he did not spend the money that she remitted sensibly. Some participants in focus groups 2 and 4 revealed that their husbands became totally financially dependent on them, became alcoholics, lazy, involved with other women and were not able to keep the family together in their absence. Therefore, there were complex marital problems that some women had to cope with while living away from home.

What it Means to be Away from Her Family

Research on domestic workers clearly shows the pain and anguish women experienced in leaving their children behind. Mothers shared information on the intense grief they felt when they were initially separated from their children and talked about how the nights were harder as they lay down on the bed (Chang, 2000, Wrigely, 1995 &

Parrenas, 2004). Women also mentioned the pain of having to care for other people's children while not being able to do so for their own.

In the current study, several women reported feeling depressed and lonely during this period of separation from their families. Some talked about the emotional turmoil of separation from their children, and not being able to see them grow up.

May, for example, reflected on the day she left the Philippines by stating that "I lost my mother when I was 10 and I know how hard it is to be away from one's parent. I know the pain, so I do not want to be separated from my children. We are very close." She went on to mention "I was really crying hard, I was very scared, I know we have better financial opportunities, but worried how our children would be without us in the Philippines."

Wilma talked about how hard it was for her but held herself together as she felt that this was the best decision for her family. She stated, "I really have to leave them and then we used to get around all the time because when my kids come home they always look for the mother. And I would always cry before too, but then look... this is what I wanted my kids to go to school and not turn out like me."

During focus group 4 one participant reflected on her experience by stating that “it’s like stealing your life to be abroad.” During the interviews and focus groups, women had tears rolling down their eyes when they started talking about their families. Despite the pain and grief, what struck me the most is that even the hard labor and mean employers did not break them. The separation from their families was just too much to bear for some that we had to stop the interview for some of them to gain composure before moving on.

Another expression of loss surfaced when some women talked about not being present when a loved one fell ill or passed on. Alice brought up the topic of not being present during the time of her brother’s passing and how it affected her grieving process.

“I feel like I am not finished grieving yet. I didn’t break down. I had a brother who had cancer. He died; I didn’t see him while he was sick. He had chemo, radiation. The thing is I didn’t break down. I have to break, at least. I didn’t see, I didn’t see anything. It’s just like, here. (points to chest). Sometimes my chest want(s) to explode, and I don’t know how to make it explode to finish my grieving.”

Ivy said that her mom was frail and ill and that she dreaded the fact that she might not be home in time if something happened to her mother. She went on to state that her mother had been understanding and encouraged her to keep working as she was single and would be bored if she returned at that point in time. However, Ivy indicated that it was still a difficult decision for her.

During the focus groups women talked about how the pain could not be equated to their salary. In spite of all the pain from loneliness and bad working conditions, they constantly coped by thinking about what the US dollar was doing for their families. However, not being physically present around family took a mental toll on many women. When asked about how they managed, many talked about how their religion and faith in the Lord kept them going.

Faith in God

When we questioned women about how they coped with the separation from their family and everything that has happened to them, they talked about drawing strength from their religious faith. Ivy, for example, talked about leaving it all up to God by stating “you know uh, I just pray and let God do everything for me.” Leanne mentioned feeling “depressed sometimes. Little bit. But I just keep myself strong. I believe the lord will help me. I ask the lord to give me strength to do it.” Yuma said that though she had plans for herself, she warned that “even tomorrow you don’t know what happens so it’s in God’s hands. Everything is in God’s hands.” During my interactions with domestic workers at the Damayan office and at the few functions I attended, women frequently mentioned that they had a strong belief that God would help them and their families. Parrenas (2004) also reports that when women were not able to contain their emotions and felt helpless when they know their children needed them and they could not return, they looked up to God for help.

The Never Ending Journey – To Return or Stay on?

As I indicated, the primary reason for coming to the United States for the majority of women was to earn the US Dollar so that they could remit to their families in the Philippines. When asked about their return intentions, just over half of the survey respondents had return intentions (N=99, 59.6%) as shown in Table 26. 17 individual interviewees also mentioned having return intentions, of whom 3 had visions of being “transient migrants”, i.e., traveling back and forth from the Philippines to the United States. All participants in focus groups 1 to 3 had return intentions at retirement. Of all the focus group participants, only 2 participants in focus group 4 were more interested in adjusting their status and living in the United States in the long term. During personal conversations with all the other women, it became evident that most were ultimately planning to return.

Table 26

Return Intentions

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	99	59.6%
No	18	10.8%
Don't Know	49	29.5%
Total	166	100%

When asked about the time frame of their future plans, individual interviewees and focus group participants said that they had to ensure that the purpose for coming to the United States was fulfilled before they returned. Here is the list of most common goals they discussed.

These included:

- Completion of children's or relatives' education
- Ensuring that children and or relatives were gainfully employed
- Making certain that family members were financially independent
- Petitioning children to the United States if they were planning to do so
- Saving some money for retirement

The following discussion will explore the thought process of women regarding their return intentions. With the use of the SPSS software, I ran cross tabulations between the dependent variable, return intentions, and the various independent variables. The question on return intentions had 3 possible answers which were "yes", "no", and "don't know". For the purpose of carrying out cross tabulations, I collapsed the responses of "no" and "don't know" as the results indicated that women from these two groups did indeed respond similarly to questions in the survey. Based on the research goals of the study, I intertwine the results from the quantitative cross tabulations with qualitative data chosen from individual and focus group interviews.

The Wilting Philippine Economy

During interactions with domestic workers it became evident that their responsibilities did not end with the completion of supporting their loved ones up to a college degree. Emma explained that life was getting harder in the Philippines by stating that “You educate the young, but there are no jobs, so we need to do more.” Bella also said that “I am sure there is no good in the Philippines no more... it is getting harder back home.” Ivy stated that “the situation in the Philippines is really worse you know? There’s no justice system and it’s very difficult to find a job when you reach the age of 20.” Sarah added to this bleak picture by remarking that “there’s really no hope in the Philippines. It doesn’t matter how great your education is, or how many courses you’ve done, you cannot really improve your life.” The focus groups also revealed that while the majority of women had return intentions, they did not provide a time frame to return.

Similar to the individual interviewees, many focus group participants talked about the need for their children to complete tertiary education and become financially independent before they decided to return home. At some point in my conversations with women, the sad state of the Philippine economy was addressed. Women were frustrated and even angry that their educated loved ones were not able to find employment and become financially independent. Even after providing for their education, some women mentioned helping their family members financially to find work abroad. This was also discussed in the Migrant Focus Magazine (2000a, 2001) where women who funded the education of their children and or siblings, were then helping them to obtain jobs abroad.

Ochi (2005) notes that Filipino women who were working in Italy brought their daughters over in hopes that they would take over their jobs upon their retirement.

Other researchers have shown that economic opportunity in the home country has been a pull factor for migrants to return (Bratsberg, 1990; Lindstrom, 1996; Klinthall, 2003 & Patterson, 1968). The World Systems Theory (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Massey, Arango, Hugo, et al. 1998) describes that in the process of global market transformation, people in developing countries such as the Philippines are displaced from their livelihoods, creating a population prone to migration. Economic growth in the Philippines was barely 1 % in 2009 with unemployment estimated at 7.5%. Poverty is estimated at 32.9% in 2006 and is progressively getting worse due to the growth in population and the inequitable distribution of income (CIA World Factbook). The lack of economic opportunity in the Philippines is definitely a push factor for domestic workers to migrate to the United States and to stay on in order to continue to earn the US Dollar.

In addition, migrants' remittances help to alleviate structural imbalances (Faini, De Melo & Zimmermann, 1999) as is in the Philippine labor market. Due to the fact that loved ones at home are not able to be financially independent of the migrant, women are also helping their family members to find work overseas and therefore compounding the cycle of migration. Since the majority of women in this study did remit a certain percentage of their income, I wanted to explore if remittances had any influence on their return intentions.

Remittance

The literature review indicated that remittances are a dominant indicator of return migration in some studies. Research on foreign workers in Germany, and Caribbean migrants in Britain, found that those who remitted to family in their home country, were more likely to return (Byron, 1999; Clark & Drinkwater, 2001; Constant & Massey, 2002 & 2003; Davison, 1967; Merkle & Zimmermann, 1992). As seen in Table 27, women in this study who remitted 50% or more of their income were slightly more likely to have return intentions (N=50, 67.6%) when compared to those who had no intentions to return (N=24, 32.4%). However, not much of a difference was noted when women remitted 49% or a lesser amount of their income, as 21 (58.3%) of women had return intentions when compared with 18 (46.2%) who had no plan to return. There was no statistical significance regarding the relationship between return intentions and remittance. As I mentioned earlier, the list of their families' needs were never-ending for them and therefore, regardless of their return intentions, they continued to remit a certain percentage of their income.

Table 27

Relationship between Return Intentions and Remittance

Return Intentions	Up to 49% of Salary Remitted	50% or more of Salary Remitted
Yes	21 (53.8%)	50 (67.6%)
No	18 (46.2%)	24 (32.4%)
Total	39 (100%)	74 (100%)

For My Family...

The literature review showed that family was a dominant factor in considering return migration (Callea, 1986; Casimiro, 2004; Dashefsky & Lazerwitz, 1983; Gmelch, 1983; Hill & Tiit, 2000; King, 1986, 1988; Kubat, 1984; Lidgard & Gilson, 2002; Reichert, 2002; Stinner, et al 1982; Strachan & Mortimer, 1985; Toren, 1975). Coniglio, Arcangelis and Serlenga (2005) found that individuals from Europe, America, Africa or Asia with two children in the home country were 16.8% more likely to return when compared to those who had children with them in Italy. The study also established that the greater the size of the family in the country of origin, the greater the intensity of return intentions.

In this study, a majority of the first born lived in the Philippines (N=73) as shown in Table 28 below. Out of the 25 children who live abroad, a majority were residing in the United States (N=20). Women whose children lived abroad were considerably less likely to have return intentions (64.0%) when compared to those whose children lived in the Philippines (35.6%). This was significant with a $\chi^2(1, N = 98) = 6.126, p = .013$, Phi and Cramer's V = .250, p = .013.

Table 28

Relationship between Return Intentions and Country of Residence of 1st Child

Return Intentions	Abroad	Philippines
Yes	9 (36%)	47 (64.4%)
No	16 (64%)	26 (35.6%)
Total	25 (100%)	73 (100%)

Some domestic workers had petitioned their family to come to the United States (N=22). It is very clear in Table 29 that those who petitioned their families were much less likely to have return intentions (31.8%) when compared to those who had not petitioned their families (64.5%). This was significant with $\chi^2(1, N = 160) = 8.441, p = .004$, Phi and Cramer's V = .230, p = .004. Other studies also highlight that people are less likely to return if they have their spouse, children and or parent living overseas (Brown & Connell, 2004; Constant & Massey, 2002; Lindstrom, 1996; Stinner, et al 1982). Khoo (2003) found that successful migrants in Australia who had sponsored or intended to sponsor family members were significantly less likely to return to their home countries in Europe, the Middle East or Asia.

Table 29

Relationship between Return Intentions and Petitioned Family to come to the United States

Return Intentions	Did not Petition Family	Petitioned Family to come to US
Yes	89 (64.5%)	7 (31.8%)
No	49 (35.5%)	15 (68.2%)
Total	138 (100%)	22 (100%)

A total of 11 individual interviewees with children expressed an interest in bringing their children to the United States and settling them here as they felt that there were more opportunities for their children in the United States. However, it might have been more feasible for the 6 individual interviewees who already had legal immigration status to petition for their families.

Olivia, for example, already petitioned for her 2 children to come to the United States, and she intended to complete the process, and return in six or seven years upon completion of her ten year contribution towards social security. 4 out of 6 women said that they did not have intentions of living here permanently but rather of being transient migrants traveling between the United States and the Philippines. They intended to do so once they completed the process of moving their family to the United States.

Bella, for example, stated “They (her children) can stay here you know. Maybe get married here. They can stay. They have their own life now. I just go back and forth you know make some business. Here and the Philippines.”

There were 4 women without legal immigration status who wished to petition their children to the United States. They realized that it was more of a dream as it was difficult to obtain legal status and it would take time to adjust their status and then petition their families.

Stephanie, an undocumented worker, stated that she did not want to stay in the United States forever. “Maybe I could stay here for another 20 years. And hopefully, during these years, my children will be able to come over.” She went on to say that she wanted her children to settle here “because even my children, I think, can get jobs here as long as they’re not picky.”

Umi talked about wanting to adjust her immigration status. “I want to stay for a long time. I’m praying that I can adjust my immigration status so I can bring my children over.” She went on to mention that once her children are settled, she intended to return to the Philippines, to her teaching profession.

Predictably, women who had children residing in the Philippines were more likely to return at some point in time. On the other hand, those who had petitioned their children to join them were more likely to remain in the United States or become transient migrants. When I asked these women about why they would not want to live in the United States, they talked about missing their families. The desire to return to be with their children, parents or siblings was very strong. In keeping with previous research, Filipino women were also more likely to have return intentions when they had family back at home. When discussing going home to the Philippines, women also spoke about the fact that they missed the lifestyle and that there was a special connection to the land. They felt that life was more relaxed at home and people in general were friendlier.

Sense of “Home”

Parrenas (2001a) talks of the notion of the Philippines being “Home” where the woman is liberated from her domestic work. Women are referred to as “Heroes” who have contributed towards the economic development of the country. The perception of “home” was reflected in the qualitative data where women spoke about their sense of belonging that was drawing them back. Yuma aptly said “there is no place like home” (referring to the Philippines).

Zena made it very clear in her interview that when she became old she would return to the Philippines “because it really doesn’t compare, there’s nothing as nice to be in the Philippines to die”. When speaking of her return intentions, Xavier highlighted that “life is better in the Philippines”. A participant in Focus Group 4 stated “I love the Philippines” with such passion for her country. During my interactions with the participants, it was quite clear that they loved the Philippines for what it was aside from the politics and economy that have driven them out. Women missed the lifestyle and I got the feeling that these women truly had a magnetic pull to their homeland.

This notion of ‘no place like home’ was also reflected in another study among some returnees to Tonga from Australia who felt that in Tonga, they were familiar with their surroundings, lifestyle and therefore, felt more relaxed (Maron & Connell, 2008). Putting aside their sense of belonging in the homeland and being with family, as Parrenas (2001a) mentioned, I also feel that women looked forward to the eventual return where they would not have to work as domestic workers. Although this was not directly expressed by any individual, it became apparent during personal conversations. The next section will focus on whether vacation to the Philippines had influenced the return intentions of Filipino women.

Do Multiple Visits link towards an Eventual Return?

In some cases, researchers found that multiple visits to the home country were linked to an eventual return (Duval, 2001, 2004; Gmelch, 1980, 1983; Goulbourne, 1999). Although this study did not find any statistically significant relationship between return intentions and number of visits home (Table 30), when reviewing data on women who have returned to the Philippines, those who returned to the Philippines more than once were more likely to have return intentions (N=27, 73.3%). However, among those who have never returned home for a visit, the majority (N=44, 63.8%) had return intentions. The qualitative data revealed that none of the women interviewed had returned for a vacation. June and Wilma returned out of necessity as their children fell wayward and began using drugs. Conversations with Filipino women revealed that the majority have not returned home for a visit. They mentioned being undocumented and the fact that they may not be able to re-enter the United States. The cost of migration was great and consequently, women stayed on until they had achieved their economic targets. In addition to vacation, I will next explore if the length of time spent away from home has any relationship with return intentions.

Table 30

Return Intentions by Multiple Visits to Home Country

Return Intentions	Not Gone Home	Returned Once	Returned More than Once
Yes	44 (63.8%)	15 (48.4%)	22 (73.3%)
No	25 (36.2)	16 (51.6%)	8 (26.7%)
Total	69 (100%)	31 (100%)	30 (100%)

Does Length of Time Away from Home Influence Return?

The length of time spent away from home can affect return intentions. Research has found that the longer the absence from home, the less likely one is to return or intends to return (Comay, 1971; Coulon & Wolff, 2005; DaVanzo & Morrison, 1978; Gungor & Tansel, 2005; Jensen & Pedersen, 2007; Klinthall, 2003). In the case of this study, there was no statistically significant relationship between the length of time Filipino women spent in the United States and their return intentions. This could be explained by the fact that many women entered the country on a Tourist Visa and as explained in the qualitative data, it was not easy to obtain a visa. Therefore, they stayed for a longer period of time to maximize their migration (Stinner, et al. 1982). Another factor contributing to their longer stay was the continued financial dependence of their families as discussed earlier in this section.

Now that we have established that many women wish to return to the Philippines, it is important to explore if they had any investments or savings which would be of use upon their return. It was obvious that they would not be able to earn as much as they currently did in the United States, and therefore it was important to explore the topic of their investment and savings.

Investments and Savings

Land Ownership

Other researchers have found that some individuals returned to run a family business, or the farm, or return to their real estate and live in neighborhoods with certain qualities such as tranquility, scenery and neighborliness (Callea, 1986; Gmelch, 1983, 1995; Grindle, 2000; Hill & Tiit, 2000). The Damayan survey data illustrates that ownership of residential land had an association with return intentions. 81 women who owned residential land had return intentions (63.8%) compared with 18 women who did not own residential land (46.2%) as indicated in table 31 below. There was statistical significance where the $\chi^2(1, N = 166) = 3.851, p = .05$, Phi and Cramer's V = .152, p = .05.

Table 31

Relationship between Return Intentions and Ownership of Residential Land

Return Intentions	Do not Own Residential Land	Own Residential Land
Yes	18 (46.2%)	81 (63.8%)
No	21 (53.8%)	46 (36.2%)
Total	39 (100%)	127 (100%)

Savings?

Previous research has showed that when an individual invested economically in the home country, they were more likely to return (Colton, 1993; Crease, 1974; DaVanzo & Morrison, 1978; Dustmann, 1997; King, et al. 1985; Galor & Stark, 1990). Having some level of savings was important as Friedman and Ahmed (2008) found that many

Filipino returnees were not able to save sufficient funds while abroad, ended up unemployed, when they returned and had to migrate once again. During the focus groups and individual interviews in this study, a few women mentioned saving enough money to buy real estate in the Philippines. Florence stated that she was preparing for her return by “saving and preparing for it (return) and buying properties in the Philippines.” During my interactions with women, a few disclosed that in addition to helping family with their needs at home, they also remitted to invest in real estate or to put money aside in preparation for their return later on.

Those who were single also mentioned that they wanted to complete helping their family members, and save some money for themselves before returning to the Philippines. Geena said that she was funding her nephew’s nursing degree after which she intended to save money before returning to live with her siblings in the Philippines. Focus group participants also seemed determined to set aside some money for themselves for their own retirement. Women in Focus Group 3 were adamant about saving money before returning to the Philippines. They could not commit to an amount but were firm in that they would definitely save money before returning to the Philippines. This could take many more years for some women. Women who participated in Focus Group 2 related to these thoughts by stating the following.

“Work more, save money and go home when I cannot work no more”.

“Save money until the children finish school and then go home.”

“I would go home if I could save enough money to start a life back home.”

Another important factor that weighed heavily on the individual’s return intentions was their immigration status. The majority of women entered the United States on a tourist visa and since many in this group did not adjust their status, they were undocumented and remained illegally. The next section will focus on their immigration status and how this impacted their plans to return.

Immigration Status

Saga of the Tourist Visa

Table 32 shows that the majority of respondents entered the United States via a Tourist Visa. Though there is no statistical significance, respondents in this category were more likely to have return intentions (63.9% vs. 47.5%). Many women had to show collateral during the visa application process as it was not easy to obtain a tourist visa.

Table 32

Relationship between Return Intentions and Type of Entry into the United States

Return Intentions	Petitioned	Tourist Visa
Yes	19 (47.5%)	78 (63.9%)
No	21 (52.5%)	44 (36.1%)
Total	40 (100%)	122 (100%)

In the earlier section on the migration journey, the qualitative data disclosed that women had to show on paper that they were financially ‘loaded’, were solely coming to the United States as tourists and had no intentions of staying on. The survey data revealed that when women showed certain collaterals, this had significant associations with return intentions. Women who provided information about their personal finances as part of the visa application were more likely to have return intentions (N = 51, 70.8%

vs. N = 48, 51.5%) where the $\chi^2(1, N = 166) = 6.620$, $p = .01$, Phi and Cramer's V = .20, $p = .01$. As illustrated in the qualitative data earlier on, respondents may not have had the actual reserves but rather had to prove on paper that they had reserves. Some respondents showed car as an asset for their visa application. Women who had to show proof of car ownership were more likely to have return intentions (N = 29, 78.4% vs. N = 70, 54.3%) with a significance of $\chi^2(1, N = 166) = 6.946$, $p = .008$, Phi and Cramer's V = .205, $p = .008$.

Women who put their house as collateral for their visa application were more likely to have return intentions (N = 33, 71.3% vs. N = 66, 55%) with a $\chi^2(1, N = 166) = 3.871$, $p = .049$, Phi and Cramer's V = .153, $p = .049$. This was not surprising as women who owned residential land were more likely to have return intentions as I noted earlier in this section. The results from the Damayan survey data indicate that women who took out loans (N = 21) were more likely to have return intentions (N = 18, 85.7% vs. N=78, 59.1%) where the $\chi^2(1, N = 153) = 5.494$, $p = .019$, Phi and Cramer's V = .189, $p = .019$. Women who entered the United States on a tourist visa may have been more likely to have return intentions due to the amount of collateral they had to show in order to get the visa. However, a tourist visa was just a means of getting into the country. It did not guarantee long-term stay or a permit for employment. Given that majority of women entered the United States on a tourist visa, it is important to address issues around their immigration status next.

Legal Status

Many countries have stringent immigration laws in order to discourage the permanent absorption of labor migrants. Regardless of these strict immigration laws, individuals are likely to work irrespective of the type of visa with which they enter the country, and overstay due to increased costs involved in re-entering (Durand & Massey 2004; Orrenius, 1999; Parrenas, 2001c; Stinner, et al 1982; NACLA, 1979). This is true for the Filipino domestic workers who participated in this study of 124 women who entered on a tourist visa, 93 (75%) did not have legal status. 65 women who did not have legal status (67.7%) had return intentions compared with 29 women (48.3%) who had legal status, where the $\chi^2(1, N = 156) = 5.788, p = .016$, Phi and Cramer's V = .193, $p = .016$ (Table 33). It was interesting to note that amongst those who had legal status, there was not much of a difference between women who had return intentions 29 (48.3%) and women who did not have return intentions 31 (51.7%). The qualitative data helps shed some light on this as will be discussed next.

Table 33

Relationship between Return Intentions and Legal Immigration Status

Return Intentions	No Legal Status	Have Legal Status
Yes	65 (67.7%)	29 (48.3%)
No	31 (32.3%)	31 (51.7%)
Total	96 (100%)	60 (100%)

10 out of 22 individual interviewees said that they either obtained legal status or were in the final stages of doing so. 6 of them mentioned having return intentions at retirement while 2 stated that they would like to be transient migrants traveling to and from the Philippines to the United States. Though these women had legal status in the United States, they mentioned wanting to be near their family, their siblings and generally felt that life would be better during their retirement years.

9 women said that they were undocumented out of whom 7 had return intentions. May, for example, was undocumented in the United States but had legal status in Canada. She said that “in my retirement years (at 60 years), I would like to go back to the Philippines”. When asked about whether she intended to stay in the United States or return to the Philippines, Nancy immediately blurted out “Of course in the Philippines! I don’t want to get older here!” Irrespective of their status, the majority of the individual interviewees had return intentions. Most of the focus group participants mentioned being undocumented. Among those who were undocumented, many discussed their desire to return. A few participants in focus group 4 talked about attempting to adjust their status and if possible then petition their children in the future.

My take on this issue is that for those who did not have legal immigration status, they were aware that they would have to return eventually, either when they were deported or when they feel that they had achieved what they had come to do. In addition to immigration status impinging on return intentions, I thought that issues around

employment in the United States may also affect return, especially due to the nature of domestic work.

Demographic Data

In this subsection, I will address the demographic variables that have influenced return intentions. These include domestic work employment in the United States, occupation in the Philippines prior to migration, and age.

Does Domestic Work Effect Return Intentions?

Previous research has revealed that when individuals are not happy at work and are unable to adjust to the industrial work climate, they are more likely to return (Bovenkerk, 1974; Callea, 1986; Colten, 1993; Crease, 1974). It is remarkable that regardless of the unhappiness and anguish expressed with respect to their type of employment, women in this study never considered return migration based on their work. Globalization continues to demand the labor of Filipino domestic workers with the increasing dependence on remittance therefore, delaying return (Parrenas, 2001).

Many studies have found that another reason for returning home is unemployment (Constant & Massey, 2002, 2003; Glavac, 2000; Jensen & Pedersen, 2007; Klinthall, 2003; Kubat, 1984; Saenz & Davila, 1992). It is interesting to note that this was not the case with regard to Filipino domestic workers. The majority of respondents had return intentions except for those who were seeking employment (87.5%) with a $\chi^2(3, N = 162) = 8.839, p = .032$, Phi and Cramer's V = .234, $p = .032$ (Table 34). One could relate to

this in terms of the fact that they knew that they needed to find another job and keep working as they had not achieved their goal in coming to America. When speaking with the four women who mentioned being unemployed during the individual interviews, it clearly became evident that they were not ready to pack their bags. Ivy, for example, related that she had no intentions of returning just yet as she was unsure of what to do if she returned and therefore, would do so when she was not able to work anymore, at retirement. This of course was in addition to the fact that she was financially supporting family in the Philippines. Umi intended to return once her children completed college education. Therefore, their unemployment status had in fact deferred their return.

Table 34

Relationship between Return Intentions and Type of Employment

Return Intentions	Full-Time	Part-Time	Multiple Part-Time	Seeking Employment
Yes	79 (63.2%)	13 (61.9%)	6 (75.0%)	1 (12.5%)
No	46 (36.8%)	8 (38.1%)	2 (25%)	7 (87.5%)
Total	125 (100%)	21 (100%)	8 (100%)	8 (100%)

Health and Dental Insurance and Return Intentions

When reviewing the individual benefits provided by the employer, only healthcare and dental care reflected statistical significance to return intentions. Among those who did receive healthcare, 18 women (78.3%) had return intentions when compared with 81 (55.6%) of women who didn't, with statistical significance where the $\chi^2(1, N = 166) = 3.847, p = .05$, Phi and Cramer's $V = .152, p = .05$. 12 women (92.3%)

who received dental insurance had return intentions when compared with 87 (56.9%) who did not, with statistical significance where the $\chi^2(1, N = 166) = 6.254, p = .012$, Phi and Cramer's V = .194, $p = .012$.

Therefore, there was a positive relationship between intentions for return migration and the provision of healthcare through the employer. This seemed counter intuitive to what I would have expected. The focus groups reflected that all participants did not receive ongoing health or dental benefits from their employers. Although two participants reported having work based injuries, their employers refused to help with medical costs. A few participants in focus group 3 reported receiving money to cover doctor visits when they were sick. Regardless, none of the participants mentioned this as a factor when discussing return intentions. When conversing with domestic workers, they complained about lack of health coverage on the job, but it was never mentioned as a decisive factor in return migration. I wondered if those who had health coverage were remitting a higher percentage and therefore, reaching their financial goals sooner. However, the survey data did not reflect this notion. Although the survey data revealed a relationship between employer provision of health or dental care and return intentions, it is not explainable based on the available data. It could also be that these women felt more secure about their ability to return.

Does Location of Work Really Matter?

The survey data indicated that those who worked in Manhattan were slightly less likely to have return intentions (52.9%) when compared to those who worked in New Jersey and other parts of New York (70.4%). There was a statistically significant relationship where $\chi^2(1, N = 156) = 4.965, p = .026$, Phi and Cramer's V = .178, $p = .026$. In order to understand this finding, I was curious to know if there was a relationship between place of work and income. Undeniably, there was a significant association where $\chi^2(2, N=162)=7.190, p=.027$, Phi and Cramer's V = .211, $p = .027$. Amongst those who earned \$500 or more, 52 (65.8%) women worked in Manhattan when compared with only 27 (34.2%) women in the other locations. Women in Focus Group 1 mentioned that employers in the suburbs were not as good as those in Manhattan in terms of the pay, and working conditions. Manhattan employers tended to be more reasonable as they did not want to have bad things said about them. In addition domestic workers in Manhattan were not as isolated as those in the suburbs and, employers realized that they had to be competitive with salary. These women may have been more reluctant to leave as they had better earning potential and wanted to maximize it for their families.

The survey data revealed that certain aspects of employment, including the type of employment, health and dental benefits, and the location of work had a statistically significant relationship with intentions of return migration. Alternatively, the qualitative data revealed why certain quantitative results were skewed in a particular direction as I have explained above. When considering demographic characteristics, age and

occupation prior to migration showed associations with return intentions which will be discussed next.

Returning to an Occupation you Love

Prior research has shown that value of a certain skill and the occupational prestige linked to that profession was a reason for return migration for some individuals (Appleyard, 1989; Bratsberg, 1990; Constant & Massey, 2003 & Stinner, et al, 1982). In one study, the likelihood of return migration from Italy of a relatively skilled illegal migrant was 9.7% higher than the probability of someone with low or no skills (Congilio et al. 2005). In this study, individuals who had been working as Professionals (69.9%) in the Philippines were much more likely to have return intentions than Non-Professionals (39.5%). There was a statistically significant association between return intentions and the profession of respondents in the Philippines where the $\chi^2(1, N = 120) = 9.763$, $p = .002$, Phi and Cramer's $V = .28$, $p = .002$. These highly skilled women are carrying out very boring, mundane tasks as domestic workers. They most probably would incur a huge loss in pay when considering the currency exchange but, they would have tremendous job satisfaction if they returned to their jobs in the Philippines. Umi, for example, had intentions of returning to her teaching profession in the Philippines once her children were financially independent. Women did talk about the drastic change in career between what they were doing in the Philippines and at present. Regardless, this did not trigger a return movement as they also mentioned that being here was a sacrifice, and that their families' needs superseded all else. In addition, women were planning on

being here for a long time and therefore, they probably would be returning around their retirement age as will be addressed next.

Age – The Race to Retirement

Dustmann (1996) and Klinthall (2006) found that migrants who were older at the time of migration were more likely to return. The migrants in this study were generally older when compared with the OFW data as described in Table 5 in the beginning of this Chapter. More than half (53.5%) of the survey respondents were 45 years and older, and majority of the OFWs (62.6%) were under 35 years of age. While talking to women in the field and during the collection of qualitative data, it became obvious that many had return intentions. They also mentioned that return would most probably be at retirement age. I explored this possibility by grouping the age of women into those up to 50 years and 51 years and older. There was a significant association between return intentions and age $\chi^2(1, N = 159) = 5.194, p = .023$, Phi and Cramer's V = .181, $p = .023$. Women in the older age group (N=36, 75%) were more likely to have return intentions when compared to those 50 years and younger (N=62, 55.9%). This could be due to the fact that older women were more likely to have older children, and therefore their financial responsibilities were probably coming to an end sooner when compared to their younger counterparts. The survey data reflected this possibility where older women were more likely to have children over 18 years of age as seen in Table 35.

Table 35

Comparing the Age Groups of Children by the Age Groups of their Mothers

Age Group of Mother		Up to 50 Years		51 Years and Older	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1 st Child	Over 18 Years	19	27.1%	30	85.7%
	Under 18 Years	51	72.9%	5	14.3%
	Total	70	100%	35	100%
2 nd Child	Over 18 Years	19	43.2%	26	92.9%
	Under 18 Years	25	56.8%	2	7.1%
	Total	44	100%	28	100%
3 rd Child	Over 18 Years	6	30%	19	86.4%
	Under 18 Years	14	70%	3	13.6%
	Total	20	100%	22	100%

Fourteen individual interviewees said that they had intentions to return at retirement. Women in Focus Groups 1 to 3 had return plans at retirement except for those two who had obtained legal status and were in the process of petitioning their children to the United States. Here are some of their responses.

Nancy

“Of course in the Philippines! I don’t want to get old here! First of all, I grew up in the Philippines. Of course, it’s like that, wherever we grew up, that’s where we also want to get older.”

Rose

“I’m not really interested in living in the US. I learned about what happens to the old people in the US and how they live, and I really don’t want that to happen to me.” Bella
 “Stay in the Philippines. I don’t want to get old here.”

Elena

“Many Filipinos, when they get to retirement age there’s a good community support. So, we’re saving for that eventuality, so we can pay for whatever support we can get unlike here, even if you get a little money, you end up in a nursing facility, and it’s very sad.”

Kelly

“Though all the opportunities are still here, I still have strength to work so I will work to take advantage of the opportunities but at my old age, I will go home.”

May

“In my retirement years, I would like to go back to the Philippines.”

When talking to women in general, they were firm about returning by the time they had reached retirement. As mentioned above, they did not like how the elderly lived in the United States as their perception was that people moved to nursing homes when they got old. Similarly, Crease (1974) reported that Italians who returned from the United States at retirement, felt that America was not a land for old people, and that they would be more comfortable living in Italy.

There is a cultural difference here as being from Singapore myself, Asians are more likely to care for their elderly parents. There are nursing homes in Asia but, they do not have the same ‘status’ as in the Western world. When an individual lives in a nursing home back home, it is thought of as an abandonment by one’s family. Filipino women in this study said that they would return to live with family. When questioned about when they plan to retire, many said around 60 years or until they can work no more.

Summary

The Filipino domestic workers who participated in this study disclosed many aspects of their lives. We learnt that women were predominantly college graduates with professional occupations. They were in their mid life years, and many were married with children. They considered themselves to be from the middleclass, where many of them owned residential land, were making a decent living and yet were financially struggling to provide for their families. Reasons for migration were overwhelmingly for economic reasons, to provide for their families. The gloomy Philippine economy and government corruption pushed these women to migrate.

A majority of Filipino women in this study entered the United States with a tourist visa. They did not incur huge amounts of government fees but did have to show collaterals on paper at the embassy when applying for the tourist visa. This was reflected in the qualitative data to a greater extent. More than half of them arrived between 1999 and 2003. Upon arrival, life in the United States has not been an easy road for all of them. Their expectations and dreams were shattered and reality set in almost immediately. Since domestic work is unregulated to a large extent, many women have had negative experiences. Many worked long hours, some experienced different forms of abuse, and were not given many benefits by their employers. These experiences were reflected to a greater extent in the qualitative data. Their personal lives were very simple by intention to prevent temptation from purchasing 'unnecessary' items as they wanted to save the maximum dollar for their families back home. In order to do so, they shared accommodation with many people and their foremost socialization on the weekend was

to attend church and gatherings at friends' homes. Women have stated that they have suffered and sacrificed much during this time to earn that dollar for their loved ones.

Their absence has had a great impact on their families they left behind as well. The majority of women said that they had at least one child; most of them continued to reside in the Philippines. When considering age, about half of the children were over 18 years. Most of their children were studying. Therefore, this implies that children continue to require financial support from their mothers. The qualitative data revealed that women's absence has had an impact on their families as a few children have fallen wayward while others just want their mothers to come home. Women have tried their best to stay connected to their children by frequent phone calls but vacations at home were not feasible for them. In addition to the impact their absence had on their children, some women have reported marital problems since their departure from the Philippines. Their absence has affected their family and being away from them, women have suffered emotionally as well. Regardless, they remain resilient as the money they remit is in a way supposed to make up for their absence.

With respect to intentions for return migration, many women reported having intentions to return to the Philippines. The million dollar question is when? At the macro level, the Philippine economy is troubled and therefore, family members are unable to gain financial independence. Therefore, the women in this study have taken it upon themselves to ensure that their children and family members need to be educated and become financially stable. The means to this end is not only to financially support

them through college but at times involves helping them migrate overseas. It is very apparent that women are basing their decision-making process primarily on their family needs. Due to the time needed to achieve this target of theirs, many women spoke about their return at retirement. When is retirement? 60 years or when they are not able to work anymore.

Aside from these two dominant predictor variables, other factors also showed a relationship with return intentions. Women who had their first born living in the Philippines were more likely to have return intentions. Likewise, those who had petitioned their families were less likely to have return plans. Therefore, women wanted to be where their families were residing. In addition to returning to their families, women also spoke about returning “home”. They have missed their lifestyle and sense of “being” having lived away for some years. In preparation for their return, those who were more likely to have return plans, were also more likely to own residential property in the Philippines. Women also spoke about wanting to save some money before their return. Another important factor was immigration status where those who were undocumented were more likely to have return intentions. At the same token women who had legal status were also indicated return intentions. This was related to the thoughts that they were more comfortable returning to the Philippines when they were older.

Demographic information revealed that domestic work did not affect their return intentions in terms of the hard working conditions. Though some factors such as type of employment, health and dental benefits, and location of work revealed relationships to return intentions, I debunked most of these factors with the help of the qualitative data. Besides employment in the United States, those who held professional positions in the Philippines were more likely to have return intentions. Once again, based on the qualitative data, this variable did not come across as a prevailing reason. Age of women on the other hand indicated that there was a positive relationship with age and return intentions. The qualitative data shed some light by showing that majority of women had return plans at retirement. This was due to the fact that they had to continue to support their families beyond their initial target due to the lack of employment opportunities and not being able to sustain financially.

Study Limitations

As in every study there are certain limitations to this one. To begin, the purpose of the study carried out by Damayan and RPI is different from mine. Damayan is predominantly an advocacy group that collected data in order to understand the root causes affecting domestic workers. Therefore, the major focus of the data collection was on their experiences in the United States. A small portion of the study was devoted to the variable, intentions of return migration. Though this study is shaped by the availability of data, there was sufficient information due to the multi-method nature of the original study. When considering all the data sources and field notes, the triangulation of data helped in minimizing this limitation.

There were problems concerning collection of the original survey data as was discussed in the methodology chapter. First, the sample was snowball and purposeful. Therefore, generalizability of the findings is limited to Damayan members and those individuals they reach out to. Next, data collection was not some might say “scientific” where for example, the survey data was completed in 2 ways. Some respondents completed the surveys on their own while others had an interviewer present the questions to them. When Damayan decided to carry out this study, it was made very clear that they are reaching out to a vulnerable population due to their immigration status, and nature of work. Therefore, there was no pressure on them to complete all questions. As a result, the response rate for some questions was not optimal. For example, 43 women did not say if they had children. This could have had an impact on the consequent questions which asked about the age, country of residence and occupation of the children. When considering my research question, this is important as these women migrated to support their children, and therefore, such background information would have helped in explaining their return intentions indirectly. Regardless, the triangulation of data was very helpful in filling gaps that the different data presented. In this case, the qualitative data was useful in explaining the financial dependency of the family. Although a low response rate may have been an issue on some questions, I strongly feel that the triangulation of data helped overcome many obstacles and provided insight.

This study may not have been carried out in the most scientifically rigorous manner which would have enabled me to carry out statistical analysis such as a Logistic Regression. However, the individuals in this study are unique and hard to reach out to. There is much content at heart, rich in qualitative data that would not have otherwise emerged. The thought process, feelings and pain of the women are what I wanted to convey in this dissertation. Therefore, one cannot expect optimal scientific research methodology in such circumstances.

The qualitative data presented with some limitations as well. Most obvious was missing data. The interviews were long and intense and as a result, it was sometimes not feasible to cover everything at one sitting. In addition, the interviewers may have overlooked questions or interviewees may have been hesitant in their responses such as their immigration status. These interviews were very intense and even though there were 2 interviewers, there was much to cover over 1 interview. It would have been ideal to have separate interviews in order to cover the interview guide successfully. On the other hand, it was extremely difficult to make appointments with many interviewees as their work schedules did not leave much free time for us to meet and talk. Therefore, it was an immense accomplishment just getting them for 1 interview. This again relates to the population Damayan was reaching out to. Many were initially reluctant to do the interview but after taking the time to explain how important it was and how the information would be used, those who were approached agreed. When reviewing the interviews, it is clear that much time was spent on talking about domestic work experiences in the United States. This ties back to the reason why Damayan carried out

this project in the first place. Their study goals are different from mine. Regardless the data has presented with such rich descriptions of different aspects of their migration experiences.

No data set is perfect and though the data-sets used in this study may not have been rigorously scientific, they remained as close as possible to the participatory research model. With the help of the RPI at the Urban Justice Center, Damayan has been able to promote social change at the micro and macro level. It has reached out to Filipino domestic workers to collect data, and in the process educated these individuals about domestic work as an occupation and worker's rights. In addition Damayan has also used aggregate and qualitative data to advocate for social change in the field of domestic work. The use of multi methodologies may have been very taxing during the period of data collection but it has certainly provided with benefits as I will address in the next section.

Reflecting on the Use of Multi Methodologies

It has been an interesting experience being involved in the actual study. Carrying out a multi-method study was an uphill task for Damayan. They had time constraints due to their daily work commitments and the fact that they relied heavily on volunteers made it challenging to meet to carry out required tasks. Regardless, everybody involved remained committed to the purpose of the study. Although data collection for the surveys began initially, the other forms of data collection followed soon after. Therefore, data were collected concurrently, and while the tools may have been revised, they did not influence each other throughout the period of data collection.

During data analysis phase, triangulation of data helped as the results not only supported each other but for the most part established meaningful explanations that would otherwise have left me puzzled. One exception was the relationship between health and dental insurance and intentions to return. The quantitative data was helpful in the descriptive aspect of this study. It facilitated in summarizing the characteristics of the female domestic workers (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006; Weinbach & Grinnell, 2001). I was also able to provide descriptive analyses on different topics such as the employment of women. Regardless, some aspects of the survey did not delve deep into the topic such as on reason for migration and intentions of return migration. There was only one question covering the respective themes. The qualitative data provided rich descriptive information on the difficulties women experienced in maintaining their middle class lifestyle and their thoughts on the corrupt government that they felt were contributing towards the crippled economy surfaced in the qualitative data. Without the qualitative data, I also would not have been able to explain when women were thinking about going home, which was at retirement. Therefore, the qualitative data, thick in description helped to fill the gaps in knowledge and allowed for a holistic discussion.

We can't capture the hopes and dreams of Filipino domestic workers quantitatively. The different qualitative data combined with quantitative data helped in providing an integrated view on the experiences of participants. For instance, there were some survey questions such as those on employment that had associations to return

intentions that were a little perplexing to me. However, the qualitative data and personal interactions with women helped in explaining these results.

There were also moments when the survey data was not truly reflective of certain information. For example, the survey data revealed that only a small minority of women experienced some form of abuse at the workplace. However, the qualitative data reflected that the majority, if not all, women experienced some form of abuse at work. This could be related back to the methodology of how the data were collected. When carrying out the surveys, the interviewers did not know the respondents. Therefore, it was probably an impersonal experience and respondents did not have time to ‘warm-up’ to the interviewer. With the individual interviews and focus groups, women were surrounded by familiar faces. In addition, there was more time and women were probably more comfortable divulging the information. Therefore a pitfall in the quantitative methodology was overcome with the strength of qualitative methods.

I am grateful to Damayan and RPI at the Urban Justice Center in deciding to embark on a study that involved multi-methodology. I have gained as the use of multi-methodology has enriched my findings as I have used the different sources of data side by side, to build on each other, and even to provide rival explanations at times. In the final chapter, I will relate the findings to the literature and theory on the topic followed by a discussion on the policy implications and possibilities of future research in this area.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Return migration is a complex phenomenon. While carrying out the literature review it became evident that people return home for various reasons and that it is not always possible to generalize return movement to this entire population. That is what drew me to study return migration of female Filipino domestic workers. While working on this subject matter, it became very obvious to me that in discussing return migration, I could not ignore the story of why they came to the United States and what their experiences have been to date. The data had much information to offer on these topics and there are many pieces to this story.

Summarizing the Findings

A Tale of Two Countries – Supply and Demand

The women who participated in this study were mostly college educated and held professional jobs. The individual interviews and focus group data revealed that though many women considered themselves to come from the middle class, they were struggling to survive due to a business gone bad, a loss of job or simply that the cost of living was rising and wages were not. Although the Philippine economy has ‘enjoyed’ an average of 4.5% growth since 2001, poverty has worsened partially due to inequitable distribution of income and population growth (CIA – The World Factbook). World Systems Theory (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Massey, Arango, Hugo, et al. 1998) helps to explain the situation of the home country by arguing that international migration follows directly from the globalization of the world economy. When capitalism expands out from the developed countries, non capitalist patterns of the developing world are disrupted and

transformed. In the process of market transformation, people are displaced from their livelihoods creating an uprooted and potentially mobilized population prone to migration. The troubled local economy has pushed the Filipino women in this study out of their homes and country to work in nations such as the United States or parts of Europe where the exchange rates worked in their favor. Accordingly, they send home remittances, and the Philippines earns valuable foreign exchange through workers' remittances in addition to alleviating structural imbalances in their labor markets (Faini, De Melo & Zimmermann, 1999).

On the receiving end, Segmented Labor Market Theory (Massey, Arango, Hugo, et al. 1998; Massey, Arango, Hugo, et al., 1994) explains that immigration is demand driven, and built into the economic structure of advanced industrialized nations. Modern capitalist societies such as the United States tend to have a bifurcated labor market, thus creating a primary sector that produces jobs with secure tenure, high pay, excellent benefits, and good working conditions, and a secondary sector typified by instability, low pay, limited benefits, and unpleasant and even hazardous working conditions. Domestic work would fall into the secondary sector and since natives would typically reject such a job, employers recruit immigrants to fill these positions.

Where the Philippines is concerned, the recent global economic downturn meant that growth slowed to less than 1% in 2009 (CIA World Fact Sheet). Analysts believe that large remittances from approximately 4 to 5 million Filipinos working abroad has helped in cushioning the local economy. In addition, poverty has worsened and unemployment was estimated at 7.5% in 2009. Therefore, although there has been an economic downturn in the United States, the situation is not any rosier at home for these women that would entice their return. They are probably better off weathering the storm overseas.

The World Systems Theory and the Segmented Labor Market Theory have helped in describing the supply and demand between two countries such as the Philippines and the United States in the case of this study.

Life in the United States

Research has shown that the success of migration is dependent upon social networks which are useful in obtaining information about job opportunities, assimilation and settlement in the host country (Byron, 1999; Casimiro, 2004; Curran & Saguy, 2001; Orrenius, 1999). Networks played an important role as many women in the study have contacts in the United States which helped them in obtaining a job and in some cases accommodation. As explained in the Segmented Labor Market Theory, domestic work would fall into the secondary sector as it is highly unregulated, takes place in the confines of a home where monitoring work conditions are virtually impossible. Just as other authors (Parrenas, 2001c, Anderson, 2000, Rollins, 1985 & Chang, 2000) on domestic

work have discussed, women in this study talked about many grievances with respect to their working conditions and the uncertainty around their employment from day to day. Bales (1999) states that this is a type of modern slavery where people who are used as such are treated as disposable and replaced. These women are very resilient; even though they experienced a drastic change in their lifestyle, they kept focus on what the money can do for their families. Working in the city was associated with better pay but the cost of living is also more expensive. Therefore, majority of women shared accommodation and lived a minimalist lifestyle in order to save as much as they could. On a more positive note, there have been recent changes in the state law that could help to improve the working lives of these women regardless of their immigration status as indicated below.

In a recent and unprecedented event, New York lawmakers passed The Domestic Workers Bill of Rights in which workers would be entitled to the following:

1. overtime pay after 40 hours of work in a week,
2. one day off per 7 day week calendar,
3. 6 days of paid holidays,
4. 7 paid sick days,
5. 5 paid vacation days annually,
6. 14 days notice for termination of employment,
7. Protection from employment discrimination whereby the worker is able to sue their employer in court.

Source: Michael Virtanen, The Huffington Post 3rd June 2010
: www.nationaldomesticworkeralliance.org

One can't be too optimistic however, as domestic work takes place in the realm of the home, in a private setting. A major question is whether and how these entitlements are going to be enforced and monitored.

For the Love of Family

This study revealed that women migrated primarily for economic reasons and it became evident that earning in the US dollar and remitting a percentage of their wages has helped in providing for their families, and in educating their children, and or extended families. However, years of separation from their families has definitely taken a toll on mother-child, and marital relationships. Women spoke about the immense grief and depressive feelings of not being there for their children. Not being able to watch them grow. Some also informed that their children began to associate with bad company and in these cases, they had to return for a visit to ensure that their children were reformed. Other researchers have also indicated that children long for their mothers' intimacy and care and would rather have their fathers migrate when given a choice (Dreby, 2010; Parrenas, 2001b, 2001c, 2005).

Will they Return?

In the Damayan survey, 99 women reported having return intentions. The qualitative data also reflected that majority of women had return plans, with only a handful remaining in the United States.

Women migrated primarily due to the need to provide financially for their families. They continue to assess the situation at home but do not see economic opportunities in the Philippines that would provide them with similar incomes for them to be able to return at present. Their children and or extended families need money for education and other expenses. Parrenas (2004 & 2005) also addresses this concern in her research where economic pressures result in migrant mothers staying away for very long periods of time.

This study showed that women were much more likely to return if their family lived in the Philippines. The survey data found an association between the first born living in the Philippines and return intentions. This mirrors the results other studies such as one by Coniglio, Arcangelis and Serlenga (2005) who also found that a migrant with two children in the home country was 16.8% more likely to return when compared to those who had children in the host country. In addition, the greater the size of the family in the country of origin, the greater the intensity of return intentions. Women in this study talked about returning to be with extended family, whom they have dearly missed these years. In addition to missing family, women also said that they missed their former lifestyle. The sense of going “home” surfaced strongly in the qualitative data where

women made it clear that they wanted to return eventually. These views were also reflected in other research studies where many people returned to run the family business, or the farm, or return to their real estate, and return to live in neighborhoods with certain qualities such as tranquility, scenery and neighborliness have also triggered return migration (Callea, 1986; Gmelch, 1983, 1995; Grindle, 2000; Hill & Tiit, 2000). Ownership of residential land also revealed an association with intentions of going back. Moreover, Filipino women also talked about having sufficient savings prior to their return. This is important as Friedman and Ahmed (2008) informed that Filipino women who did not have sufficient savings upon return were more likely to migrate once again.

The immigration status of Filipino women revealed a relationship as those who were undocumented were more likely to have return intentions. The majority of women came to the United States on a tourist visa and have overstayed beyond the legal timeframe. They have not made attempts to legalize their status as it is not easy to do so and the cost is great. It was obvious that their priority was to remit a substantial part of their income. Other studies also inform that undocumented immigrants tend to stay for longer in host countries as there are increased costs involved in re-entering due to stricter immigration laws (Durand & Massey 2004; Orrenius, 1999; Stinner, et al 1982; NACLA, 1979). The other interesting point was that women who had legal status also had return intentions. This reflects on the fact that they wish to be close not only to their immediate families but also their extended families. On the other hand, women who had petitioned their families to come live in the United States were less likely to have return intentions. This was also the case in other studies where individuals were less likely to return if their

spouse, children and or parent lived overseas (Brown & Connell, 2004; Constant & Massey, 2002; Lindstrom, 1996; Stinner, et al 1982).

Where demographic information is concerned, although intentions to return did reveal associations with some variables on employment, the qualitative data helped to understand that these were not important when viewing the 'big picture'. An association between unemployment and a lesser likelihood of return meant that women came to the United States for a purpose and knew that returning was not a viable option at this time. They had to earn and remit the US dollar for their families. Many other studies have shown that whatever their country of origin, those who are unemployed in the host destination are more likely to return (Constant & Massey, 2002, 2003; Glavac, 2000; Jensen & Pedersen, 2007; Klinthall, 2003; Kubat, 1984; Saenz & Davila, 1992). Another mystery was that women who were provided with health or dental benefits had greater likelihood of indicating to return intentions. The qualitative data never mentioned that provision of health or dental care was a deciding in factor in their intentions to return. Therefore, though an association was revealed in the survey data, it was not raised as a factor during personal interactions.

Similarly, location of workplace revealed that women who were working outside of Manhattan were more likely to have return intentions. Women who participated in the interviews and focus groups helped to shed some light on this topic by divulging that employers in Manhattan were more likely to treat domestic workers better than in the other areas due to peer pressure and the women are less isolated when compared to work

in New Jersey or the Greater New York region. Based on this, one could conclude that they are more likely to stay on and work due to better salary and working conditions. Other researchers have found that the type of work also plays a role in who returned; those who were unhappy with their working conditions, and unable to adjust to the industrial working climate, were more likely to return to their home country (Bovenkerk, 1974; Callea, 1986; Colten, 1993; Crease, 1974). Even though the nature of work may not be pleasurable in this case, it was not a push factor when considering return intentions.

The survey data established a relationship between those who used to have professional jobs in the Philippines prior to their migration and return intentions. This was reflected in the qualitative data and personal interactions with women who spoke about the kind of mundane work they are doing here versus the stimulating jobs they had in the Philippines. Another study also found that the likelihood of return of relatively skilled illegal migrants is 9.7% higher than the probability of someone with low or no skills (Coniglio et al. 2005). Nonetheless, the Filipino domestic workers in this study emphasized that they would be tempted to do so only when their financial responsibilities were over or when they were able to obtain a job with comparable pay in the Philippines.

Age of women revealed an association with return intentions where older women were more likely to have return plans. Older women were also more likely to have older children in the survey. Therefore, one could presume that their financial responsibilities are coming to a closure. Women spoke about return at retirement. They wanted to work

until around 60 years or when they could not do this work anymore. Filipino women spoke strongly about their cultural differences in how the elderly live in the Philippines when compared to in the United States.

Table 36

Push Pull Factors of Return Intentions based on Triangulation of Data

Push Factors	Pull factors
❖ Wilting Philippine Economy	❖ Children in the Philippines
❖ Financial Needs of Family	❖ Undocumented Immigration Status
❖ Petitioned Family to the US	❖ Residential Land Ownership
❖ Unemployment	❖ Retirement
❖ Health/dental benefits by Employer	❖ Sense of Home
❖ Location of Workplace	❖ Savings
	❖ Ability to work in profession

The table above lists many factors that impinge on return intentions. In the case of migrant female Filipino domestic workers, return intentions are most likely at retirement. Even though they seemed to be target migrants, the main reason for staying in the United States was the financial stability of the family which is tied strongly to the Philippine economy. If the Philippine economy was rosier, the children and extended family members are more likely to be gainfully employed and salaries would meet their needs.

Policy Implications

The Philippines

Filipino women have outnumbered their male counterparts in emigrating since 1992 (Asis, 2003). In addition, Filipino women have migrated to more parts of the globe when compared with women from countries such as Indonesia and Sri Lanka. There are many intelligent, educated and talented Filipinos working overseas in jobs such as domestic work that do not match their level of skill. This study has shown that many women are college graduates who held professional jobs in the Philippines and are now working as domestic workers in the United States.

The Philippine government should harness this talent in rebuilding the economy. Instead of creating subdivisions within the department of Labor and Employment to manage the outflow of Filipinos (Ruiz, 2008), the government should put aside resources towards creating and implementing policies that would entice Filipinos to return to work in their areas of expertise. Establishing a National Reintegration Center for OFWs may help some who have returned but the success of all services provided needs to be reviewed. Proper governance is required in balancing the country's budget and ensuring that people are able to sustain themselves and their families from their income. This is more important today as the current global economic situation is such that, some economic analysts such as those at Foresight: Forgoing Common Futures in a Multi-Polar World, question if the United States and Europe will continue to be the driving force in the global economy in the near future as there are other emerging and competing

economies. The Philippine government has to plan strategically and not rely on remittances to the extent that it does today.

The government also needs to address the social costs to families of an absent mother and wife. Emerging research on the children of Filipino and Mexican migrants have established the presence of negative effects of the absent parent (Dreby, 2010 & Parrenas, 2005). Although women are resilient, it is very painful to be separated from their children and for their children not to have their mother's love and care in person. .

The United States

There are two main policy areas that the United States government should address. First and most importantly is the issue of Immigration. Why does America have an estimated 10.8 million (US Census, 2009) illegal immigrants? There is much debate nationally on border security and punishing those who employ undocumented individuals. However, this does not answer the root problem. Navarrette (2010) states that Americans today shun hard core physical labor that their forefathers once did willingly at reasonable wages. When locals are not willing to carry out such tasks, there is a tendency for these jobs to be filled by foreigners legal or illegal. Where domestic work is concerned, it is primarily carried out by women, and therefore, receives very low status. In addition to my study, other studies that have also documented about illegal migrants from the Philippines, Caribbean, and Mexico doing domestic work in the United States (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Chang, 2000; Parrenas, 2001; Wrigley, 1995). There is an urgent need to implement a visa type for workers such that they are able to enter the

country to carry out domestic work. At present there is the J-1 visa for Au Pairs, B-1 visa for domestic workers who accompany their employers from overseas, and the EB3 visa (for skilled and unskilled workers) where domestic work is offered as a permanent position with the family/employer (United States Citizenship and Immigrant Services). Regardless of these modes of visa application, there is a dire need for the US government to provide visas for domestic workers. There are many undocumented domestic workers in the country at present and these women would be able to legalize their stay if the government provides the means to do so.

The next policy area is to introduce more governance for domestic work as at present it is a highly unregulated occupation. New York lawmakers recently introduced the Domestic Worker Bill of Rights for Domestic Workers in the state. This is an exceptional step in regulating this occupation. However, how will it be enforced? Domestic work typically takes place in the confines of the home and if the worker is undocumented, they are less likely to report abuses. These two policy areas need to be addressed by the government.

Damayan

Damayan as an organization is a social advocating body at the micro and macro level. At the micro level, Damayan orients workers to help them gain an understanding of why migrants are denied social benefits and human rights in the United States. This knowledge empowers individuals and encourages them to advocate for change individually and collectively. Damayan has also helped many migrant women with respect to ensuring fair treatment of Filipino migrant domestic workers. They have provided legal defense and support for women who have problems such as unpaid wages or workplace injuries. Staff have referred women to lawyers and institutions that help immigrant workers. Seeking healthcare is expensive when an individual does not have insurance and therefore Damayan has created LUNAS, a comprehensive health program aiming to educate individuals on healthcare so as to enable them to navigate the system. Through education, Damayan aims to empower its members so that they become strong advocates.

At the macro level, Damayan provides leadership development programs as the organization believes that leaders should emerge from the community. Through these programs, Damayan hopes to create individuals who continue to advocate at the individually and through grassroots, mass organizing. The organization has created the Gender Rights and Empowerment Project whereby women collectively advocate against gender oppression. The project aims to advocate the devaluation of domestic work and the forced migration of Filipino women globally. Finally, Damayan provides an

internship program whereby young individuals are involved in various projects thereby educating and creating an awareness of the issues.

Damayan has helped numerous Filipino domestic workers and is heavily involved in advocacy for domestic worker rights as well as trying to improve the lives of Filipinos at home. With the introduction of The Domestic Worker Bill of Rights in New York, Damayan should continue to educate Filipino domestic workers about their rights and encourage individuals, especially those who are undocumented to seek justice and compensation according to the new law. Filipino women may be more willing to seek justice when they have the support of an organization.

Social advocacy needs to take place in the Philippines and overseas to encourage the local government to create meaningful and productive jobs that would attract citizens to remain and develop their societies (Lindio-McGovern, 2004). Damayan is becoming increasingly involved in advocating for the Philippine migrant women living abroad. This data can be used to advocate for policy changes in the Philippines to create sustainable employment so that there will not be such a mass exodus of women having to migrate.

Women who participated in this study have conveyed that they have been emotionally challenged in various ways. First, the drastic change in their lifestyle from that of middle-class to one of a minimalist living is challenging. Next, the change in occupation from that of a professional one to domestic work affects the individual. Most

importantly, being separated from family especially their children is depressing. Although many have dealt with these challenges in different ways, there is a possibility for Damayan to provide counseling services for members who are not able to cope for various reasons.

Future Research

There is a slow but steady stream of research focusing on women and migration. Considering the fact that there is more movement of women, researchers also need to focus on their return migration as well. It would be interesting to study women who have returned from the United States to understand if they returned according to their plans/intentions. As a follow-up to this study, one could study when female Filipino domestic workers actually return. One way of doing this would be to analyze Damayan's member database over time to see who has not renewed their membership and why they did not do so. Women may have returned, gained citizenship, moved to another country and or changed occupation. Damayan staff know the 'movements' of most of their members and through networking, the researcher would most probably be able to find information about members who did not renew membership. Another qualitative study is also feasible in which women are questioned about their long term plans in greater detail. The researcher should seek information about their plans for return and what individual women are doing to work towards their return goal. Topics should include networking both here and in the Philippines, about their families and where they intend to stay, women's investments and savings, where they would live upon return and what they intend to do.

When men migrate, they either leave their families behind or bring them along. They generally do not have primary caregiver responsibilities unlike their partners. Therefore when discussing the migration of women, we are not only studying about the individual's experience but also the family. There is a need for more research on the impact of separation from the children on short-term as well as long-term. These have important implications on government policies and programs to meet the needs of their citizens. We have to remember that children are our future and if we do not raise them well, we as a society will encounter many issues when they become adults.

Social Work Involvement

At the micro level, social work involvement should take place to help individual women who seek specific services. For example, women who feel depressed about leaving their children behind can be provided with counseling services. Social work knowledge is important for policy formation, advocacy and future research. Social workers working in this field should advocate for better resources and working conditions for domestic workers both here and abroad. In addition, we should have an understanding of global economic and situational factors that contribute towards the phenomenon of return migration and participate in advocating for better opportunities on the home front. This would also mean that families are less likely to be torn apart where children will not yearn for their mothers' presence and love as they do now and mothers would be a stable pillar and support in their children's growth and development.

APPENDIX A

SERVICES PROVIDED BY DAMAYAN MIGRANT WORKERS ASSOCIATION

LUNAS Migrant Worker Holistic Health

Lunas meaning heal in Filipino, is a comprehensive health program which aims to reach out to immigrant women workers. Through education and organizing Lunas reaches out to each individual to help them become skilful navigators of the health care system. Consequently, women become strong advocates for their own welfare and rights.

Breaking the Chains Leadership Development

Damayán believes that leaders should emerge from the community. The organization conducts education, skills and team building its active members. Through leadership training programs, they seek to achieve long term, grassroots, mass organization.

New Membership Orientation

Through the sharing of information, Damayan continues to gain an understanding of why migrants are denied social benefits and human rights in the United States. Training helps to develop migrant workers to take control of their lives, to be able to build meaningful relationships towards the wellbeing of themselves, their families, their community and their homeland, the Philippines.

Abante Babae: Gender Rights and Empowerment Project

Abante Babae enables Filipino domestic workers to recognize, prevent and access help when they are being harassed or violated. The project aims to enable and organize women to collectively advocate against gender oppression. In organizing collectively, the project also links advocacy to the devaluation of domestic work, especially women's work and the forced migration of Filipino women globally.

Legal Defense and Support

Damayan provides support for women immigrants who have problems at the workplace regarding issues such as unpaid wages, workplace injuries, unemployment insurance and when women encounter legal issues regarding their immigration status. Referrals are done on a needs basis to low cost lawyer and institutions that may be able to help immigrant workers.

Integration and Internship Program

This program provides individuals to assist in carrying out the different projects and services Damayan provides. The Kalinga Kababaihan Young Women's Leadership and Immersion Program prioritizes the participation of young women to connect with Filipino domestic workers in order to raise their awareness.

APPENDIX B

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

PAGSUSURI SA MIGRASYON



A Survey of Migration and Labor of Filipino Domestic Workers

This survey is being conducted by DAMAYAN Migrant Workers Association, a non-profit grassroots organization based in New York and New Jersey that upholds and promotes the rights and welfare of Filipino migrant workers. This survey will help in understanding the root causes of issues affecting migrant workers, particularly domestic workers. Your input and experience will be very important in helping us develop needed initiatives to improve your working and living conditions and those of all migrant workers.

The survey will ask you various questions about the history of your migration, your workplace and your home and family life. It should take about 15 minutes. The following is some important information you should know before starting:

- The survey is voluntary. You do not have to participate if you do not wish to. You can stop your participation at any time. If you do not wish to answer specific questions, you can skip them.
- The survey is anonymous. Your name and other personal information will not be taken unless you would like to be contacted for more information or future opportunities for involvement.
- The survey is confidential. Only survey project members will have access to the specific information provided in your answers and it will be used only for the purposes of the survey outlined above. Your answers will not be shared with any other institutions, organizations, or individuals.

If you have any questions or would like further information, please contact:

DAMAYAN at 212.564.6057

contact@damayanmigrants.org

Thank you very much for your time and for participating in this important survey!

For surveyors: Place of Survey Name of surveyor Date conducted Time started Time finished
--

PAGSUSURI SA MIGRASYON A Survey of Filipino Migrant Domestic Workers

1. What city and province were you born in the Philippines?

_____ Check here if you were not born in the Philippines

2. In the Philippines, what was the last school you finished?

- a. Elementary
- b. High School
- c. Some College
- d. College, Received BA
- e. Higher than college (i.e. graduate school, nursing school, etc.)

3. What kind of work were you doing in the Philippines before migrating?

- a. Farm Worker/Peasant
- b. Factory Worker
- c. Nurse
- d. Doctor
- e. Teacher
- f. Government Worker
- g. Other

4. Do you or your immediate family currently own land or property in the Philippines? (circle all that apply)

- a. Yes, own residential land of _____ hectares

- b. Yes, own agricultural land of _____ hectares
- c. No

5. What was the last city and region you lived in the Philippines before migrating?

6. What is the primary reason you decided to come to the United States? (PLEASE CIRCLE ONLY ONE)

- a. Higher salaries in the US vs. Philippines
- b. Couldn't find work in the Philippines
- c. Had relatives/friends already working in the US
- d. Pay off loans
- e. Interest in exploring other countries
- f. Wanted to practice my own profession
- g. Other

7. What year did you first migrate from the Philippines? _____

8a. Did you migrate to other countries before coming to the US? a. yes b. no

8b. If yes, please provide the following information for countries that you migrated to, not including the United States.

Name of Country	Month/ Year Arrived	Month/ Year Departed	Agency Fees paid (in pesos)	Check here you were contracted worker

9. Did you pay any of the following fees in order to go abroad? (circle all that apply)

- a. Passport
- b. Medical exams
- c. Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) fees
- d. Fees for required class
- e. Fees for required orientation
- f. Airport fees
- g. Other - please specify _____

10. When did you first migrate to the United States? _____ month _____ year

11. Please describe how you arrived into the United States the most recent time:

- a. I arrived through a tourist visa
- b. Hospital petitioned me
- c. School petitioned me
- d. Diplomat petitioned me
- e. United Nations petitioned me
- f. Employer petitioned me
- g. My family petitioned me
- h. My spouse petitioned me
- i. Other _____

12. If arrived through a tourist visa, what assets were you required to show? (circle all that apply)

- a. Money in the bank, how much _____ (in pesos)
- b. Car
- c. House
- d. Job
- e. Other _____

13. Did you take out loans to come to the US?
- Yes, how much _____ (in pesos)
 - No
14. What type of work are you currently doing? (circle all that apply)
- Babysitter
 - Nanny
 - Housekeeper
 - Elderly care
 - Cook
 - Baby Nurse
 - Other _____
15. Please list all other types of work you have done in the US aside from domestic work.
-
16. Do you work:
- Full time
 - Part time
 - Multiple Part Time jobs
 - Looking for a job
 - Other _____
17. Do you currently have additional jobs, other than domestic work?
- Yes
 - No
18. How many jobs total do you currently have (include all domestic work and non-domestic work jobs)? _____
19. On average how many hours do you work in total a week at all of your jobs?

20. What is your weekly income from all your jobs (take home, does not include tax)?
- Under \$200
 - \$200-\$400
 - \$400-\$500
 - \$500-\$600
 - \$600 or more
 - Don't know

Please answer the following questions for your domestic work job(s) only.

21. How many years have you been at your primary domestic work job? _____

22. Are you being paid off the books at any of your domestic work jobs?
- Yes
 - No
23. When you work over 40 hours a week, do you get paid time-and-a-half at any of your domestic work job?
- Yes, Always
 - Yes, sometimes
 - No
 - I never work over 40 hours/week
 - Don't know
24. What are your days off (circle all that apply)? M T W TH F Sat Sun
25. Does/Do your employer(s) provide you with any of the following? (Circle all that apply):
- Healthcare
 - Personal days off
 - Paid sick days
 - Paid holidays
 - Dental care
 - Severance pay
 - Regular paid transportation
 - Cab fare when working late hours
 - Access to phone
 - Access to internet
 - Meals
 - Breaks during work hours
26. Do you have health insurance?
- yes
 - no
27. If yes, through whom do you receive health insurance?
- My employer provides me with health insurance
 - My employer pays partially and I pay partially for health insurance
 - I pay for health insurance
 - I have government health insurance (i.e. Medicaid, Family Health Plus)
 - I receive health insurance through a family member or spouse
 - Other _____

28. Where do you work?
- a. Manhattan
 - b. Brooklyn
 - c. Queens
 - d. Staten Island
 - e. Bronx
 - f. Long Island
 - g. New Jersey
 - h. Upstate NY
 - i. Connecticut
 - j. Other _____
29. What kind of transportation do you use to go to work?
- a. Public transportation
 - b. I drive
 - c. Family member or friend drives me
 - d. Employer picks me up and drops me off
 - e. Other _____
30. While working, do you meet with other domestic workers?
- a. yes
 - b. no
31. Which of the following best describes your living situation?
- a. I own my apartment. or house.
 - b. I rent an apartment or house.
 - c. I rent my own room in an apartment or house.
 - d. I share a room in an apartment or house (share the rent).
 - e. I live at my employer's house.
 - f. My employer provides me with an apartment.
 - g. Other _____
32. Do you work live-in or live-out ?
33. How many people do you share a room with (do not include yourself)? _____
34. How many people live in the apartment or house (do not include yourself)? _____
35. Have you been able to practice the profession you were trained for in the Philippines?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Not applicable

36. If no, are you interested in practicing the profession you trained for in the Philippines in the US?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Not Applicable

37. Do you study or take classes?

- a. Yes
- b. No

38. Are you involved in any organizations?

- a. Religious organization (mosque, church, etc.)
- b. Civic organization (i.e. voting)
- c. Community/Worker organizations
- d. Other _____
- e. None

39. Do you intend to move back to the Philippines?

- a. Yes, in how many years? _____
- b. No
- c. Don't know

40a. How many children do you have? _____

40b. Please fill out the following information in regards to your children.

Age	Gender	Country where they currently live	Are they working, studying or other?

41. How many members of your family work outside of the Philippines? _____

In _____ which countries? _____

—

42. How many times per month do you communicate with your family in the Philippines? _____

43. What percentage of your salary do you send to the Philippines per month? _____

44. How many dependents do you support with your income? (Do not include yourself. Include children, spouse and/or any elderly immediate family in the U.S. or abroad.)

45. How many times have you gone back to the Philippines since migrating to the US?

46. Have you petitioned for your family to come to the US?
a. yes
b. no
47. Do you currently have family in the US?
a. yes
b. no
48. Sex
a. female
b. male
c. transgender
d. other
49. How old were you on your last birthday? _____ years
50. What is your marital status?
a. single
b. married
c. divorced
d. common law union
e. widowed
f. separated
51. In what zip code do you live? _____
52. Do you currently hold legal status to live or work in the US?
a. Yes
b. No
53. If no, what is your current status?
a. Pending, applied through employer
b. Pending, applied through family
c. Undocumented
c. Other _____
54. If applied for status, what year did you apply? _____
55. If you applied for status, how much did you pay in any of the following fees?
a. Application \$ _____
b. Attorney \$ _____
c. Other \$ _____
please specify _____

56. In the last twelve months, have you experienced any of the following from your employer(s) (circle all that apply):

- a. Emotional abuse
- b. Yelled at me
- c. Taken my passport
- d. Threatened me
- e. Insulted me
- f. Pushed or shoved me
- g. Hit me
- h. Sexually harassed me
- i. Sexually assaulted me
- j. Did not pay me
- k. Delayed paying me
- l. Made me work without breaks
- m. Did not allow me to leave during hours not working
- n. Increased my work without paying me more

Other

OPTIONAL

If you would like more information about the issues addressed in this survey or about the work of the DAMAYAN, please include the following information:

Name:

Address:

Phone:

APPENDIX C

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW GUIDE

Thank you for volunteering to help conduct interviews of Filipina domestic workers! You will play a vital role in identifying the needs of our community and better preparing DAMAYAN to meet those needs.

The interviews we are conducting make up the third major part of our research project. We have already conducted 110 surveys, with an intention to conduct 250 surveys total. We have conducted three focus groups (small group discussion with workers), and have three more to go.

We also plan to conduct 25 in-depth interviews with Filipino domestic workers. The interviews will allow us to go more deeply into a person's experience and how they understand that experience. It is through the interview process that we will be able to identify and understand trends that we can't see through the surveys and might miss in the focus groups. The interviews really allow us to put a human voice and an overall picture to our research.

Of the 25 interviews to be conducted, we plan to choose ten to publish as a book on the lives of domestic workers in the New York area.

For each interview, which we expect to be one hour long, we need the following people:

1. Interviewee
2. Interviewer
3. Note-taker (can omit if we can count on our recording and if the interviewee is okay with being recorded)
4. Transcriber (could be the same person as the interviewer)

Please look at the interview tips before conducting an interview, and do not hesitate to ask DAMAYAN or UJC staff questions if you have any doubts before or after conducting interviews. The interview guide is structured so that we will be sure to gather similar data from all 25 individuals interviewed, particularly as different people will be conducting the interviews. While you should stick pretty close to the guide, it is also important to promote a relaxed and fluid dialogue with the interviewee. Therefore, as you become more comfortable with the content of the guide, you can go between sections as needed. Moreover, a guide is necessarily a dynamic document as data is collected and new issues emerge, so feedback as to how it should grow is welcome and helpful!

We would like to have a full transcription of each interview. While tedious to produce, the transcription ensures accuracy of the account and it will enable us to identify key words and themes that are repeated.

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

My name is.....I am volunteering/staff with DAMAYAN Migrant Workers Association, which as you probably already know is a non-profit grassroots organization based in New York and New Jersey that upholds and promotes the rights and welfare of Filipino migrant workers. This interview is part of a broad research project DAMAYAN is doing that will help in understanding the root causes of issues affecting migrant workers, particularly domestic workers. Your input and experience will be very important in helping us develop needed initiatives to improve your working and living conditions and those of all migrant workers.

The interview will ask you various questions about your current and past workplaces, your life in the Philippines and your family life, the history of and reasons for your migration, and life in the United States. It should take about an hour to an hour and a half. The following is some important information you should know before starting:

- The interview is voluntary. You do not have to participate if you do not wish to. You can stop your participation at any time. If you do not wish to answer specific questions, you can skip them.
- It is anonymous. Your name and other personal information will not be shared with anyone outside of the research team. As part of DAMAYAN's work, we do plan to create a book that will highlight or profile the experience of a handful of folks we interview (we are interviewing 25 and will highlight 10), so if you are interested or willing to be highlighted let us know. Otherwise, all the answers from this interview are going to be grouped with the 24 others, as well as a series of focus groups and the answers of 250 surveys in a large report. No names will be used.
- The survey is confidential. Only survey project members will have access to the specific information provided in your answers and it will be used only for the purposes of the research project outlined above. Your answers will not be shared with any other institutions, organizations, or individuals

Do you have any questions before we start?

SECTION I

To start out, tell me about where you are currently working.....

(if you are not currently working as a domestic worker, tell me about your most recent domestic worker job)

- Kind of work (babysitting, housekeeping, etc)?
- How did you find this job?
- How long have you been at this job?
- Tell me about the work conditions
 - Live in/live out
 - Hours
 - Wages
 - Sick and vacation days
 - Health insurance
 - Overtime
 - Meals, transportation paid?

- Tell me about your relationship with your employer.
 - How do you negotiate your work terms?
 - Talk about the treatment you receive from your employer.
 - Talk to me about experiences when you felt that you were not treated fairly or respectfully by your employer.
 - What did you do in response?
 - Are there ways in which you feel that your employer is fair or treats you with respect?

Can you tell me about other work you have had since you migrated?.....

(Pull from questions from above, however honing in on experiences or aspects of the experiences that were particularly positive or negative)

- What did you do on these jobs?
- How did you find these jobs?
- How were the work conditions in these jobs?
- How were the relationships with your employer?
- How was the compensation?
- Talk about jobs that were particularly good or particularly bad? Tell me what made them either good or bad for you? How did they compare from other jobs you have had or others you know have had?

(If haven't already) ...Can you describe any problems you have encountered at your job(s)?

- Have you experienced issues related to wages and hours? Such as no payment, long hours without pay?
- Talk about experiences where you have felt taken advantage of or that you think have been abusive. (harassment, being yelled at, being physically abused)
- Talk about experiences where you have felt some form of discrimination as a domestic worker.

- What was the experience? Example: Not being able to use the main door of the building you work in, not eating with the family during meals.
- How did you feel?
- What was your response or the response of others?
- Do you feel that this was based on race/ethnicity/nationality, language, or gender?

SECTION II

Alright, we are going to go back to before you migrated to the United States and your life in the Philippines.....

Talk about your life before you migrated.

- Where did you live?
- What did you do?
- Education: level, what studied?
- Talk about opportunities or barriers to use it professionally

Talk about your economic situation in the Philippines.

- Would you consider yourself middle class, working class, poor....?

Tell me about your family. Children, spouse, parents, siblings?

- Where are they now?
- Who do they live with?
- Are you supporting them?
- How often do you see or talk with them, if at all?
- Talk about how being far away from family is for you and for your family.

Now, I would like to get an idea about the reasons that led to your decision to leave the Philippines....

Can you talk about what some of the issues were that drove you to leave the Philippines?

- Economic?
- Others who had migrated?
- Other reasons?

Talk through your experience from the time you left the Philippines to coming to the US.

- Did you migrate alone or with others?
- Did you go to other countries before coming here, and what did you do there?
- Did you have work contracts or work set up before you migrated?
- What kind of visa did you come with? What happened with that over time?
- Were there many expenses that went into your migration?
- Can you talk about experiences of migrating that were particularly helpful or hard?

SECTION III

Alright, now we are going to come back to talk about your life in the United States.....

Tell me about your living situation (if not a live-in).....

- Where do you live?
- With whom?
- What are the living conditions like?
- What has been your experience in trying to find a place to stay?
- Have you had any difficulties trying to rent an apartment?
- How many times have you moved in the last year?
- Are you happy with your living arrangements or would you prefer something else if you had the option?

Now, can you tell me how your major monthly expenses break down?

- Walk me through how much on average you make each month and what your biggest expenses are (and how much goes to each)?
- How do you help your family monetarily?
 - How much do you send home and how frequently?
 - Who do you send money to?
 - How about sending boxes home?
- Can you talk about whether you ever had a hard time paying bills, sending money home, or making ends meet in general?

Let's talk about health care....if you do not receive health insurance, can you talk about what you do when you need medical care?

- Have you ever had health problems? Tell me about what you have done for health care? Who paid? What were the implications of paying, if you paid?
- What do you do for preventative health care? (For example, what do you do to take care of yourself and help you stay healthy in the long run?)

Now I am going to ask some questions about how immigration status impacts your life and that of other Filipino domestic workers in the US....

I know that this is particularly sensitive and want to say again that everything here is confidential and anonymous; however, as we both know, the majority of domestic workers are undocumented in this country, so we are particularly interested in showing how this causes problems for workers so we can try to create ways to help this situation..... I appreciate your willingness to share. Feel free to answer these questions drawing from your own experience or that of others you know.....

- Tell me about your experiences, successful or not, in changing your status since you were here. What were the economic costs?
- Have you had difficulties in finding a job due to immigration status?

- Have you ever been asked about your documentation status by prospective employer or another person or agency? Were there any repercussions?
- In what other ways has your documentation status affected your life?

Now to move to a little lighter of a subject, tell me about what you do in your free time.

- What kind of activities are you involved in? Eg: Church activities, dancing, gym etc.
- Who do you socialize with?
- Do you know other Filipino domestic workers? How do you spend time with them?

SECTION IV

This last section deals with some broad issues and questions, the first being around the expectations you had in migrating to the United States.

- What were your expectations of living in the US prior to arriving here?
- How different is it now from what you expected?
- What are your long term plans? Will you return to the Philippines to live/ stay here/ or migrate to another country?
- Having experienced working in the US today, talk about why you would still have come to work here or stay in the Philippines.
- If you had a job in the Philippines which enabled you to earn what you earn at present, would you have stayed in the Philippines?
- What advice would you give to a person who is thinking about migrating or who just arrived from the Philippines and is looking to do domestic work?

That is the end of my questions, is there anything else you would like to add?

Thank you so much for sharing your experience and perspective. This will be really important for DAMAYAN to provide a really comprehensive picture of why Filipinos are migrating and what is happening among domestic workers living in the United States, and then create strategies to try to improve these situations.

APPENDIX D

FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

History of Migration

- ⇒ What were your reasons for leaving the Philippines? What has been your experience in coming to the United States from the Philippines (or talk about what you know of others' experience)?

Probes

- Why did you or others come to the United States?
- What was life like back in the Philippines?
- Do you still have family and friends in the Philippines?
- What was the actual experience migrating like? Did they/you pay?
- Do you send money home?
- Is America providing what you imagined?
- What are your family and friends' plans for the future in the Philippines?

Expectations in Migrating

- ⇒ What did you imagine life and work in the US would be like before you arrived and how is it different from that?

Education and professional training

- ⇒ Here in the US, what do you think are barriers to working in your profession or field for which you were trained?

Probes:

- What was your career and/or educational training and background in the Philippines?
- What is your current job?
- Do you want to practice what you studied or practiced in the Philippines?

Work Place Practices

⇒ What kind of compensation are domestic workers provided?

Probes:

- Talk about wages. What are wages generally and how are they paid? How do you/they receive payment? Is the payment enough to live on?
- What about other kinds of other monetary compensation (living or travel allowance)?
- Benefits (paid sick days, vacation, health care)
- Food

⇒ What are some problems or issues that domestic workers face as a result of the either insufficient wages or lack of adequate benefits?

Probes:

- Have you or do you know of others who have had troubles paying bills? Skipping meals? Evicted or at-risk of eviction? Had to rely on a food pantry or soup kitchen?
- Are you or others able to get medical attention when needed? What about preventive medical care (regular check ups, dentist, etc)?

⇒ What are some general issues/ problems that domestic workers face with their employers?

Probes:

- Have you or anyone you know ever had problems with things like no payment, long hours, harassment, being yelled at, being physically abused?
- How does this affect you or other workers? Are you or others able to address this with employers or anyone else? Why or why not?

Home and Family Life

⇒ Do domestic workers spend much time with others outside of the family you work with?

Probes:

- Do you/they speak with or see family?
- Do you/they speak with or see friends?
- How much free time do you/they have?
- Who do you/they spend it with?
- Do you/they talk with families back home?

APPENDIX E

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD (IRB) APPROVAL

The City University of New York, Hunter College has rigorous standards regarding IRB approval. There are forms that can be downloaded from the website (<http://www.hunter.cuny.edu/irb/home.htm>). I completed these documents based on what was required for the review of a secondary analysis and submitted them. In addition to the forms, I provided the committee with a brief description of the following:

1. Purpose of the research
2. Research design
3. The selection and recruitment of subjects
4. Procedures to be followed during data collection
5. The length of time taken to collect information
6. Potential risks to subjects
7. Issues around Confidentiality

I also provided the committee with a copy of the survey questionnaire and the interview guides for the individual interviews and the focus groups. Most importantly Damayan and the Urban Justice Center provided me with letters of consent to use the data for the purpose of my dissertation. All this was provided to the committee in a package. Based on the information provided I was granted approval and could begin working on my dissertation. The information provided in the package is attached to this Appendix.

Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects from Research Risks

HUNTER COLLEGE
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
695 PARK AVENUE, ROOM E1426
NEW YORK, NY 10021
PHONE (212) 650-3053 ♦ FAX (212) 650-3055
<http://www.hunter.cuny.edu/irb>

To: Sanjana Ragudaran
Irwin Epstein
Social Work

From: Darrell Wheeler, Chair *DW*

Date: 12/17/2009

Re: Human Subjects Review

Federalwide Assurance Number: FWA00003623

IRB Registration Numbers: IRB00004471 and IRB00000136

Protocol #: HC-110924787

Project: "Intentions of Return Migration of Female Filipino Domestic Workers"

The Hunter College Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects has declared your project exempt under 45 CFR 46.101(b)(4). If any changes are made to the study, the Committee must be notified. If your project is still running twelve months after the date of this memo, please be advised that we will need an update for our files.

Good luck with your work!

By signing below, I acknowledge that I have received this letter and am aware of and agree to abide by all of its stipulations in order to maintain active approval status, including prompt reporting of adverse events/serious problems and annual continuing review. I am aware that it is my responsibility to be knowledgeable of all federal and state regulations including CUNY's Federalwide Assurance (FWA) with the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP)

Signed:

Sanjana Ragudaran

Sanjana Ragudaran
Irwin Epstein
Social Work

**SIGN AND RETURN ONE COPY OF THIS MEMO TO CAROLYNN JULIEN,
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD, 695 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, NY 10065.**

YOUR PROJECT WILL NOT BE APPROVED UNTIL WE RECEIVE THE SIGNED COPY.

Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects from Research Risks

HUNTER COLLEGE

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
695 PARK AVENUE, ROOM E1426
NEW YORK, NY 10021
PHONE (212) 650-3053 ♦ FAX (212) 650-3055
<http://www.hunter.cuny.edu/irb>

To: Sanjana Ragudaran
Irwin Epstein
Social Work

From: Sheryl Browne Graves, Chair
Harriet Goodman, Chair
Roseanne Flores, Chair

Date: 11/13/2008

Re: Human Subjects Review

Federalwide Assurance Number: FWA00003623

IRB Registration Numbers: IRB00004471 and IRB00000136

Protocol #: HC-100813447

Project: "Intentions of Return Migration of Female Filipino Domestic Workers"

The Hunter College Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects has declared your project exempt under 45 CFR 46.101(b)(4). If any changes are made to the study, the Committee must be notified. If your project is still running twelve months after the date of this memo, please be advised that we will need an update for our files.

Good luck with your work!

By signing below, I acknowledge that I have received this letter and am aware of and agree to abide by all of its stipulations in order to maintain active approval status, including prompt reporting of adverse events/serious problems and annual continuing review. I am aware that it is my responsibility to be knowledgeable of all federal and state regulations including CUNY's Federalwide Assurance (FWA) with the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP)

Signed:

Sanjana Ragudaran
Irwin Epstein
Social Work

SIGN AND RETURN ONE COPY OF THIS MEMO TO CAROLYNN JULIEN,
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD, 695 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, NY 10065.

YOUR PROJECT WILL NOT BE APPROVED UNTIL WE RECEIVE THE SIGNED COPY.

HUNTER COLLEGE

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD (IRB) FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS
 695 PARK AVENUE, ROOM E1426
 NEW YORK, NY 10021
 PHONE (212) 650-3053 / FAX (212) 650-3055
<http://www.hunter.cuny.edu/IRB>

IRB PROTOCOL COVERSHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: This form must be reviewed and completed in its entirety. This form must be signed by the Principal Investigator, and if applicable, the Faculty Advisor or Co-Principal Investigator(s). Attention to these elements will facilitate the IRB's review of your protocol.
PLEASE TYPE OR PRINT LEGIBLY

PROTOCOL INFORMATION

TITLE	Intentions of Return migration of female Filipino Domestic Workers
-------	--

FUNDING SOURCE	_____
DOES THE FUNDING SOURCE REQUIRE NOTIFICATION OF THE IRB'S DECISION? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR (PI) and FACULTY ADVISOR (if applicable) INFORMATION

1) PI NAME	Sanjana Ragudaran				
DEPARTMENT	Social Welfare				
E-MAIL ADDRESS	sanjanamaniam@hotmail.com				
HOME ADDRESS (necessary for mailing)	3 Indigo Drive Old Bridge NJ 08857				
Faculty Advisor	Hunter Faculty/Staff	Graduate Student	Undergraduate Student	Other	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

2) PI NAME	Professor Irwin Epstein				
DEPARTMENT	Social Welfare				
E-MAIL ADDRESS	iepstein@hunter.cuny.edu				
HOME ADDRESS (necessary for mailing)					
Faculty Advisor	Hunter Faculty/Staff	Graduate Student	Undergraduate Student	Other	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

3) PI NAME					
DEPARTMENT					
E-MAIL ADDRESS					
HOME ADDRESS (necessary for mailing)					
Faculty Advisor	Hunter Faculty/Staff	Graduate Student	Undergraduate Student	Other	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

4) PI NAME					
DEPARTMENT					
E-MAIL ADDRESS					
HOME ADDRESS (necessary for mailing)					
Faculty Advisor	Hunter Faculty/Staff	Graduate Student	Undergraduate Student	Other	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

OTHER PROTOCOL INFORMATION

Will the study be administered in a language other than English? * <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No • <input type="checkbox"/> Yes Be sure to attach translations of all instruments, consent and/or assent form(s), script(s) and instrument(s) or submit these for approval after the English version has been approved.	How many participants will be surveyed, interviewed, tested or otherwise involved in the project? <u>182</u> # of participants How many: — # male <u>182</u> # female (estimate if doing a random sample)	Will your sample include participants from diverse ethnic groups? • <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No • <input type="checkbox"/> Yes If yes, what are the groups and their anticipated proportions?	Does the study involve vulnerable subjects? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No • <input type="checkbox"/> Yes	Will participants have health or mental health issues? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No • <input type="checkbox"/> Yes Is the health or mental health of the participants the focus of the research? <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No • <input type="checkbox"/> Yes If yes to either above, please provide details in the narrative.
--	--	---	--	--

PLEASE CHECK THE BOX NEXT TO EACH ITEM THAT YOU HAVE ADDRESSED.

SECTION 1 - ITEMS REQUIRED FOR AN IRB PROTOCOL

COVERSHEET

- Did you complete and review this coversheet in its entirety?

APPLICATION

- Did you complete the Hunter College Institutional Review Board Application for Approval to Use Human Subjects in Research (8 pages)? You must answer all questions asked in the format requested. Not adhering to the questions or format will result in delays, as your protocol will be returned.
- Did you summarize your research question(s) and their significance. **DO NOT ATTACH YOUR WHOLE RESEARCH PAPER.**
- Did you select the type of review requested (Expedited, Exempt or Full Review)?
- Did you number all pages consecutively?
- Did you sign the protocol forms and obtain the signature of the Co-Principal Investigator or Faculty Advisor?

KEY PERSONNEL FORM

- Did you complete a key personnel form? Key personnel are defined as any individual who will be involved in the design and conduct of human subjects research project. A copy of this form is available on our website.

EVIDENCE OF TRAINING

- Did you complete the CUNY Computer Based Training (CBT) and attach a copy of the certificate for all key personnel. Training can be completed at: www.citiprogram.org. If your certificate is on file at the IRB Office, you do not need to re-submit. We cannot accept certificates from other institutions.

CONSENT

- Did you follow the template in Section 4 of this document?
- Did you copy the first page of all consent/assent documents on letterhead? Studies conducted by Hunter students, faculty or staff must be on Hunter College letterhead. If you are unable to locate Hunter College letterhead, please leave a 2 inch margin at the top of the document, and upon approval it will be copied onto Hunter College letterhead.

INSTRUMENTS

- Did you include your research instrument (questionnaire, interview protocol, record review summary sheet, etc.)? If your instrument is a questionnaire or interview, be mindful of the way the study is presented to the participants.
- Is the language of the instruments to be used compatible with the reading/literacy level of the possible research participant?
- Did you label all instruments clearly?

LETTER FROM COOPERATING AGENCY

Secondary analysis,
Using existing data

- ✓ Did you include a letter from an executive in the cooperating agency or organization (if applicable)?
If the agency has an IRB, the approval letter must be from the IRB.

RECRUITMENT

- ✍ Did you provide recruitment materials?
 - ? You can contact participants by use of flyers, postcards, advertisements, press releases, brochures, verbal exchanges, and postings on the Internet.
 - ? For written contact (e-mail, letters, etc.) the recruitment script should be in the form of a letter. For some anonymous studies, researchers may choose to combine the consent form and recruitment letter. (see Chapter 8 of the Policies & Procedures Manual)
 - ? For in-person contact, a recruitment script should be an introduction which the researcher will use with potential participants to introduce the study.
 - ? For telephone contact, a recruitment script should be an introduction that the researcher will use with potential participants to introduce the study. Researcher should establish that the participant fits the group or class of participants you are seeking, i.e., "Are you/I assume you are...."
 - ? For flyers and advertisement did you include names of the researchers and contact information, Hunter's name and researcher's affiliation, purpose of the research, general eligibility criteria, accurate and honest description of benefits and/or compensation (free treatment, payment), a statement that it is a research study?
- ✍ Did you indicate in the recruitment materials that you are conducting a research study?
- ✍ Did you include a brief synopsis of the study, your name, affiliation and contact information and criteria for participation in your recruitment materials?
- ✍ Did you specify how participants are selected? Are you using an entire population? Are you using (number) potential participants from (number) of the available population? Is it a random or systematic (5th person out of every 10 people) sample? Are participants from a public list?
- ✍ Did you include language on how you will obtain your subject pool?
- ✍ Did you describe the challenges to privacy and confidentiality in the study and describe how you will address them?
- ✍ Were you sensitive to actual or perceived coercion?
- ✍ In describing your recruitment in the narrative, did you describe how you will eliminate or minimize actual or perceived coercion?

REFERRALS

- ✍ If your study involves more than minimal risks, did you provide specific contact information for referrals? This includes a contact person within an agency and a direct phone number. e.g., Jane Doe, North General Hospital, (212) 595-1234.
- ✍ Did you include a list of referrals to help participants deal with unexpected outcomes, if participants should need them, which are appropriate to your research?
- ✍ If it is an agency based research did you provide in agency and out of agency referrals?
- ✍ If your study involves more than minimal risks, does this referral agency have specific expertise in the area of risk?

FOR EXEMPT STUDIES ONLY

- Did you explain which exempt category your protocol qualifies for and justify why your protocol meets the exempt criteria?
- For review of records, did you attach a copy of the tool that will be used to transfer the data?
- For review of records, did you provide a model record which will be reviewed?
- For review of records from an agency, does the letter from the official state that you have permission to use the data?
- For review of records from an agency, does the letter from the official state how the data can be used?

✍ SECTION 2 - OTHER ITEMS THAT MAY BE NECESSARY ✍

PERMISSION TO AUDIOTAPE OR VIDEOTAPE

- ✍ Did you complete a Video Recording or Audio Recording Release Consent Form if you will audio or video record participants? You should select the options that are appropriate for your study. A copy of this form is available on our website. You must use this format.

UNAFFILIATED INVESTIGATOR FORM

- ✍ If you are a non-CUNY person, did you indicate a Hunter College faculty contact and complete the Unaffiliated Investigator Agreement Form? A copy of this form is available at the IRB Office).

DATA USE AGREEMENT

- ✍ If your study involves the use existing data and it is created by or obtained from a HIPAA covered entity, you must provide a data use agreement. This form is completed by an official in the institution granting access to the data and specifies how the data may be used. Did you provide this form?

TRANSLATIONS

- ✍ Did you attach translations of all instruments, consent and/or assent form(s), script(s) and instrument(s) if your study is in a language other than English?

OR

- ✍ Will you submit the translations once the English version is approved?

✍ SECTION 3 - OTHER ISSUES ✍

RESEARCH WITH MINORS

Federal regulations specify that minors deserve special care and protection as human subjects. This includes all children under the age of 18. All of these research projects require full committee review.

- ✍ Did you provide an assent form? Assent is required for children age 5 and up. It should be in language appropriate for the age group. If you are using a range of ages you will need separate assent forms. Typically you should group ages 4-5, 6-9 10-12 and 13-17.

- ⚡ Did you provide a consent form for the parent/guardian?
- ⚡ Is the assent form written in language the child can understand?
- ⚡ Did you provide this language in the assent form?
"You do not have to participate even if your parent gave permission for you to do so."
- ⚡ Did you provide this language in the parental consent form?
"My child will also be asked to participate. He/she does not have to participate, or he/she can withdraw at any time, even if I have given my permission."
- ⚡ Did you remember that research involving participants at New York City public schools, must be approved by the NYC Department of Education IRB?

Please note that the concept of "passive consent" is not acceptable. Passive consent, is providing parents with information regarding the study and asking them to return a form only if they do not want their child to participate with instructions that say that if the form is not returned the child will participate in the research.

RESEARCH WITH COGNITIVELY OR MENTALLY IMPAIRED PERSONS

Federal regulations specify that cognitively or mentally impaired adults deserve special care and protection as human subjects. The category of cognitively or mentally impaired includes, but is not limited to, people suffering from mental retardation, neurological diseases and disabilities affecting judgment, mental disorders producing delusion or confusion, and/or dementia. All of these research projects require full committee review.

- ⚡ Does the informed consent process address the need to preserve participant decision-making autonomy?
- ⚡ Did you show that you have made every possible attempt to seek the informed consent of the participant as well as the informed consent of the participant's proxy? As a general rule, all adults regardless of their diagnosis or condition, should be presumed competent to consent unless there is evidence of serious mental disability that would impair reasoning or judgment?
- ⚡ Did you assure that potential participants are fully informed about the voluntary nature of their participation, and that they remain free to withdraw at any time, even when proxy consent has been obtained?
- ⚡ Are both participants and their proxies fully informed about the risks, costs, and risk/benefit ratio of the study?
- ⚡ If there is evidence of serious mental disability that would impair reasoning or judgment, did you explain how you will assess competency?
- ⚡ Did you include a description of appropriate psychological or medical screening criteria for competency and indicate how and when you will use them?

RESEARCH WITH PRISONERS

Federal regulations specify that research which involves prisoners deserve special care and protection as human subjects. At Hunter, the category of prisoners includes, but is not limited to, prisoners, parolees and those on probation. All of these research projects require full committee review.

The following research is normally permissible:

- a. Study of the possible causes, effects, and processes of incarceration, and of criminal behavior, provided that the study presents no more than minimal risk and no more than inconvenience to the participants;

- b. Study of prisons as institutional structures or of prisoners as incarcerated persons, provided that the study presents no more than minimal risk and no more inconvenience to the participants.
- c. Research on conditions particularly affecting prisoners as a class.
- d. Research on practices, both innovative and accepted, which have the intent and reasonable probability of improving the health or well-being of the participant.

The following criteria must be met:

- ✍ Are any possible advantages accruing to the prisoner through his/her participation in the research, when compared to the general living conditions, medical care, quality of food, amenities and opportunity for earnings in the prison, of such a magnitude that his/her ability to weigh the risks of the research against the value of such advantages in the limited choice environment of the prison impaired?
- ✍ Are the risks involved in the research commensurate with risks that would be accepted by non-prisoner volunteers?
 - ** For prisoners, minimal risk is the probability and magnitude of **physical or psychological** harm that is normally encountered in the daily lives or in the routine medical, dental or psychological examination of **healthy persons**.
- ✍ Are the procedures for the selection of participants within the prison fair to all prisoners and immune from arbitrary intervention by prison authorities or prisoners? Unless the principal investigator provides justification in writing to the IRB for following some other procedures, control subjects must be selected randomly from the group of available prisoners who meet the characteristics needed for that particular research project.
- ✍ Is the information presented in language which is understandable to the subject population?
- ✍ Are there adequate assurances that parole boards will not take into account a prisoner's participation in the research in making decisions regarding parole; each prisoner is clearly informed in advance that participation in the research will have no effect on his or her parole?
- ✍ Did you add to the consent form a statement that participants should *not discuss open cases*? This includes cases pending in the criminal justice/judicial system as they may be subject to subpoena.

*** Note:** Research that is conducted or supported by HHS must be certified by OHRP. The IRB Office will aid in certification, after the protocol is approved.

HEALTH INSURANCE PORTABILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY ACT (HIPAA)

- ✍ Do you use individually identifiable health information created by a covered entity? • ✍ No • ✍ Yes
- ✍ Do you use or disclose health information that has been created by or obtained from HIPAA-covered entities, such as hospitals, physicians' offices, or social service and mental health agencies?
✍ No • ✍ Yes
- ✍ If you answered yes to the last question, have you attached a HIPAA Waiver Application or a HIPAA Research Authorization? • ✍ No • ✍ Yes
- ✍ Are you using key personnel that are not affiliated with CUNY? • ✍ No • ✍ Yes
- ✍ If you answered yes to the previous question, have you attached a Subject Information Confidentiality Agreement for each non-CUNY key personnel? • ✍ No • ✍ Yes
- ✍ Do you have a completed and signed Data Use Agreement between yourself and the covered entity? (see Section 2 on Data Use Agreements)

SPECIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Clients, students or staff of Hunter College or any other agency or institution may feel they HAVE TO or MUST participate in a study if their practitioner, teacher or supervisor asks them. It is recommended that teachers not use class time to complete interviews or questionnaires. It is also preferable, if possible, to avoid having teachers, staff or practitioners recruit their own workers, students or clients directly for your study. If you are asking staff/teachers to recruit participants on your behalf, it is preferable for the staff/teacher not to know if their worker/students have actually participated. Here are ways to handle that:

- a) they could provide information to the clients/students asking them to contact the researcher directly;
- ? They could get permission from the client/students to give client names to researcher. You, the researcher, would then contact them directly;
- b) If staff must or cannot help but know who participates, it must be stated in the recruitment script and consent form that the participant's participation is still voluntary, and there will be no withdrawal of services or other penalties if they choose not to participate.
- ? Be sensitive to the impact of group pressure when recruiting participants in a group session, public meeting or class setting. To minimize, the researcher (or someone else) could distribute cards to the potential subjects, asking people interested in participating to write down their contact information, and then the researcher can contact them. Collect the cards from everyone so no one in the group will be overtly aware of who volunteered. Alternatively, the researcher can distribute a recruitment flyer, which asks the potential subjects, in writing, to contact the researcher.

RESEARCH WITH GROUPS

It is important to convey to the participants in focus groups, that they should not discuss what is said in the group outside of the group.

- ✍ Did you include the following statement or similar appropriate language to the consent form:
"To protect the privacy of the group members, please refrain from speaking to others about what is said within the group."
- ✍ Did you include a statement that group members will know what the subject says and therefore confidentiality cannot be guaranteed?

SECTION 4 - CONSENT INFORMATION AND TEMPLATE

- ? Valid informed consent requires:
 - (1) Disclosure of relevant information to prospective participants about the research;
 - (2) their **comprehension** of the information, and
 - (3) their **voluntary agreement**, free of coercion and undue influence, to research participation.
- ? Consent forms should be in the second person voice. Listed below are elements that should be included. The model that appears uses a block format to make it easier to read, though this format is not mandatory. The following elements must be included in the consent form.
- ? This template uses standard language for normal adults with a relatively high literacy level (8th Grade). For some populations (cognitively or mentally impaired, children, non-native English speakers and those with lower literacy levels) you will need to alter the language.
- ? If you alter the standard language, please be sure to explain how and why this was done.
- ? You can check the reading level of a document in Microsoft Word. (Click on Tool, then Options, then the Spelling & Grammar tab, then click the box 'Show readability statistics.' Check the document as you normally would and the readability statistics will appear.)

ELEMENT	EXAMPLE
<p>Purpose And Background</p> <p>This section should present the introduction to the study, indicating who is conducting the research, stating the aim of the study, giving a brief summary of the background or reason for the project, and explaining why the individual has been asked to participate.</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ? Who is the researcher? ? What is the researcher's affiliation with Hunter College? ? What the study is about? ? Criterion for Participation ? How did the researcher find and/or select this participant? ? Number of Anticipated Participants ? A statement of voluntary participation 	<p>Sarah Brown is a graduate student in the Department of Health Sciences at Hunter College. She is conducting a study about how nurses deal with stress. You are being asked to participate in a study which explores how nurses experience and cope with stress in their roles. You have been identified as a possible participant because you are a nurse who has worked in the field for five years or more and you are over the age of 18. It is anticipated that 30 individuals will participate in this study. Participation in this study is voluntary, and refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled.</p>
<p>Procedures</p> <p>Each procedure should be discussed preferably in the sequence in which it occurs. If the study involves screening procedures, these should be mentioned first and identified as tests that will determine eligibility to participate in the study. This section should clearly state what will be done to the individual as a result of participation in the study, and, where appropriate, how this differs from standard treatment or practice or what would happen to the individual if he/she did not participate in the study.</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ? What will the participants be asked to do? Will it be interviews, focus groups, etc. ? Where will it take place? ? Expected duration of the participant's participation. How long will it take? 	<p>You are being asked to participate in an in-person interview. During the interview you will be asked questions about your day-to-day experiences as a nurse. The interview will take place at a mutually agreed upon public location and will take about one hour.</p>

Risks and/or Discomforts

The risks and/or possible discomforts of all study procedures should be listed and explained in this section. It is best to describe the risks of each procedure in a separate point and arrange them according to severity and the likelihood of occurrence. Where appropriate, the precautions that will be taken to avoid certain outcomes from occurring should be indicated and what will be done should they occur. It is important to consider the emotional impact of the research on the people who are your research participants, even if the study is of a seemingly impersonal subject matter. PLEASE NOTE: There is always the possibility of harm to the participants, even if remote and minor. Examples of types of risks to participants are: Physical - risk of heart attack if project involves participants working out on a treadmill; Psychological - survey questions remind participants of traumatic or emotional events; Social - disclosure of individual responses could lead to a loss of community standing; Legal - survey questions may be self-incriminating; Economic - disclosure of individual responses could result in loss of employment.

- ? Indicate risks
- ? Indicate what the participant should do if he/she is bothered or upset as a result of participation.
- ? Include a statement about the participant's ability to not answer any question.

The study may raise difficult issues about stress in your life. In the event that this happens, the researcher has a list of resources that you may contact for assistance should you need them. You can choose to not answer any particular question. You may also stop the interview process at any time.

Benefits

Any potential direct benefits to the participant should be described. In behavioral research there typically are no direct benefits.

- ? Indicate the Benefit(s) to the participant. Note that accumulating knowledge that might help to understand a problem or change a policy in the future is not a benefit to the participant and should not be advertised as such.

There are no direct benefits. However, participating in the study may increase your knowledge of stress as it relates to nurses.

Alternatives

This section should discuss any alternatives to participation in the study. If the study involves only normal, healthy volunteers, and thus the only alternative is to decline participation in the study, this need not be mentioned in a separate section because the individual's right to choose not to participate will be made clear in the last section of the form. If the study involves the use of a student's class time, alternatives that the child will be given if they choose not to participate must be detailed.

- ? Indicate Alternative

None

Financial Considerations

This section should state the total dollar amount that the participant will be paid for participation in the study, and should give any other relevant information such as pro-rating if a participant does not complete the study. If appropriate, a payment schedule should be included in this section. Participants should not be required to complete the entire study in order to be reimbursed.

Participants should be informed how payment will be made (e.g., in cash, by check) and when they will be paid (e.g., immediately after the interview, approximately six weeks after completion of the study or one-third upon completion of the first of three phases of the study). It is important that this information be clear and complete. If there will be no payment or reimbursement to participants for study participation, this information should be stated in this section.

- ? Indicate Payment

You will be paid \$10 for your participation. Even if you do not complete the entire interview, you will still receive the \$10.

Privacy and Confidentiality

Indicate how confidentiality in the study will be maintained. If there are limits to confidentiality this must be spelled out.

- ? Tell participants how the data will be collected.
- ? Explain how the data will be handled and stored.
- ? State when and how data will be destroyed.
- ? Tell participants what will happen to the data that is collected.
- ? Indicate if anyone will know if they have participated in this study, and if so, who will know.
- ? Briefly describe how the confidentiality of private information will be protected, i.e., coding of records, limiting access to the study records, not using any individual identifiers in publications or reports resulting from the study.
- ? Limits to confidentiality - This language is necessary in almost all instances regardless of subject matter. "If the researcher becomes concerned that you are a danger to yourself or others, she/he will alert (counselor, agency director/police, etc.)."
 - ≅ If you are talking to professionals or key informants about their feelings, this language is required.
 - ≅ You need not use this language with professionals or other key informants if you are asking about organizational or professional practices. Instead, use the phrase, "The information you disclose will be kept confidential to the full extent permitted by law."
 - ≅ Do not use this language if you are using anonymous surveys.

The researcher will tape record the interview with your permission. You will be given a separate form to indicate your permission. No one but the researcher and her faculty advisor will listen to the tape. The tapes will use identifying codes. Your name will not appear on the transcripts. Tapes will be destroyed after interviews are transcribed. No personal identifiers can be linked to the data. All materials will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the faculty advisor's locked office to which only the researcher and her faculty advisor have access. The data will be stored for a minimum of three years. After that, all materials may be destroyed. As long as the data exists it will be kept secured. The information will be used to produce a paper for a graduate research project. Only aggregate data will be reported in any reports or publications derived from this research. All identifying information about you and others who participated will be omitted or disguised. The researcher is mandated to report to the proper authorities suspected child abuse, and any indications that you are in imminent danger of harming yourself or others.

Withdrawal

Some form of these two statements must appear in the consent form:

- ? Include a statement about discontinuing the study

You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits or services to which you are entitled.

Contact Information

The contact information should read as follows:

- ? "If you have questions about the study, you can contact the researcher, (name of researcher at (xxx) xxx-xxxx or his/her faculty advisor (name of faculty advisor) at (xxx) xxx-xxxx. You should contact the Hunter College IRB Office at (212) 650-3053, if you have

If you have questions about the study, you can contact the researcher, Sarah Brown at (555) 555-5555 or her faculty advisor Joe Black (555)555-5577. You should contact the Hunter College IRB Office at (212) 650-3053, if you have questions regarding your rights as a subject or if you feel you have experienced a research-related injury.

questions regarding your rights as a subject or if you feel you have experienced a research-related injury.”

Or alternately

“If you have questions about the study, you can contact the researcher, (name of researcher at (xxx) xxx-xxxx or his/her faculty advisor (name of faculty advisor) at (xxx)xxx-xxxx. “You should contact the Hunter College IRB Office at (212) 650-3053, if you have questions regarding your rights as a subject or if you feel you have been harmed as a result of your participation in this research.”

Signatures

? For a waiver of signed consent (i.e., use of an Information Sheet rather than a consent form)
The last paragraph should read:
“The information you provide is anonymous. No one will know how you responded to these questions. Please do not put your name or other identifying information on the questionnaire to assure anonymity. By completing and returning the instrument you are giving consent”

? For a signed consent form

? The last paragraph should read:
“I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to participate in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form for my records and future reference.” (Note: this statement should be in the first person.)

? This should be followed by lines for the participant’s printed name, his or her signature and the date of signature.

? This should be followed with the signature of person obtaining consent. This provides participants with a record of who explained the study to them. This should include the printed name of the specific individual obtaining consent, his or her signature and the date of signature.

I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to participate in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form for my records and future reference.

Participant’s Name Signature Date

Researcher’s Name Signature Date

I certify that I have read, completed and addressed all items in the IRB Protocol Coversheet.

J. Lagnel
Principal Investigator

Date: 10/08/2008

Luin Zule
Co-Principal Investigator/Faculty Advisor

Date: 10/16/08

Co-Principal Investigator/Faculty Advisor

Date: _____

Co-Principal Investigator/Faculty Advisor

Date: _____

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
(IRB)

APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL TO USE HUMAN SUBJECTS IN RESEARCH

Step-by-step instructions and other information relevant to filling out this form are contained in CUNY's *Principal Investigator's (PI) Manual for Research Involving Human Subjects*, available at your campus IRB Office or by accessing it on-line at http://www.rfcuny.org/ResCompliance/pi_manual.html.^{*} All Principal Investigators are expected to be familiar with the policies and procedures it contains. Failure to follow the instructions may result in a delay in the approval process. Be sure to sign where indicated by the ☺.

1. Project Title: Intentions of Return Migration of Female Filipino Domestic Workers

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR INFORMATION (See Page 4 of the PI Manual)

2. Principal Investigator: Sanjana Ragudaran

Department: Social Welfare Phone: (212) 452 7048 Fax: (212) 452 7440

Email (Required): sanjana maniam@hotmail.com

3. Co-PI (if any) _____

Department: _____ Phone: _____ Fax: _____

Email (Required): _____

4. Status (check one): Faculty Doctoral Student Graduate Student Undergraduate Student
 Other (please explain) _____

For student and non-CUNY researchers *only*, please give your home address and telephone number:

3 Indigo Drive, Old Bridge, New Jersey 08857
Home: (732) 218 -7366 Cell: (917) 834-3226

FACULTY ADVISOR INFORMATION (See Page 4 of the PI Manual)

NOTE: The IRB will not review protocols submitted by students without the signature of a faculty advisor on page 8 of this application.

5. Faculty Research Advisor: Professor Irwin Epstein

Department: Social Welfare Phone: (212) 452-7030 Fax: (212) 452-7150

Email (Required): iepstein@hunter.cuny.edu

^{*} A revised version of the *PI Manual* that includes instructions on the questions in this form related to the Research Authorization required by the Privacy Rule issued under the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) will be available shortly. In the meantime, please refer any concerns you have about these questions to your IRB Chair or IRB Administrator.

PROTOCOL INFORMATION (See Pages 4-12 of the PI Manual)*

Yes No

6. Does your study involve individually identifiable protected health or mental health information (PHI), including demographic information and biological specimens identified to an individual, created or maintained by, or received from, a person or an entity covered by the Privacy Rule issued under the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) (e.g., a hospital; a physician, or a practice in psychology, psychotherapy, or social work; a health insurer, HMO, or health plan; or a community clinic, or a social service or mental health agency)?

7. If your answer to question (6) is Yes, please list below or on a separate sheet the PHI that is necessary for your research and that you intend to use in your research.

8. If your answer to question (6) is Yes, please list below or on a separate sheet the name and address of each person or entity that is creating, maintaining or providing the PHI for your research.

9. If your answer to question (6) is Yes, please note that a person or entity covered by the HIPAA Privacy Rule can use or disclose PHI only under narrow conditions. Check below the authority under which you intend to obtain, use and/or disclose PHI in your research.

- You will seek each subject's HIPAA authorization (this HIPAA authorization is required in addition to each subject's informed consent). *If so, please attach a copy of the appropriate CUNY IRB HIPAA Research Authorization form prepared by you (PI), or the covered entity's HIPAA authorization, to this application. (These forms are available at <http://www.cuny.edu> under Research and Funding on the Faculty and Staff page.)*
- You intend to request a waiver or alteration of HIPAA authorization. *If so, please attach a copy of the CUNY IRB Request for Waiver or Alteration of HIPAA Authorization form prepared by you (PI). (This form is available at <http://www.cuny.edu> under Research and Funding on the Faculty and Staff page.)*
- The covered entity will provide you with a "limited data set" for your research.** *If so, please attach a copy of the covered entity's Data Use Agreement to this application (consult the covered entity's Privacy Officer for additional information).*

CUNY Investigators whose research involves PHI are required to ask all non-CUNY personnel who will have access to research data (e.g., co-investigators, outside statisticians, contractors) to sign the CUNY Subject Information Confidentiality Agreement, a copy of which is available at <http://www.cuny.edu> under Research and Funding on the Faculty and Staff page.

* Until the revised *PI Manual* that includes instructions on the questions in this form related to the Research Authorization required by the HIPAA Privacy Rule is available, please refer your concerns about these questions to your IRB Chair or IRB Administrator.

** Until the revised *PI Manual* including information regarding "limited data sets" under the HIPAA Privacy Rule is available, please refer your concerns about "limited data sets" to your IRB Chair or IRB Administrator.

10. Does your study involve the collection of data from a vulnerable population?
If yes, please specify type of population:

For a complete list of categories of vulnerable populations, as well as the special safeguards required when conducting research with them, see pages 4-5 of the *PI Manual*. Special Informed Consent procedures are necessary when conducting research with minors. See page 19 of the *PI Manual* for information.

Yes No

- Children/Minors
- Prisoners
- Fetuses
- Pregnant Women
- Cognitively Impaired Persons
- Other

11. Does this study involve deception (research in which the subject is purposely led to have false beliefs or assumptions)?

Yes No

12. If the study involves risk to subjects, is the risk greater than that incurred in ordinary life or tasks?

Yes No

13. Has this study ever been previously approved by this IRB?

Yes No


14. Is this proposal new or revised in response to previous IRB review?

Yes No
NEW

15. Is funding being sought for this study? If yes, through what sponsoring agency?
Agency: _____

Yes No

I certify that the research plan and safeguards to human subjects described in this application conform to that which has been submitted/will be submitted to an external funding source.

 Principal Investigator: _____

Date: _____

16. Is this study being reviewed by an IRB at another institution? If yes, please list the institutions below.

Yes No

Documentation of IRB reviews of this study conducted at other institutions must be provided when it becomes available. **Research may not begin until IRB review has been concluded at all institutions involved.**

17. Have you (PI) completed the federally required CUNY Human Subjects Protection Education Program [see www.rfcuny.org/ResConduct/CBT]?
Documentation needs to be provided only once; if this is your first time submitting an Application for Approval, please attach a copy of your certificate.

Yes No

I certify that each of the following key personnel (as defined in the *PI Manual*) involved in this project either have completed an approved training program for the protection of human subjects in research and have certificates on file with the IRB office, or they will have completed an approved training program and certificates will be placed on file before their participation in the research project actually begins.

Principal Investigator: Sanjana Ragudaran

Date: 10/08/2008

<u>Name</u>	<u>Role on Project</u>	<u>Date Training Completed</u>
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PLEASE COMPLETE KEY PERSONNEL FORM

PLEASE COMPLETE KEY PERSONNEL FORM

PLEASE COMPLETE KEY PERSONNEL FORM

18. Please indicate the type of review requested:

The IRB will make the final determination of the type of review.

Exempt
Provide the information requested on pages 5 and 7 and sign pages 4 and 8.

Expedited
Provide the information requested on page 5 and sign on pages 4 and 8.

Full IRB Review
Provide the information requested on page 5 and sign on pages 4 and 8.

ALL Applicants must answer questions 1-8 (See Pages 12-20 of the PI Manual)

All researchers must submit a fully complete application and detailed research protocol to the IRB, addressing all questions, regardless of type of review the researcher is requesting. Please consult pages 7-12 of the PI Manual for an explanation of expedited, full and exempt IRB review and the types of research that may be reviewed under each procedure. The IRB chair will determine the type of review for which your project qualifies under federal guidelines. Research cannot start until written IRB approval notification is obtained. Final judgement rests with the IRB.

Please answer the following questions on a separate sheet.

1. State the purpose of the research. Include major hypotheses and research design. If the study is part of a larger study, briefly describe that larger study and indicate whether it has received IRB approval from another institution (*see page 12 of the PI Manual*). **Please keep in mind that the IRB is composed of individuals from many disciplines and thus the description of your research should be written in terms readily comprehensible by non-experts.**
2. Describe the source(s) of subjects and the selection criteria. Selection of subjects must be equitable and, in the case of protected populations such as children, prisoners, pregnant women, the mentally disabled, etc. should address their special needs. Include the number of subjects. (*See pages 12-14 of the PI Manual for a discussion of equity in subject selection and pages 4-5 for a discussion of protected populations*). The text of any advertisement, letter, flier, oral script or brochure used to solicit potential subjects **must be attached**.
3. Provide a description of the procedures to be followed. If available, include copies of questionnaires and/or interview protocol, or a sufficiently detailed description of the measures to allow the IRB to understand the nature of subjects' involvement.
4. Describe any potential harms or benefits to be derived by subjects, with a discussion of the risk/benefit ratio. For approval of any study with more than minimal risk, the benefits must clearly be shown to outweigh the risk. Describe how the study may expose participants to stress, physical, psychological or interpersonal hazard, including the possibility of pain, injury, disease, discomfort, embarrassment, worry or anxiety.
5. Describe the specific methods by which confidentiality and anonymity will be protected, including the use of data coding systems, how and where data will be stored and who will have access to them, and what will happen to data after the study has been completed. (If your study requires a waiver or alteration of HIPAA authorization, you should provide the information requested here on a separate sheet and in the *CUNY IRB Request for Waiver or Alteration of HIPAA Authorization form*).
6. If applicable, provide the following: 1) a description of the debriefing procedures to be used in cases where deception has occurred; 2) a statement describing what actions you will take should the research reveal the possibility of a medical or other potentially troubling condition.

7. **Before submitting this application, all investigators should familiarize themselves with the discussion of informed consent contained in pages 16-20 of the PI Manual.** Describe the oral and written consent processes and attach all informed consent documents, including scripts for oral consent and assent form for research involving minors ages 12-17. When the informed consent form to be used will be in a language other than English, an English translation must be provided. **Unless one or more of the required elements described below is explicitly waived by the IRB, informed consent documents should contain:**
- A. A fair explanation of the purposes of the research and the expected duration of the subject's participation, a description of the procedures to be followed, and identification of any procedures which are experimental;
 - B. A description of any possible discomforts and risks reasonably expected. This includes any potential financial risks that could ensue;
 - C. A description of any benefits reasonably expected;
 - D. A disclosure of any appropriate alternative procedures;
 - E. A statement that participation is voluntary, refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which the subject is otherwise entitled, and the subject may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which the subject is otherwise entitled;
 - F. An offer to answer any current or future inquiries concerning the goals of the research or the research procedures, and to provide a summary of results upon request and information on whom to contact for answers to pertinent questions about the research and research subjects' rights and whom to contact in the event of a research-related injury to the subject*;
 - G. An instruction that the subject is free to withdraw or discontinue participation at any time without prejudice.
 - H. A statement describing the extent, if any, to which confidentiality of records identifying the subject will be maintained; and
 - I. Provisions for parent or guardian approval for participation of minors or for subjects from vulnerable populations when appropriate.

Upon approval of the study, the informed consent document will be stamped with an expiration date. **Only this document may be used when enrolling subjects.** Studies extending beyond the expiration date must be submitted for a continuation review. **Any changes in the informed consent form must be approved by the IRB.**

8. Please provide any other information that might be pertinent to the IRB's decision.

**If you are requesting exempt status, please continue on page 7.
For expedited or full review, please continue on page 8.**

* **Note:** Questions about the rights and welfare of individuals as participants in human subjects research and notice of a research-related injury should be directed to the IRB Chair on your campus.

For EXEMPT STATUS Requests ONLY (See Pages 7-9 and 20 of the PI Manual)

Following are the categories of research eligible for Exempt Review. Please indicate the category in which you believe your research fits:

- (1) Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, involving normal educational practices, such as
 - (i) research on regular and special education instructional strategies, or
 - (ii) research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods.
- (2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless:
 - (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and
 - (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.
- (3) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior that is not exempt under paragraph (b)(2) of this section, if:
 - (i) the human subjects are elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office; or
 - (ii) Federal statute(s) require(s) without exception that the confidentiality of the personally identifiable information will be maintained throughout the research and thereafter.
- (4) Research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are publicly available or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.
- (5) Research and demonstration projects which are conducted by or subject to the approval of Department or Agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine:
 - (i) Public benefit or service programs;
 - (ii) procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs;
 - (iii) possible changes in or alternatives to those programs or procedures; or
 - (iv) possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under those programs.
- (6) Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies,
 - (i) if wholesome foods without additives are consumed or
 - (ii) if a food is consumed that contains a food ingredient at or below the level and for a use found to be safe, or agricultural chemical or environmental contaminant at or below the level found to be safe, by the Food and Drug Administration or approved by the Environmental Protection Agency or the Food Safety and Inspection Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

FINAL DETERMINATION ON EXEMPTION RESTS WITH THE IRB.

EXEMPT RESEARCH INVOLVING PHI IS NOT EXEMPT FROM THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE HIPAA PRIVACY RULE.

IF YOUR RESEARCH INVOLVES PHI, YOU MUST INDICATE YOUR AUTHORITY FOR OBTAINING, USING AND/OR DISCLOSING THE PHI.

SIGNATURE and CERTIFICATION (See pages 20- 21 of the PI Manual)

I agree to use procedures with respect to safeguarding human subjects in this activity that conform to University policy. If significant change in investigative procedure involving human subjects is called for during the activity covered by this application, I shall seek prior approval for such change from the IRB and agree to follow the advice of the IRB. If my research is subject to the requirements of the HIPAA Privacy Rule, I agree to meet those requirements and to see that other persons and entities from which I obtain PHI also meet those requirements to the extent they assist me in this research. Where required, I will obtain a HIPAA authorization or an IRB waiver of HIPAA authorization. The faculty sponsor's signature indicates that s/he has reviewed this application and accepts the responsibility of insuring that the procedures approved by the IRB are followed.

Signed:



Principal Investigator *A. Laguarda*

Date 10/08/2008

Co-PI _____

Date _____

Faculty Advisor *Kevin Sute*
(required for student research)

Date 10/16/08

Before submitting this form, consult pages 21-23 of the PI Manual, "Frequent Oversights."

For EXPEDITED and EXEMPT reviews, submit the original and 3 copies of this Application together with the informed consent form, recruitment materials, HIPAA Authorization form or Request for Waiver or Alteration of HIPAA Authorization form (where applicable), and other relevant information.

On most campuses, for FULL IRB reviews, submit the original and 10 copies of this Application, together with the informed consent form, recruitment materials, HIPAA Authorization form or Request for Waiver or Alteration of HIPAA Authorization form (where applicable), and other relevant information no less than 12 days prior to the IRB meeting at which you wish your application to be reviewed. Please consult your IRB Chair, IRB Administrator, or grants or sponsored programs officer on your campus for the exact requirements.

CITI Course in The Protection of Human Research Subjects

Human Research Curriculum Completion Report Printed on Monday, February 12, 2007

Learner: Sanjana Ragudaran (username: sragudaran)

Institution: City University of New York (CUNY)

Contact Information: 3 Indigo Drive

Old Bridge, New Jersey 08857 United States of America

Department: School of Social Work

Phone: 732 218 7366

Email: sanjanamaniem@hotmail.com

Graduate students: – this learner group is designed for masters and doctoral level students engaged in research or research practica, regardless of whether the research is Social and Behavioral, or Biomedical.

Stage 1. Basic Course Passed on 02/12/07 (Ref # 885751)

Required Modules	Date completed
History and Ethical Principles - SBR	02/08/07
Defining Research with Human Subjects - SBR	02/08/07
The Regulations and The Social and Behavioral Sciences - SBR	02/08/07
Assessing Risk in Social and Behavioral Sciences - SBR	02/08/07
Informed Consent - SBR	02/08/07
Privacy and Confidentiality - SBR	02/09/07
Records-Based Research	02/09/07
Research with Children - SBR	02/09/07
Research in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools - SBR	02/12/07
Internet Research - SBR	02/12/07
The City University of New York (CUNY) Module	02/12/07

For this Completion Report to be valid, the learner listed above must be affiliated with a CITI participating institution. Falsified information and unauthorized use of the CITI course site is unethical, and may be considered scientific misconduct by your institution.

Paul Braunschweiger Ph.D.
Professor, University of Miami
Director Office of Research Education
CITI Course Coordinator

Return

DAMAYAN Migrant Workers Association, Inc.

c/o Metro Baptist Church
406 W. 40th Street, 3rd Floor
New York, NY 10018

Phone: 212-564-6057
Fax: 212-564-6057

contact@damayanmigrants.org
www.damayanimigrants.org

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March 21, 2007

To Whom It May Concern:

DAMAYAN Migrant Workers Association, Inc. is an independent non-profit grassroots organization based in New York and New Jersey that upholds and promotes the rights and welfare of Filipino migrant workers. It also raises awareness and organizes around issues of migrant workers, particularly domestic workers, to understand the root causes of these issues. Damayan is a Filipino word that means helping each other.

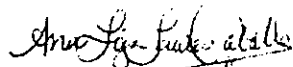
Damayán commenced on a project called Pagsusuri Sa Migrasyon with the Urban Justice Center in 2004. We embarked on this multi-method study to document and generate an analysis of issues related to migration and labor of Filipino domestic workers in New York City.

Sanjana Ragudaran has expressed interest in using the data for her dissertation on the Intentions of Return Migration of Female Filipino Domestic Workers. We support her efforts in this endeavor and give permission for the use of the data.

The data that will be provided to Sanjana will not contain any indicators linking back to individuals who were interviewed for this project. The Urban Justice Center will make the data available to Sanjana.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you require further information.

Sincerely,



Ana Liza Caballes
Overall Coordinator



Pagkakapatiran... at higit sa
lahat, pagdadamayon.



Urban Justice Center
 666 Broadway, 10th floor, New York, NY 10012
 Tel: (646) 602-5600 • Fax: (212) 533-4598
 www.urbanjustice.org

March 21, 2007

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To Whom It May Concern:

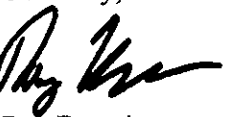
The Community Development Project of the Urban Justice Center is a non-profit organization that works to support and promote community development in New York City through the provision of legal, research and policy support to grassroots organizations. Sanjana Ragudaran has volunteered at the Research and Policy Initiative of the Community Development Project of the Urban Justice Center since February 2004.

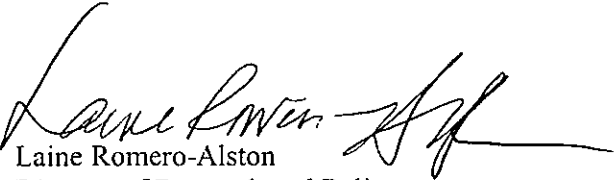
In 2004, UJC began a community research project with Damayan: Migrant Workers Organization, a membership-based organization made up primarily of Filipino domestic workers, called Pagsusuri Sa Migrasyon. This multi-method research initiative seeks to document and generate an analysis of issues related to migration and labor of Filipino domestic workers in New York City.

Sanjana has expressed that she would like to do her dissertation with this particular population due to her interest in women's issues and the intentions of return migration of this population. We wholeheartedly support her desire, and will do everything to support her in that effort.

This letter is specifically to ensure you that we consent to allowing Sanjana Ragudaran use the data from the Pagsusuri Sa Migrasyon project for the purpose of her dissertation. Be ensured that the data she will use contains no indicators such as name or address of those who were interviewed for this project. The Quantitative data will be available in the SPSS software and the Qualitative data in the Nudist software. All questionnaires, tapes, and data are stored at the Urban Justice Center.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if you need any further information or have any questions.

Sincerely,

 Ray Brescia
 Associate Director
 646-459-3002


 Laine Romero-Alston
 Director of Research and Policy
 Community Development Project
 646-459-3011

No. 1 Purpose of Research

Aim of Research

People from all over the world, move in search of a better life relative to what they are experiencing. Some do this with the intention to stay, others with the intention to return. Irrespective of these original intentions, a certain percentage of this population will eventually return to their home country. In 1885, Ernest G. Ravenstein a geographer wrote a theoretical list on the “laws” of migration in which he stated that each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current, of which return migration is a component (Moltmann, 1980). Return Migration refers to the movement of a person returning to his/her country of origin, usually after spending at least one year in another country (Perruchoud, 2004). Though the movement of people has been documented, there is a need for more research on return migration. This study hopes to contribute to this phenomenon by exploring the intentions of return migration of female Filipino domestic workers in New York and New Jersey.

Sending governments such as the Philippines, has benefited from migration in closing trade gaps, and lowering unemployment rates. However, some scholars argue that real gains should be qualified by the costs including that of social impacts (Appleyard, 1989a). Return migration can incur different types of costs for governments. Governments need to know the characteristics of returning migrants, as this has implications for policies and services that need to be established to facilitate their reintegration (Ammassari & Black, 2000; ESCAP Secretariat, 1986; Gendt, 1977; Ghosh, 2000). Realistic policy formation is constrained, when only aggregate based data is

available on returnees. The increasing mobility of people in trade and investment, and short term movements related to increasing economic globalization implies a need to study the characteristics of returnees (Ghosh, 2000). This is especially important in the Filipino context since people who leave, tend to be relatively better educated. There can also be significant dividends to the home country if their citizens return, especially if they are highly skilled in areas of demand in the home country (Olsen, 2002). The sharp increase in the number of irregular or undocumented migrants is another factor that governments need to address.

The purpose of this analysis is to explore the phenomenon of the intent of return migration of female Filipino domestic workers in New York and New Jersey. This is an exploratory study and based on what has surfaced in the literature review, the different influences of return migration will be considered. There are multi-causal factors that influence return migration. Table 1 provides an overview of the push and pull factors of return migration based on the literature review carried out.

TABLE 1 : An Overview of Push and Pull Factors

PUSH FACTORS	PULL FACTORS
Unemployment	Employment Opportunities in Home Country
Economic Slowdown	Economic Growth
Decrease in Wage	Improved Political Situation
Job Satisfaction	Remittance
Length of Stay	Investments and Savings
Discrimination	Presence of Family and Friends / Networks
Legal Status	Government Policies promoting Return Migration
	Return at Retirement
	Poor Health
	Multiple Visits before Final Return

I will be using existing data, both quantitative and qualitative measures to explore the intentions of return migration of female Filipino domestic workers in the New York and New Jersey area. This information will be useful in identifying knowledge gaps in reasons for the intent of return migration of Filipino domestic workers. The information will be valuable to community organizations that reach out to domestic workers, in helping them plan their return move, and also to rally for government changes in policy where it is required.

Research Design

The data was collected by the Damayan Migrant Workers Association (referred to as “Damayan” hereafter) and the Research and Policy Initiative (referred to as “RPI” hereafter) of the Community Development Project at the Urban Justice Center based in New York City for their research purposes. Their research project is called, Pagsusuri Sa Migrasyon: A research study of the migration and labor of Filipino Domestic Workers. I have obtained written permission from both organizations to use the data for my dissertation. The letters from both organizations and a copy of the data collection tools are attached. The data consists of 182 surveys, 25 individual interviews and 5 focus groups. The survey data contains information about migration history, work experience in the United States, social and family lives, and intentions of return migration of individuals who participated in the study. The focus groups and individual interviews contain in-depth information about reasons for migration, domestic work experiences including specific incidents, their social and family situations, and future plans which includes return intentions.

No. 2 Selection and Recruitment of Subjects for Participants in Research

There is no contact with any subjects. The data set is de-identified. The agency conducted narratives and no individual is identified in this data set.

No. 3 Procedures to be Followed

A copy of the data collection tools is attached. Data is held at the Research and Policy Initiative of the Urban Justice Center. The narrative (Individual Interviews and Focus Group Discussions) are currently available in Word Document. The data set is available in SPSS and I will be using this software for analysis.

No. 4 Potential Risks to Subjects

There is no potential risks to subjects in this study as all available data has been de-identified.

No.5 Confidentiality

No individual person will be identified and findings will be reported in the aggregate. I will have access to the de-identified data. All transcribed individual interviews have been coded alphabetically and the quantitative data numerically. No debriefing is required for the purpose of my dissertation.

APPENDIX F

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

1. Life in the Philippines

Questions from the Survey on Life in the Philippines
(Q2) In the Philippines, what was the last school you finished?
(Q49) How old were you on your last birthday?
(Q50) What is your marital status?
(Q3) What kind of work were you doing in the Philippines?
(Q4) Do you or your immediate family currently own land or property in the Philippines?

Questions from the Individual Interview Guide on Life in the Philippines

Section II

Alright, we are going to go back to before you migrated to the United States and your life in the Philippines.

Talk about your life before you migrated.

- Where did you live?
- What did you do?
- Education: level, what studied?
- Talk about opportunities or barriers to use it professionally

Talk about your economic situation in the Philippines.

- Would you consider yourself middle class, working class, poor?

2. Migration

Questions from the Survey pertaining to Migration
(Q6) What was the primary reason you decided to come to the United States?
(Q7) When did you first migrate from the Philippines?
(Q8a) Did you migrate to other countries before coming to the United States?
(Q9) Did you pay any of the following fees in order to go abroad?
(Q10) When did you first migrate to the United States?
(Q11) Please describe how you arrived into the United States the most recent time?
(Q12) If arrived through a tourist visa, what assets were you required to show?
(Q13) Did you take loans to come to the US?
(Q52) Do you currently hold legal status to live or work in the US?
(Q53) If no, what is your current status?

Questions from the Individual Interview Guide concerning Migration

Section II

Now, I would like to get an idea about the reasons that led to your decision to leave the Philippines....

Can you talk about what some of the issues were that drove you to leave the Philippines?

- Economic?
- Others who had migrated?
- Other reasons?

Talk through your experience from the time you left the Philippines to coming to the US.

- Did you migrate alone or with others?
- Did you go to other countries before coming here, and what did you do there?
- Did you have work contracts or work set up before you migrated?
- What kind of visa did you come with? What happened with that over time?
- Were there many expenses that went into your migration?
- Can you talk about experiences of migrating that were particularly helpful or hard?

Section III

- Tell me about your experiences, successful or not, in changing your status since you were here. What were the economic costs?

3. Life in the United States

Questions from the Survey on Domestic Work
(Q14) What type of work are you currently doing?
(Q16) Do you work full-time, part-time, multiple part-time jobs, looking for job, other?
(Q17) Do you currently have additional jobs other than domestic work?
(Q18) How many jobs total do you currently have?
(Q19) On average how many hours do you work in total a week at all of your jobs?
(Q20) What is your weekly income from all your jobs?
(Q21) How many years have you been at your primary domestic work job?
(Q23) When you work over 40 hours a week, do you get paid time-and-a-half at any of your domestic work job?
(Q24) What are your days off? Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday
(Q25) Do/Does your employer(s) provide you with any of the following? Healthcare, Personal Days off, Paid Sick Days, Paid holidays, Dental care, Severance pay, Regular paid transportation, Cab fare when working late hours, Access to phone, Access to internet, Meals, Breaks during work hours?
(Q28) Where do you work?
(Q29) What kind of transportation do you use to go to work?
(Q30) While working, do you meet with other domestic workers?

(Q56) In the last 12 months, have you experienced any of the following from your employer(s) (circle all that apply) Emotional abuse, Yelled at me, Taken my passport, Threatened me, Insulted me, Pushed or shoved me, Hit me, Sexually harassed me, Sexually assaulted me, Did not pay me, Delayed paying me, Made me work without breaks, Did not allow me to leave during hours not working, Increased my work without paying me more

Questions from the Individual Interview Guide on Domestic Work

Section I

To start out, tell me about where you are currently working.....

(if you are not currently working as a domestic worker, tell me about your most recent domestic worker job)

- Kind of work (babysitting, housekeeping, etc)?
- How did you find this job?
- How long have you been at this job?
- Tell me about the work conditions
 - Live in/live out
 - Hours
 - Wages
 - Sick and vacation days
 - Health insurance
 - Overtime
 - Meals, transportation paid?
- Tell me about your relationship with your employer.
 - How do you negotiate your work terms?
 - Talk about the treatment you receive from your employer.
 - Talk to me about experiences when you felt that you were not treated fairly or respectfully by your employer.
 - What did you do in response?
 - Are there ways in which you feel that your employer is fair or treats you with respect?

Can you tell me about other work you have had since you migrated?

(Pull from questions from above, however honing in on experiences or aspects of the experiences that were particularly positive or negative)

- What did you do on these jobs?
- How did you find these jobs?
- How were the work conditions in these jobs?
- How were the relationships with your employer?
- How was the compensation?
- Talk about jobs that were particularly good or particularly bad? Tell me what made them either good or bad for you? How did they compare from other jobs you have had or others you know have had?

(If haven't already) ...Can you describe any problems you have encountered at your job(s)?

- Have you experienced issues related to wages and hours? Such as no payment, long hours without pay?
- Talk about experiences where you have felt taken advantage of or that you think have been abusive. (harassment, being yelled at, being physically abused)
- Talk about experiences where you have felt some form of discrimination as a domestic worker.
 - What was the experience? Example: Not being able to use the main door of the building you work in, not eating with the family during meals.
 - How did you feel?
 - What was your response or the response of others?
 - Do you feel that this was based on race/ethnicity/nationality, language, or gender?

Section III

Now I am going to ask some questions about how immigration status impacts your life and that of other Filipino domestic workers in the US....

I know that this is particularly sensitive and want to say again that everything here is confidential and anonymous; however, as we both know, the majority of domestic workers are undocumented in this country, so we are particularly interested in showing how this causes problems for workers so we can try to create ways to help this situation..... I appreciate your willingness to share. Feel free to answer these questions drawing from your own experience or that of others you know.....

- Tell me about your experiences, successful or not, in changing your status since you were here. What were the economic costs?
- Have you had difficulties in finding a job due to immigration status?
- Have you ever been asked about your documentation status by prospective employer or another person or agency? Were there any repercussions?
- In what other ways has your documentation status affected your life?

Questions from the Survey on Living in the United States
(Q31) Which of the following best describes your living situation?
(Q33) How many people do you share a room with?
(Q34) How many people live in the apartment or house?
(Q35) Have you been able to practice the profession you were trained for in the Philippines?
(Q36) If no, are you interested in practicing the profession you trained for in the Philippines in the US?
(Q37) Do you study or take classes?
(Q26) Do you have Health Insurance?
(Q27) If yes, through whom do you receive health insurance?
(Q38) Area you involved in any organizations?

Questions from the Individual Interview Guide on Living in the United States

Section III

Tell me about your living situation (if not a live-in).....

- Where do you live?
- With whom?
- What are the living conditions like?
- What has been your experience in trying to find a place to stay?
- Have you had any difficulties trying to rent an apartment?
- How many times have you moved in the last year?
- Are you happy with your living arrangements or would you prefer something else if you had the option?

Now, can you tell me how your major monthly expenses break down?

- Walk me through how much on average you make each month and what your biggest expenses are (and how much goes to each)?
- How do you help your family monetarily?
 - How much do you send home and how frequently?
 - Who do you send money to?
 - How about sending boxes home?
- Can you talk about whether you ever had a hard time paying bills, sending money home, or making ends meet in general?

Let's talk about health care...if you do not receive health insurance, can you talk about what you do when you need medical care?

- Have you ever had health problems? Tell me about what you have done for health care? Who paid? What were the implications of paying, if you paid?
- What do you do for preventative health care? (For example, what do you do to take care of yourself and help you stay healthy in the long run?)

Now to move to a little lighter of a subject, tell me about what you do in your free time.

- What kind of activities are you involved in? Eg: Church activities, dancing, gym etc.
- Who do you socialize with?
- Do you know other Filipino domestic workers? How do you spend time with them?

4. Family

Questions from the Survey pertaining to Family
(Q40a)How many children do you have?
(Q40b)Gender,Age,Country where they live, Are they working, studying or other?
(Q41)How many members of your family work outside of the Philippines?
(Q42) How many times a month do you communicate with your family in the Philippines?
(Q43) What percentage of your salary do you send to the Philippines per month?
(Q44) How many dependents do you support with your income?
(45) How many times have you returned to the Philippines since migrating to the US?
(Q47) Do you currently have family in the US?

Questions from the Individual Interview Guide on Family

Section II

Tell me about your family. Children, spouse, parents, siblings?

- Where are they now?
- Who do they live with?
- Are you supporting them?
- How often do you see or talk with them, if at all?

Talk about how being far away from family is for you and for your family.

Section III

- How do you help your family monetarily?
 - How much do you send home and how frequently?
 - Who do you send money to?
 - How about sending boxes home?

5. Return Intentions

Question on Return Intentions
(Q39) Do you intend to move back to the Philippines?
Questions pertaining to Remittance
(Q43) What percentage of your salary do you send to the Philippines per month?
(Q44) How many dependents do you support with your income?
Questions pertaining to Family
(Q40a)How many children do you have?
(Q40b)Gender,Age,Country where they live, Are they working, studying or other?
(Q46) Have you petitioned for your family to come to the US?
(Q41)How many members of your family work outside of the Philippines?
(Q47) Do you currently have family in the US?
(Q42) How many times a month do you communicate with your family in the Philippines?
Question pertaining to Multiple Visits
(45) How many times have you returned to the Philippines since migrating to the US?

Question pertaining to Length of Time Away from Home
(10) When did you first migrate to the United States?
Questions pertaining to Investments and Savings
(Q4) Do you or your immediate family currently own land or property in the Philippines?
Questions pertaining to Immigration Status
(Q11) Please describe how you arrived into the United States the most recent time?
(Q12) If arrived through a tourist visa, what assets were you required to show?
(Q13) Did you take loans to come to the US?
(Q52) Do you currently hold legal status to live or work in the US?
(Q53) If no, what is your current status?
Questions Pertaining to Employment
(Q14) What type of work are you currently doing?
(Q16) Do you work full-time, part-time, multiple part-time jobs, looking for job, other?
(Q17) Do you currently have additional jobs other than domestic work?
(Q18) How many jobs total do you currently have?
(Q19) On average how many hours do you work in total a week at all of your jobs?
(Q20) What is your weekly income from all your jobs?
(Q21) How many years have you been at your primary domestic work job?
(Q23) When you work over 40 hours a week, do you get paid time-and-a-half at any of your domestic work job?
(Q24) What are your days off? Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday
(Q25) Do/Does your employer(s) provide you with any of the following? Healthcare, Personal Days off, Paid Sick Days, Paid holidays, Dental care, Severance pay, Regular paid transportation, Cab fare when working late hours, Access to phone, Access to internet, Meals, Breaks during work hours?
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(Q30) While working, do you meet with other domestic workers?
(Q56) In the last 12 months, have you experienced any of the following from your employer(s) (circle all that apply) Emotional abuse, Yelled at me, Taken my passport, Threatened me, Insulted me, Pushed or shoved me, Hit me, Sexually harassed me, Sexually assaulted me, Did not pay me, Delayed paying me, Made me work without breaks, Did not allow me to leave during hours not working, Increased my work without paying me more
(Q3) What kind of work were you doing in the Philippines?
Question pertaining to Age
(Q49) How old were you on your last birthday?
Question pertaining to Marital Status
(Q50) What is your marital status?

Questions from the Individual Interview Guide
Return Intentions, Economy, Investments and Savings
Section IV

- What are your long term plans? Will you return to the Philippines to live/ stay here/ or migrate to another country?

Remittance
Section III

- How do you help your family monetarily?
 - How much do you send home and how frequently?
 - Who do you send money to?
 - How about sending boxes home?

Family
Section II

Tell me about your family. Children, spouse, parents, siblings?

- Where are they now?
- Who do they live with?
- Are you supporting them?
- How often do you see or talk with them, if at all?
- Talk about how being far away from family is for you and for your family.

Visits Home
Section II

- How often do you see or talk with them (family), if at all?

Immigration Status
Section III

I know that this is particularly sensitive and want to say again that everything here is confidential and anonymous; however, as we both know, the majority of domestic workers are undocumented in this country, so we are particularly interested in showing how this causes problems for workers so we can try to create ways to help this situation..... I appreciate your willingness to share. Feel free to answer these questions drawing from your own experience or that of others you know.....

- Tell me about your experiences, successful or not, in changing your status since you were here. What were the economic costs?
- Have you had difficulties in finding a job due to immigration status?
- Have you ever been asked about your documentation status by prospective employer or another person or agency? Were there any repercussions?
- In what other ways has your documentation status affected your life?

Employment

Section I

To start out, tell me about where you are currently working.....

(if you are not currently working as a domestic worker, tell me about your most recent domestic worker job)

- Kind of work (babysitting, housekeeping, etc)?
- How did you find this job?
- How long have you been at this job?
- Tell me about the work conditions
 - Live in/live out
 - Hours
 - Wages
 - Sick and vacation days
 - Health insurance
 - Overtime
 - Meals, transportation paid?

- Tell me about your relationship with your employer.
 - How do you negotiate your work terms?
 - Talk about the treatment you receive from your employer.
 - Talk to me about experiences when you felt that you were not treated fairly or respectfully by your employer.
 - What did you do in response?
 - Are there ways in which you feel that your employer is fair or treats you with respect?

Can you tell me about other work you have had since you migrated?.....

(Pull from questions from above, however honing in on experiences or aspects of the experiences that were particularly positive or negative)

- What did you do on these jobs?
- How did you find these jobs?
- How were the work conditions in these jobs?
- How were the relationships with your employer?
- How was the compensation?
- Talk about jobs that were particularly good or particularly bad? Tell me what made them either good or bad for you? How did they compare from other jobs you have had or others you know have had?

(If haven't already) ...Can you describe any problems you have encountered at your job(s)?

- Have you experienced issues related to wages and hours? Such as no payment, long hours without pay?
- Talk about experiences where you have felt taken advantage of or that you think have been abusive. (harassment, being yelled at, being physically abused)
- Talk about experiences where you have felt some form of discrimination as a domestic worker.

- What was the experience? Example: Not being able to use the main door of the building you work in, not eating with the family during meals.
- How did you feel?
- What was your response or the response of others?
- Do you feel that this was based on race/ethnicity/nationality, language, or gender?

Section II (In the Philippines)

- Education: level, what studied?
- Talk about opportunities or barriers to use it professionally

APPENDIX G

RECODING OF SURVEY QUESTIONS

Recoding of Question 2: In the Philippines, what was the last school you finished?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Elementary	Non-College
High School	Non-College
Some College	Non-College
College	Completed College
Higher than College	Completed College

The question on profession in the Philippines had to be collapsed as 121 respondents placed themselves in the ‘other’ category. Therefore, the initial categories were recoded as seen below. When respondents categorized themselves as government worker, they also provided detailed information in the ‘other’ category and therefore, the category of government worker was recoded according to the detailed information provided by respondents. The breakdown of the ‘other’ category was also recoded into this table.

Recoding of Question 3: What kind of work were you doing in the Philippines before migrating?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Farm Worker / Peasant	Farm / Factory
Factory Worker	Farm / Factory
Nurse	Medical Professional
Doctor	Medical Professional
Teacher	Education
Government Worker	Business
Other	Other

I then collapsed the two sources of data on occupation and further recoded the responses into Professional and Non-Professional occupations as shown.

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Business	Professional
Education	Professional
Farm/Factory	Non Professional
Medical	Professional
Domestic Work	Non-Professional
Non-Domestic Work	Non-Professional
Office Assistant	Non-Professional
Other	Missing

Recoding of Question 6: What was the primary reason you decided to come to the United States

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Higher Salaries in US vs. Philippines	Financial
Couldn't find work in the Philippines	Non Financial
Had relatives/friends already working in the US	Non Financial
Pay off loans	Financial
Interest in exploring other countries	Non Financial
Wanted to practice my own profession	Non Financial
Other	Non Financial

Recoding of Question 7: What year did you first migrate from the Philippines?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Continuous Variable 1940 - 2004	1940-1999
	2000-2004

Recoding of Question 10: When did you first migrate to the United States?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Continuous Variable 1973 - 2004	1973- 1999
	2000 - 2004

Recoding of Question 11: Please describe how you arrived into the United States the most recent time

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
I arrived through tourist visa	Tourist Visa
Hospital petitioned me	Petitioned
School petitioned me	Petitioned
Diplomat petitioned me	Petitioned
United Nations petitioned me	Petitioned
Employer petitioned me	Petitioned
My family petitioned me	Petitioned
My spouse petitioned me	Petitioned
Other	Missing

Recoding of Question 18: How many jobs total do you currently have (include all domestic work and non-domestic work jobs)?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
0	Missing
1	1 Job
2-7	Multiple Jobs

Recoding of Question 19: On average how many hours do you work in total a week at all of your jobs?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
0 – 168 Hours (Continuous Variable)	0 Hours = Missing (1 Respondent)
	1- 40 Hours
	Over 40 Hours

Recoding of Question 20: What is your weekly income from all your jobs (take home, does not include tax)

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Under \$200	Up Until \$500
\$200 - \$400	
\$400 - \$500	
\$500 - \$600	More than \$500
\$600 or more	
Don't Know	Missing

Recoding of Question 21: How many years have you been at your primary domestic work job?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
1 – 252 Months (Continuous Variable)	Up to 2 Years
	More than 2 Years

Recoding of Question Q23: When you work over 40 hours a week, do you get paid time-and-a-half at any of your domestic work job?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Yes, Always	Yes
Yes, sometimes	Yes
No	No
I never work over 40 hours/week	No
Don't Know	No

Recoding of Question 27: If yes, through whom do you receive health insurance?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
My employer provides me with health insurance	Employer provides
I pay partially for health insurance	Through self or family
I pay for health insurance	Through self or family
I have government health insurance	Through self or family
I receive health insurance through a family member or spouse	Through self or family
Other	Missing

Recoding of Question 28: Where do you work?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Manhattan	Manhattan
Brooklyn	Greater NY and NJ
Queens	
Staten Island	
Bronx	
Long Island	
New Jersey	
Upstate NY	
Connecticut	

Recoding of Question 28: Where do you work?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Manhattan	NYC
Brooklyn	
Queens	
Staten Island	
Bronx	
Long Island	Greater NY and NJ
New Jersey	
Upstate NY	
Connecticut	

Recoding of Question 29: What kind of transportation do you use to go to work?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Public transportation	Public Transport
I drive	Other Means of Transportation
Family member or friend drives me	
Employer picks me up and drops me off	
Other	

Recoding of Question 31: Which of the following best describes your living situation?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
I own my apartment/house	Own/Rent Apartment/House
I rent an apartment or house	
I rent my own room in an apartment or house	Rent/Share a Room in Apartment/House
I share a room in an apartment or house	
I live at my employer's house	Employer provides
My employer provides me with an apartment	
Other	Missing

Recoding of Question 33: How many people do you share a room with?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
0 – 1	Up to 1 Person
2 – 6	2 or more people

Recoding of Question 34: How many people live in the apartment or house?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
0 – 3	Up to 3 people
4 – 15	4 or more people

Recoding of Question 35: Have you been able to practice the profession you were trained for in the Philippines?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Yes	Yes
No	No
Not Applicable	

Recoding of Question 36: If no, are you interested in practicing the profession you trained for in the Philippines in the US?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Yes	Yes
No	No
Not Applicable	

Recoding of Question 39: Do you intend to move back to the Philippines?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Yes	Yes
No	No
Don't Know	No

Recoding of Question 40a: How many children do you have?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
0 – 15 Continuous Variable	None
	Up to 2 Children
	3 or more Children

Recoding of Question 40b: Age of Children

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Five years or younger	Under 18 years
6 – 12 years	
13 – 18 years	
18 – 21 years	Over 18 years
Over 21 years	

Recoding of Question 40b: Country where they currently live?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
List of Countries Child lives in	Abroad
Philippines	Philippines

Recoding of Question 41: How many members of your family work outside of the Philippines?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
0	0
1	1 Person
2	2 or more People
3	
4	
5	
6	
More than 6	

Recoding of Question 42: How many times per month do you communicate with your family in the Philippines?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
0 - 100 Continuous Variable	Less than once a week
	At least once a week
	At least twice a week

Recoding of Q 43: What percentage of your salary do you send to the Philippines per month?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
0 – 100% Continuous Variable	None
	Up to 29%
	30%-59%
	60% or more

Recoding of Q 44: How many dependents do you support with your income?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
1 – 20 people Continuous Variable	Up to 2 people
	3-4 people
	5 or more people

Recoding of Q 45: How many times have you gone back to the Philippines since migrating to the US?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
0 – 15 times Continuous Variable	Never returned
	Once
	Twice or more

Recoding of Q 49: How old were you on your last birthday?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
22 – 69 Years Continuous Variable	15-24 Years
	25-29 Years
	30-34 Years
	35-39 Years
	40-44 Years
	45 Years and Over

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
22 – 69 Years Continuous Variable	Up to 50 Years
	51 Years and Older

Recoding of Q 50: What is your marital status?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Single	Single
Married	Married
Divorced	Divorced
Common Law Union	Married
Widowed	Widowed
Separated	Separated

Recoding of Q 53: If no, what is your current status?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Pending, applied through employer	Pending, applied through employer/family
Pending, applied through family	
Undocumented	Undocumented
Other	Missing

Recoding of Q 54: If applied for status, what year did you apply?

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
1979 – 2005	2001 and before
Continuous Variable	2002 and later

Recoding of Question 56: In the last 12 months, have you experienced any of the following from your employer(s)

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Emotional Abuse	No Abuse vs. Some form of Abuse
Yelled at me	
Taken my passport	
Threatened me	
Insulted me	
Pushed or shoved me	
Hit me	
Sexually harassed me	
Sexually assaulted me	
Did not pay me	
Delayed paying me	
Made me work without breaks	
Did not allow me to leave during hours not working	
Increased my work without paying me more	

Recoding of Question 56: In the last 12 months, have you experienced any of the following from your employer(s) – Physical / Emotional Abuses

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Emotional Abuse	No Physical / Emotional Abuse Vs. Some form of Physical / Emotional Abuse
Yelled at me	
Threatened me	
Insulted me	
Taken my passport	
Pushed or shoved me	
Hit me	
Sexually harassed me	
Sexually assaulted me	

Recoding of Question 56: In the last 12 months, have you experienced any of the following from your employer(s) – Wage and Hour Abuse

Original Categories	Recoded Categories
Did not pay me	No Wage and Hour Abuse Vs. Some form of Wage and Hour Abuse
Delayed paying me	
Made me work without breaks	
Did not allow me to leave during hours not working	
Increased my work without paying me more	

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