



Capital opportunities for returned female domestic workers and entertainers in Manila

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"You can go home. But you can't start from where you left. To fit in, you have to create another place in that place you left behind" (Constable, 199, 223).



The assistance of the government services, civil society, and social network during the reintegration of returned female domestic workers and entertainers in Manila

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ABSTRACT

Every year, thousands of average to highly educated female Filipinos leave the Philippines to work somewhere else, the so-called, feminization of labour migration. Many do choose to return after numerous years, but because of back and forth migration they have to reintegrate into the Philippine society. A service delivery mechanism has emerged because of this. The main research question covers three dimensions of the service delivery mechanism; government policies, civil society and social network. The aim of this research is to evaluate what kind of social, economic and cultural capital opportunities these women get from the three institutions, and analyse how significant these assistances are for the reintegration of the returned domestic workers, and entertainers.

The main research question is as follow: What kind of social, human, and economic capital opportunities do returned female domestic workers and entertainers migrants in Manila get through the government services, civil society and their social network, and how decisive are these for their reintegration?

Through analysing these three institutions the data will be layered and will help comprehending the reintegration process of the female returnees. The research will evaluate how the state, civil society and social network assist the returned female entertainers and domestic workers and contribute to the development of Manila (since a well reintegrated actor can contribute to the development of their family, community, and society) and how this is assessed by the women. I will focus on domestic workers and entertainers, since these workers are considered to be a vulnerable group during the reintegration process. They are often viewed as the group which hasn't gathered enough or efficient capital, which can help them during their reintegration. Therefore, it's interesting to study what kind of capital opportunities are offered to these women when they return.

Keywords: Return Migration, Reintegration, Domestic Workers, Entertainers, Economic capital, Social Capital, Cultural Capital, Government Services, Civil Society, Social Network

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ABBREVIATIONS

DAWN	Development Action for Women Network
DOLE	Department of Labor and Employment
NGOs	Non-Government Organisations
OFWs	Overseas Filipino Workers
OWWA	Overseas Workers Welfare Administration
PDOS	Pre-Departure Registration and Orientation Seminar
SMC	Scalabrini Migration Center
TESDA	Technical Education and Skills Development Authority

1. Introduction

Every year, thousands of average to highly educated female Filipinos leave the Philippines to work somewhere else, the so-called, feminization of labour migration. Many do choose to return after numerous years, but throughout this back and forth migration they have to reintegrate into the Philippine society. Because of this movement there has emerged a service delivery mechanism by the government services and NGOs, who assist with the reintegration(ILO report, 2012:13). Although, these services can be vital for the reintegration of female returnees, the social network of the women can also play a significant role during the reintegration process. Family, community, and societal reintegration connect the development prospective of returnees, social networks can play a vital role in this (Willoughby & Henderson, 2009:9).

Relevance

There is not enough research done on the process of return migration, reintegration of returnees and the service delivery mechanisms (ILO report, 2012: 27). Since return migration is an ignored area in migration study, the development of a framework for addressing the multifaceted issue of reintegration is still in early stages (Arowolo, 2000: 60). Therefore, this research can contribute to highlighting this part of migration cycle and emphasizing how important this stage of migration cycle can be for science. Also, through collecting data about reintegration one can play a small role in developing a viable framework for addressing the issue of reintegration. It can contribute to a broader empirical foundation.

The research aims and scope

In the context of the Philippines, there is a service delivery mechanism constructed for the reintegration of returnees, but in comparison with other parts of migration is this less evaluated. I will focus on domestic workers and entertainers, since these workers are considered to be a vulnerable group during the reintegration process. They are often viewed as the group which hasn't gathered enough or efficient capital, which can help them out during their reintegration. Therefore, it's interesting to research what kind of opportunities these women get offered when they return and reintegrate. Since 2005 the numbers of entertainment migration has decreased, because of the 2004 regulation in Japan. However, I have chosen for this target group because aside of some difficulties with developing a capital during migration, it also can illustrate the return and the progress of reintegration, since the

women have returned for a long time. Thus; the characteristics of the target group of my research will be; being a female, being a returnee, to have worked as a domestic worker or in the entertainment industry.

The main research question is as follow: What kind of social, human, and economic capital opportunities do returned female domestic workers and entertainers migrants in Manila get through the government services, civil society and their social network, and how decisive is this for their reintegration?

The research question will be answered with the help of the following sub-questions:

1. What is the prehistory of the returned female domestic workers and entertainers migrants in Manila?
2. How do government services assist the returned female domestic workers and entertainers migrants with their reintegration?
3. How do actors within the civil society assist returned female domestic workers and entertainers with their reintegration?
4. How does the social network of the returned female migrant domestic workers and entertainers help the women with reintegration?
5. How do the returned female domestic workers and entertainers evaluate the reintegration process in Manila?

The main research question contains three dimensions; government policies, civil society and social network. By analysing these three institutions the data will be layered and will hopefully capture the reintegration process of the female returnees. The aim of this research is to evaluate what kind of social, economic and cultural capital opportunities these women get from the three institutions; the state, civil society and social network, and analyse how significant these assistances are for the reintegration of the returned domestic workers, and entertainers', and how is this evaluated by the women themselves.

Within the migration cycle, thus also reintegration, capitals of the migrant can be very significant. If the migrant gets sufficient cultural, social, and economic opportunities, then the migrant can reintegrate successfully and contribute to the development of his/her "homeland". I have defined three forms of capitals; cultural, social, and economic capital. I have researched the kinds of cultural capital opportunities the women get during their

reintegration by means of the three institutions (government services, civil society, and the social network of the women). Hereby, I include skills enhancement trainings, information and knowledge about reintegration programs, and policies I have defined the economic capital opportunities as: job opportunities, credits, loans, and financial donations that are provided by the three institutions which can create a framework whereby the women eventually can get financial independence. Lastly, I have defined social capital opportunities as follow: assisting the women with getting in touch with important actors. This includes relatives, but also actors who can assist them with accomplishing financial independence, or skills enhancement. However, it is important to emphasize that the level of preparedness of the migrant will also have an influence on the reintegration of the returnee. Since, a well prepared migrant has probably developed economic capital (savings), cultural capital (skills that the migrant can use during return), or social capital (actors that can help during return and reintegration) which can help a migrant during the reintegration. The objective of this research is to highlight the part of reintegration within the migration cycle, evaluate the reintegration mechanism, and to gather data to contribute to a broader empirical foundation.

Since I had 13 weeks for doing this research it was not conceivable to do a large-scale study in this limited framework of time. This study is going to focus only on Manila, because of the intensification of circular migration (from province to Manila, from Manila to abroad, then return to the province, and then from province to Manila) most of returnees end up in Manila. Thus, the results of this research cannot be generalized for the whole Philippines. However, by contextualizing the research the study has more valid basis.

Thesis structure

The thesis consists of seven chapters. Upcoming chapter presents the major theories and approaches related to the research topic. The first paragraph displays the theories about return migration which can be linked to the contextual setting of Manila and returned female domestic works and entertainers. The second paragraph conceptualizes return migration, and underscores how important the level of preparedness is. The third paragraph conceptualizes reintegration and comprises the conceptualization of capital by Bourdieu. The last paragraph discusses the theoretical debate and defines the conceptual framework. The regional framework is the second chapter. This section presents the relevant national, regional and local context; and the relevant processes taking place in the region/locality. The feminization of labour migration in the Philippines is also discussed in this section, to justify why I have

chosen for female returnees. The third chapter is the methodology and in this chapter the host organization is presented; discussion about the methods and techniques are presented; and the limitations of the research are outlined. In the fourth chapter the findings are discussed. In this chapter the stories of my informants will be highlighted, and the reintegration opportunities of the three institutions will be addressed. The fifth chapter contains my general conclusion/discussion; it also displays what kind of capital opportunities are offered by the government services, civil society, and the social the network of the women, how do the women utilize these opportunities, and policy recommendation. The sixth chapter is the references, and seventh chapter is the appendix.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Theories on return migration

The migration discourse has tried since 1960s to conceptualize return migration. Though the discussion about return migration was spurred in the 1960, however, until the 1980s was this topic overshadowed. In the 1980s the scholars started to comprehend return migration. The discussions consisted out of several critical essays which contributed to the development of the literature body about return migration, co-development, implementation of bilateral readmission agreements amongst sending and receiving countries, and the connection amid international migration and economic development in migrants' origin countries. There have emerged various theories about this component of the migration cycle. The theories compromise: neoclassical economics, the new economics of labour migration, structuralism, and transnationalism (Cassarino, 2004:253). However, I feel that these theories fail to conceptualize the current context of returned female domestic workers and entertainers in Manila. Therefore, I have chosen to highlight the structuration approach of Giddens, since, this theory enables me to underline the structures (the opportunities that is offered by the three institutions) and the agency of migrants during their reintegration.

Structuration Approach

Structural approach claims that return migration should not exclusively focus on the individual experience of migrant, but focus as well on the social and institutional aspects of the sending country. The structural approach on return migration displays how vital the financial and economic resources to the return decision are. Returnees' success or failure is studied by linking the "reality" of the home-based economy and society with the expectations

of the returnee. The contextual aspects in the sending country need to be considered as a prerequisite to determining whether a return experience is a success or a failure. According to George Gmelch migrants' intentions to return with their motivations for return have to be highlighted (Cassarino, 2004:258).

”Intentions to return, whether real or intended, shape the returnees' expectations in origin countries . Return appears to be guided by the opportunities that migrants expect to find in their origin countries but also by the opportunities already offered in their respective host countries”.
(Cassarino, 2004:258)

Because of the structural approach, return is not anymore analysed as being solely influenced by the migration experience of the individual. Lewis and Williams highlighted in their study about returnees, that the “locality” of the homeland has a significant effect on the impact of return migrants” (Lewis and Williams 1986, 125). For example, in a setting where there are great opportunities to set up a business, in addition to economic progress in the country of origin, returnees can become productive investments actors.

However, this approach fails to capture the actions of the individuals. Rather to focus only on the structures, one has to also consider the agency of the returnees. Some authors blur agency with applied decision-making. It is significant to comprehend agency as “*a continuous flow of conduct*” (Giddens, 1979:55). Agents act continuously; therefore agency is a fragment of our day-to-day life. Agency and structure, are not each other's counterparts, “*(...) Rules and practices only exist in conjunction with one another*” (Giddens, 1979:65). The structuration notion of Giddens underlines that there is an interaction between structures and agency.

“Giddens's theory of structuration notes that social life is more than random individual acts, but is not merely determined by social forces. To put it another way, it's not *merely* a mass of 'micro'-level activity - but on the other hand, you can't study it by only looking for 'macro'-level explanations. Instead, Giddens suggests, human agency and social structure are in a relationship with each other, and it is the repetition of the acts of individual agents which reproduces the structure” (Gauntlett,2002:93).

The major theme within this theory is that all actors are professionals about the social systems they make and replicate in their demeanour. Like any structure, reintegration is interpersonal, it affects people's actions, but it is also created and highlighted by the people themselves. Like any other structure it exists in relation with agency (Bates, 2006). The institutions can provide diverse obstructions or opportunities to reintegrate; however, female returned domestic workers and entertainers do not have to be perceived as passive agents. The outcome of a reintegration process is the interaction between the possibilities that are provided by the structure (government, civil society and the social network) and what the women do with these possibilities, thus their agency.

2.1 Conceptualising return

“Return migration is the return of migrants to their country of origin – sometimes as fulfillment of original intentions, sometimes as a consequence of revised intentions. It has much in common with “outward” migration” (Bartram et al, 2014:121).

Return migration is the kind of migration one typically has in mind when denoting to a migration as being temporary (Dustman & Weiss, 2007:238). Return migration has received less attention than “outward” migration. This is partially because of insufficient data (Khosler 2000): many nations do not view the entrance of their own residents as “migration”. Several of return issues have to do with the idea that return migration is just a matter of coming back “home”. Countless of returnees find that is a lot more difficult than the notion of “home” would suggest. Occasionally returnees miss to forestall how much “home” has transformed or interchangeably are irritated at how little it has transformed (Boccagni 2011).

The scholars Lynellyn Long and Ellen Oxfeld (2004) theorize return as: covering a variety from temporally short stopovers to permanent deportation, geographically from the receiving country, to the place of origin, and lawfully from voluntary to forced migration. Return allows us to comprehend the political, social, economic and cultural costs, not only for returnees but also for the receiving communities. Studying return allows us to examine the conditions necessary for people to decide to return. This framework underlines the consequences of return for the individual migrants, their families and on society as a whole (Tharan, 2009: 31).

Nowadays migrants are not ‘first movers’; numerous have completed several journeys within their origin country and overseas to be able to find jobs. Regularity matters, several researches point out that there is a growing likelihood of making recurrent trips when an actor has already migrated. This conclusion underlines the self-perpetuating nature of migration. Through each migration, migrants absorb more information about migration: how to find work and lodging, etc. Such social relations and knowledge is also denoted as ‘migration-specific capital’; the more you develop of this, the fewer hazard you face migrating, the lower the expenses and it enhances the chances of success. Therefore, it encourages circular migration (Vertovec, 2007:5). Return migration is essentially not always the final phase of a migration cycle; in some circumstances, it is a phase in “circular migration” (Cassarino 2004).

Level of preparedness

After the women migrate for a period of time, most of the migrants prepare themselves to return to their home country. Numerous countries in Asia do not promote family reunification for the migrants. Migration in Asia is constructed in a way to avoid the prospect of integration. This is because the labor migration in this region has a strictly temporary nature. In most cases workforces cannot be joined by family members, and in some cases, they are not permitted to wed local citizens. Female migrants might lose their employment if they are expecting. Migrants commonly cannot renew their contracts without; going home, for a lengthy period of time; and sometimes more than a fixed number of years (as in Taiwan). Migration in Asia is constructed in a way that it is impermanent and return is compulsory (Douglas& Taylor, 2004: 213). Eventually, most of the migrant must return to the country of origin. It is important to highlight how significant the level of preparedness of the migrants can be during this period, since this can have ramification on the reintegration process of the migrants. Gmlech claims that the intention of return can have a huge effect on how the returnees reintegrate. Purposes to return outline the returnees’ prospects in the sending country. Return seems to be directed by the prospects that migrants presume to find in their origin countries, but also by the chances obtained in their host countries (Cassarino, 2004:258).

Preparedness relates not only to the willingness of migrants to return home, but also to their readiness to return. Thus, the returnees’ preparedness denotes to an intended act that must be

reinforced by the collecting of adequate capitals and information about post-return circumstances at home. Obviously, the returnees preparedness goes outside the notion of free-choice basis. To reinforce the connection between return migration and development at home, return must not merely be regarded as a voluntary act on the part of the migrant but, above all, as an evidence of readiness (Jean-Pierre Cassarino, 2004:17). Capital mobilization is an important aspect within the process of preparing. Capital mobilization relates to tangible (financial capital) and intangible (contacts, relationships, skills, acquaintances) resources that have been organized during the overseas migration. Resource mobilization also comprises capitals that the migrants had transported with them previous to leaving their homeland (for example their social capital). These two subcategories of capitals are a significant part of resource mobilization. It needs to be highlighted that capital mobilization patterns differ since every migrant has a different experience and different social background (Jean-Pierre Cassarino, 2004:17).

The preparedness of a migrant can be categorized into three levels: not prepared to return, low level of preparedness and high level of preparedness. These levels vary from each other in terms of designs of resource mobilization, pre- and post-return circumstances, the period of the experience of migration and the issues inspiring migrants' return. A migrant who is not prepared and returns can have different motivations for returning. One of the motivations can be deportation, expulsion or rejected visa extension. A migrant who is low level prepared can have as motivation that migration objectives could not be reached, disappointment, or unexpected family events. This group comprises migrants whose length of stay overseas was too short to permit the needed capitals to be mobilized to safeguard their fruitful reintegration. For these migrants, the price of remaining overseas is higher than that of returning home (Jean-Pierre Cassarino, 2008: 20). The highest level prepared migrant can have as motivation to return; migration objectives are reached, perceived positive changed at home, or strong incentives in origin country which induce return. All of these motivations can have an impact on the reintegration process of the returnees. Someone who is not prepared to return will face difficult conditions at home and probably doesn't and can't mobilize capital/resources. A migrant who has a low level of preparedness will have difficulties during the reintegration. However the household and relatives can provide moral and financial support. There is also the possibility that the migrant has limited resources to invest as a result of the migration experience, since the migrant had not achieved its goals. A migrant who is highly prepared can during the reintegration process adapt, negotiate, invest

resources/capital, which is mobilized before return and adapt to local context and exchange valued items. Additional cross-border network resources may be mobilized in order to gather other resources and information. This is all possible since the migrant could achieve its objectives and therefore could gather enough capital/resources to mobilize in order to reintegrate (Jean-Pierre Cassarino, 2004:17).

2.3 Conceptualising Reintegration

“You can go home. But you can't start from where you left. To fit in, you have to create another place in that place you left behind” (Constable, 1999, 223).

Since there is a great outflow of female migration from the Philippines, it is not surprising that eventually some of these migrants move back to the Philippines. Migration has transferred women's household work into a transnational scale. Home for most workers is no longer corresponding with the household in which they exist. In its place, home is linked *“to ideas of family back in the Philippines, even as that family is reconfigured by their own absence and their remittances”* (Constable, 1999: 209).

Capitals and reintegration

In this section I will discuss the three significant capitals during the migration cycle, namely, social, economic and cultural capital. Cultural, economic and social capitals have a robust comportment on migrants' socio- professional reintegration outlines, as well as on their ability to capitalize after return (Jean-Pierre Cassarino, 2008: 2). I will conceptualize these three capitals, and I will also embed these capitals in the reintegration process of the returnees. It is important to denote that during the migration the migrants can collect new capital, but that the migrants also leave with a certain amount of collected capital, thus the returnees have capital before migrating and therefore are not agents who migrate without a certain amount of collected capital (Jean-Pierre Cassarino, 2004). However, when the women return most of them also want to develop their social, cultural and economic capital, to able to reintegrate.

To collect capital takes time and to produce profits and to replicate itself in equal or extended form, comprises an inclination to persevere in its being, it is a power engraved in the neutrality of things so that all is not likewise possible or impossible (Bourdieu, 2008: 280).

The construction of the dissemination of the diverse categories and subtypes of capital characterizes the inherent structure of the social world, the fixed od restraints, emblazoned in the very reality of that world, which oversee its effectiveness in a durable way, shaping the odds of success for practices (Bourdieu, 2008: 280).

Bourdieu emphasizes that in general all forms of capital can be reduced to economic capital, and that all capitals can be exchanged for other capitals. For example, through the institutionalized networks that are developed by an actor (social capital) one can access various economic resources (loans, investment tips), the actor can also get access to experts or contacts that can play a significant role in the life of the individual (embodied cultural capital), these relationships can also assist with getting in contact with institutions that indorse esteemed credentials (institutionalized cultural capital). Social capital doesn't only provide access to economic and/or cultural capital, the actor has to also invest economic and cultural capital to be able to obtain and develop his/her social capital, so it's interplay between the capitals. The effects of the social and also cultural capital can be reduced to economic capital. However, Bourdieu does emphasize that the processes that create social and cultural capital are very different than the dynamic is of economic capital. These processes are less translucent and more ambiguous, then the dynamics behind economic capital processes (Bourdieu 1979, 1980).

Cultural capital

Bourdieu sees the notion of cultural capital as breaking with the conventional understanding that academic achievement or failure to natural skills, such as intellect. Bourdieu elucidates school achievement by the quantity and category of cultural capital inherited from the household setting rather than by measures of talent or achievement. According to Bourdieu, ability is socially created and is the outcome of folks having entree to big totals of cultural capital. Ability is itself the creation of an investment of time and cultural capital. Cultural capital covers a comprehensive collection of linguistic capabilities, conducts, preferences, and orientations (Bourdieu, 2008).

There are three diverse categories of cultural capital. Embodied cultural capital is possessions of one's self that is often initiated from the household, for example language. The second category of cultural capital is objectified cultural capital, which contains of bodily objects that symbolically express cultural capital, for example access to paintings and books that are

provided by the household. Lastly, there is institutionalized cultural capital, for example an education degree symbolically conveys to the society that you are intelligent, educated in your own majors, and commendable of jobs (Bourdieu, 2008).

Cultural capital is an interactive concept and occurs in combination with other forms of capital. Cultural capital, economic, symbolic, and social capital create benefit and disadvantage in society. Social capital is created through social processes among the household and widespread society and is made up of social networks. Economic capital is prosperity either hereditary or created from the interactions among the individual and the economy, symbolic capital is displayed in individual status and personal assets, for example authority and charisma. According to Bourdieu the different forms capitals don't just interconnect with each other, the capitals can also transform into another. All Bourdieu's capital forms share that they are the product of an investment of a suitable kind and each capital can lock a return on that investment (Bourdieu, 2008: 281).

Reintegration and cultural capital

Capitals are shaped by fluctuations in a person's life which can produce or create skills and capabilities that make them capable to perform in new ways. A fruitful reintegration offers the returning migrant the ability to develop labour skills and knowledge (cultural capital) (Willoughby & Henderson, 2009:6). Most of the returned domestic workers and entertainers in the Philippines find it challenging to find employment; skills advanced abroad are not essentially beneficial. The skills that women gain from their overseas job are not transferable or merchandisable when they return. They have developed no values-added knowledge (Macaranas, 2004). Insufficient employments in the home country lead to reintegration issues as countless returnees face similar economic issues that provided the incentives to migrate in the first place (Arowolo, 2000).

Social capital

Social capital is the collection of the real or possible assets which are connected through a strong network, which consists out institutionalized relations of shared associate and a sense of recognition. These relations may occur solitary in the everyday state, in material, and/or symbolic interactions which help to uphold these relations. It is also possible that it is informally established and assured by the claim of a shared name (the name of a family, a

class, etc.) and buy an entire set of setup acts intended instantaneously to form and notify those who experience them, in this case, they are enacted and upheld and strengthened, in interactions (Bourdieu, 2008: 286).

Bourdieu defines social capital as the total of actual or potential resources, which are accessible through the networks that are consciously developed. The development of the relationships has an instrumental use for the individuals, by developing an institutionalized relationship one can access these relationships to benefit from. Bourdieu even claims that the benefits that are created because of the network are the prime reason why the actors within the group stay a unity (Bourdieu, 1985: 249). The networks that individuals have are not just given, it's developed through evolving strategies to invest in certain relations, these institutionalized group relations are the foundation for getting an entree for some benefits. However, it is important to not only focus on the networks who can give access to certain benefits. It is also important to emphasis what kind of resources the actor can access, the amount resources the actor can access, and the quality of the resources the actor can access because of his/her institutionalized relationships.

It is vital to remember that the social capital is very intangible when you compare it to the other capital forms, such as economic capital and cultural capital. Economic capital is visible in the amount of money or properties one has, cultural capital is in the head of the actor, whereas social capital is indissociably linked with the social structure of the individual. Economic and cultural capitals benefits can be accessed on his/her own, but the advantages that are offered through your social capital are accessible, because of an institutionalized relationship. Thus, you're not the foundation of the created resources, but some actor within your institutionalized network is. The capacity of social capital of an agent is determined by the scope of the network of contacts he/she efficiently can activate and the capacity of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) which the agent owns in his own right by each of those to whom he is linked. Whether an actor will help you out by providing the advantages is heavily influenced by the motivation of the individual, there is no uniform reasoning that can explain the motivation (Bourdieu, 2008).

Reintegration and social capital

When migrants return, various aspects influence their reintegration. One significant aspect is the social network of the returnees. Social networks can be demarcated by a complex of

social relations in which migrants intermingle with their family or friends. Social networks offer groundwork for the distribution of info as well as for support or assistance (Haug, 2012: 3). The entire networks at home and overseas unlock networks for future employment, investment, and info or contacts (Willoughby & Henderson, 2009:9). The arrangement of networks, which contain of a diversity of social structures, as well as the shape of connections, is of supreme significance to comprehend the basics that outline and uphold the cross-border connections in which return migrants are tangled (Jean-Pierre Cassarino, 2004:265).

Pre-existing social, cultural and economic capitals, which are offered by the family, may form the reintegration of return migrants. It is sensible to think that social capital and the possible participation of return migrants in cross-border social networks may be observed as resources that counterpart and from each other (Jean-Pierre Cassarino, 2004:266). When social capital is regarded as inadequate, return migrants may choose to become involved in social and economic networks to safeguard their return (Jean-Pierre Cassarino, 2004:11). The social capital of returnees does not signify a standardized group.

The social capital of the migrant can assist with the use of cultural and economic capital and generate new paths for the use of current and future resources. International families, homeland relations, information networks of experts and scientists, and business networks frequently connect returning migrants to their home and receiving country. These social linkages enable instant reintegration and investment of capital, which is transferred during migration.

Economic capital and reintegration

Economic capital is immediate and exchangeable into money and can be structured into property rights (Bourdieu, 2008: 281). As numerous studies in the developing nations have revealed, a significant quantity of migrants will start to pursue a business or organize independent service when they return. This is predominantly for individuals who migrated with the explicit objective of collecting savings by working overseas, and as well for folks who think generating their own business is the best approach to overcome labour market re-entry difficulties. Normally, the strategy to construct a business after return will have been shaped in advance (during the departure), and the period of working overseas will have been to collect the essential financial and cultural capital. There is an amount of aspects that influence the comfort with which a business can be created in the sending country. These

contain the ease of access of supplementary credit to finance the venture, and also administrative limitations (Dumont & Spielvogel, 2007:200). Economic reintegration is particularly problematic for the compulsorily deported or prematurely terminated migrants. It is more likely that returnees who have finalized their contracts at the fixed period would have at least reimbursed pre-employment arrears, established assets, and gathered some savings; the underprivileged returnees sink into extra debt. Because of their situation they probably do not have the required financial incomes throughout the re-entry period to provide for the basic needs of the family (Jean-Pierre Cassarino, 2004:17). The level preparedness can help or hinder the reintegration process of the returnees. This highlights how important return preparedness is.

Levels of reintegration

As mentioned in the previous section, the level of preparedness can influence the reintegration process. The difference amid migrants who chose to return home and those who were obliged to do so establishes a descriptive variable of the chances for social-professional reintegration (Jean-Pierre Cassarino, 2008: 1). The main aspects influencing the reintegration process are the attitude in the direction of the returnees, by the government, by public view and in migrants “home area”, thus reintegration can be assisted or/and hindered by these actors; i.e., government services, civil society, and social network (Virtanen, 1979: 186). Upon return, migrants can bump into glitches, such as stigma, disturbing involvements, abandoned by household members. It is also difficult for returned migrants to create a living when the support mechanism for reintegration is absent or insufficient (Dawn, 2012: 3).

This paragraph will elaborate the family, community, and society level of reintegration. This comprises; whether the returnee can find a job, accommodation, preserve and develop a social network and take part in community groups. Easy or difficult adaptation would hinge on the amount to which the returnee has fulfilled these objective principles. These aspects can be crucial during the reintegration process, however the view of the returnee can also be significant in whether achieving these aspects is evaluated as a successful reintegration. The view of the returnee emphasizes upon the returnees own view of his or her reintegration and the degree to which he/she senses the native country has occupied a self-defined requirement and given him/her a sense of comfort. This signifies the etic and emic perspective (Gmlech, 1980: 142). “ *Successful reintegration is usually understood as return which is sustainable: [...] sustainable return is achieved when an irregular migrant remains in the country of return for*

at least one year following their arrival and is considered to be financially independent” (IPPR, 2013: 22).

Family

When the migrants return, various aspects influence their reintegration. One significant aspect is the social network of the returnees. The family is anchored in the dissimilar stages of the migration cycle. Before migration, family thoughts influence the decision making route; family affiliates assist migrants in numerous ways, for example, providing info on foreign occupations and economic capitals to realize migration. When the migrants return, reintegration can be also formed by family relations (Cmreport, 2013: 101). Economic and social reintegration connects the development prospective of returnees (namely, the utilization of economic and cultural capital), social networks can play a vital role in this. Furthermore, the entire network at home and overseas unlocks networks for future employment, investment, and migration chances (Willoughby & Henderson, 2009:9).

Some returnees experience challenging social reintegration because of the long parting from family and community. After a long period of migration numerous returnees are incapable to return to social networks they build before they departed. These social networks probably weakened by the migration process, particularly if it ended in failure (Tornea, 2012: 205). The welcome from family and friends who remained behind and the individual nature of the returnee could be significant for the social reintegration (Arowolo, 2000: 70). Most of the migrants do keep in touch with their family during their overseas migration. This way of up keeping relations with family, is called transnational families. Transnational families can be defined as family members who live in different places, but maintain links with each other and generate something that can be seen as a sentiment of communal welfare and union, such as family hood, (International Organization for Migration, 2008: 154). Zontini's (2004) study about female migrants from the Philippines stresses that women to sustain family networks and to safeguard the group's existence, have to instantaneously donate to their children and kin. These practices, contribute to new tensions and uncertainties of being transnational moms which commodity relations with the children, such that currency becomes a supernumerary of physical and emotional care (Tharan, 2009:. 31).

Community

When analysing reintegration, it is important to look at the contextual characteristics and the community variables. Reintegration requires understanding the cultural setting. The Philippines, who didn't migrate are in essential aware of one culture, one setting, one home, however, Filipino who work overseas, like the exiles Said designates are conscious of at least two cultures, and this multiplicity of vision gives rise to a different awareness (Said 1984:172). Although the Filipina migrant workers are not exiles, they do develop a plural vision. This permits or possibly requires them to generate a place whereby they can adapt in the receiving country as well as in the Philippines. Multiple views can be both isolating and stimulating; it can be a foundation of awareness and discontent, and a source of desire and anxiety (Said 1984:172). In situations of adjustment and migration, plural view reduces the delusion of a united, defined or coherent set. Exactly how these women will adjust when they eventually return to the Philippines has to be evaluated over time. Because of migration these women have new understandings, needs, choices, and views, though; there are no existing methods for fruitfully transferring them (Constable, 1999: 224).

To streamline reintegration, the identity of the migrant, the migrant's experience overseas, and the setting of return needs to be kept into account. This interfaces structuration, since it underlines the structure and agency component during the reintegration. A successful reintegration provides the returning migrant the capability to developed labour skills and knowledge which can contribute to the development of the community (cultural capital), to procedure financial capital transfers (mainly savings) to increase living circumstances or commercial development, “[...] *and to use newly acquired or maintained social/professional networks* (social capital transfers)[...]” for additional economic and cultural community capital development (Willoughby & Henderson, 2009:6).

Society

Returnees who come back to the country of origin, will probably encounter social environment changes after their long absence, this can delay the reintegration process. Returnees are also affected by cultural dynamics in the destination country which leads to a change in their own values; therefore, some returnees have difficulty adjusting themselves to their previous environments (Arowolo, 2000:70). This kind of return circumstances and impact can also affect the family or community relations. This can lead to onward migration,

returnees do not stay in the country of origin because of unsustainable living condition and returnees continue to keep the options of migration (Arowolo, 2000). The reintegration process can be smooth or rough liable on a mixture of issues: how long the migrant lived and worked abroad, age, when the migrant departed, degree of integration into the overseas culture and nature and strength of relations with home (DAWN, 2012:12).

Most of the Filipino women, who return home, face countless of issues. These comprise not ensuring reserves, absence of occupation chances back home (DAWN, 2012:12). Most migrants find it problematic to find a local occupation when they return; skills developed overseas are not necessarily useful. Inadequate jobs in the country of origin lead to reintegration problems, because many returnees face the same economic hardships that lead them to migrate in the first place (Arowolo, 2000). In the case of female returnees most of the women have functioned as a domestic worker or entertainers, local work in these professions does not present a significant option for the female returnees. The skills that women obtain during their migration are probably not transferable or merchandisable upon their return. For example, reintegration of domestic workers can be problematic since they often work in a vulnerable profession; they have expanded no values-added experience (Macaranas, 2004). Since they don't have value-added experience they have a hard time finding a job and transferring capitals. Self-employment or setting up commerce, the dream of numerous migrants, is achievable only for a minor group; also the long-term advantages from migrants' remittances are regularly determined by the economic state of the "homeland" (Passl & Basia, 2001).

1.4 Conceptual framework

Structuration theory highlights the interaction between the structures and agency during the reintegration of the women. The notion emphasizes the contextual setting of the country of origin, and how important the social and institutional (government agencies, civil society, and the social network) aspects are when the migrant returns. This highlights the structural setting, since these three spheres can grasp the social and the institutional aspect which can play a vital role during the reintegration. However, one has also to consider the agency of the women. Like any structure, reintegration is interpersonal, it affects people's actions, but it is also created and highlighted by the people themselves. And like any other structures it exists in relation with agency (Bates, 2006). The institutions can provide diverse obstructions or opportunities to reintegrate; however, female returned domestic workers and entertainers do

not have to be perceived as passive agents. The outcome of a reintegration process is the interaction between the possibilities that are provided by the structure (government, civil society and the social network) and what the women do with these possibilities, thus their agency. This study focusses on the structure and agency forces during the reintegration, and therefore pursues to offer a coherent and holistic analysis.

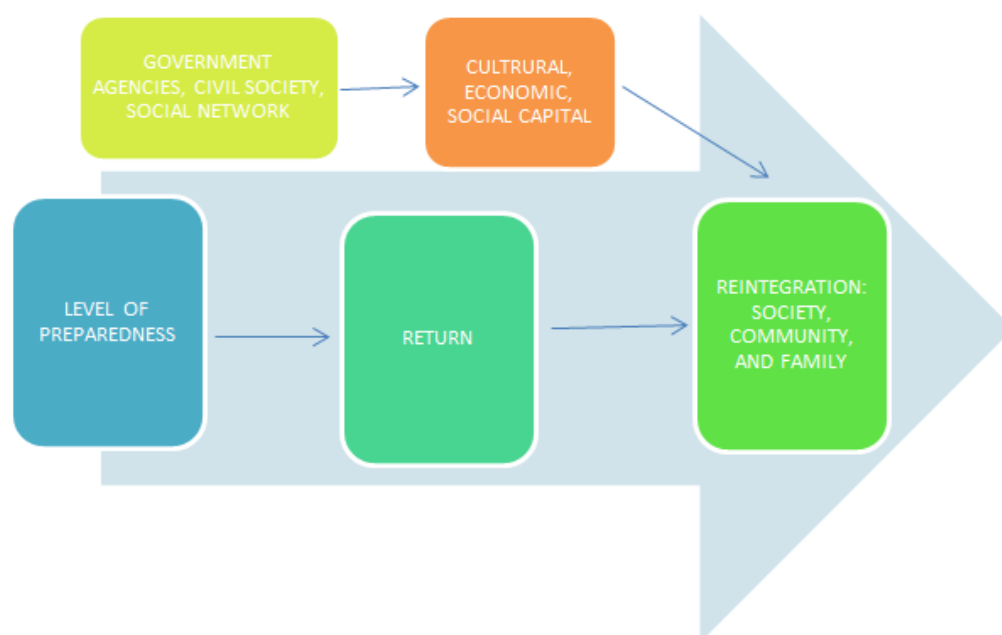
The information above provides a framework on which my conceptual model builds upon. Before returning to the country of origin, there is the level of preparedness, this is the first phase within my conceptual model. The preparedness level of a migrant will influence the reintegration, if a migrant is well prepared then it is easier to reintegrate. Capital mobilization is an important aspect within the process of preparing. Capital mobilization relates to tangible (financial capital) and intangible (contacts, relationships, skills, acquaintances) resources that have been organized during the overseas migration. The second phase is the return of the migrant.

The third phase is how female returnees reintegrate; the reintegration takes place at three levels, it takes place at family, community, and society level. There are three spheres which can assist the reintegration of the female returnees on these three levels. The three spheres are; the government services, civil society and the social network of the female returnees. To comprehend the reintegration of these women it is vital to apprehend which kind of cultural, social and economic capital opportunities are provided by these three institutions. As stated in the capital paragraph, there are different forms of capital, the capitals can transform in other capitals and the development of capitals is realized through the investment of actors. Bourdieu emphasizes that social and cultural capital eventually can be reduced to economic capital. However, the dynamics and processes behind social and cultural capital are very different and more complex in comparison with the processes behind economic capital. In the framework of reintegration this means that the social and cultural capital that is offered during the return by the institutions is probably always linked with economic capital, thus economic policies and services. Economic capital is immediate and exchangeable into money and can be structured into property rights (Bourdieu, 2008: 281). As numerous studies in the developing nations have revealed, a significant quantity of migrants will start to pursue a business or organize independent service when they return. This is predominantly for individuals who migrated with the explicit objective of collecting savings through working overseas. There are a number of aspects that influence the comfort with which a business can

be created in the sending country. These contain the ease of access of supplementary credit to finance the venture, and also administrative limitations (Dumont & Spielvogel, 2007:200).

A fruitful reintegration also offers the returning migrant the ability to develop labour skills and knowledge (cultural capital) (Willoughby & Henderson, 2009:6). Most of the returned domestic workers and entertainers in the Philippines find it challenging to find employment; skills advanced abroad are not essentially beneficial, therefore there is a need or cultural capital opportunity. When it comes to social capital it is vital to remember that the social capital is very intangible when you compare it to the other capital forms. When migrants return, various aspects influence their reintegration. One significant aspect is the social network of the returnees. Social networks can be demarcated by a complex of social relations in which migrants intermingle with their family or friends. Social networks offer groundwork for the distribution of info as well as for support or assistance (Haug, 2012: 3). The entire networks at home and overseas unlock networks for future employment, investment, and info or contacts (Willoughby & Henderson, 2009:9). The social capital of the migrant can assist the usage of cultural and economic capital and generate new paths for the use of current and future resources.

The fourth phase of the conceptual model applies when the women are thriving, because when the women are successfully reintegrated into the society they can contribute to their family, community, and society.



3. Geographic and thematic context

In this chapter the national, regional, and local context of the Philippines will be outlined. The migration cycle and process behind this cycle will be discussed, to sketch the context of the Philippines and Manila.

3.1 The Philippines

The Philippines has around 94 million inhabitants, and 33 per cent of the population is younger than the age of 15. Categorized as a middle-income nation, the Philippines have a per capita income of USD 4,199. But, 26.5 per cent of the inhabitants live underneath the poverty level, and the unemployment rate is at 7 per cent. While gross domestic product (GDP) cultivated by 6.6 per cent in 2012, and the essential pointers for comprehensive fiscal organization are displaying potential, the economic enactment of the Philippines in the previous four decades has been categorized by flourishing and not working economy (CMReport, 2013: 2). The absence of lasting stability, the weighty toll of martial law \ until the 1986 and the great level of corruption, has led the Philippines lagging region compared with other Asian countries.



Also the fiasco to chase structural reforms and produce a lively industrial and agrarian sector, allocated to serious infrastructural insufficiencies, have stimulated the development inequalities in the Philippines. Foreign employment incentives, was propelled in a systematized scheme throughout the oil crisis in the 1970s. Overseas employment has become a strategy and for numerous the furthestmost favoured venue out of depressing local alternatives. A nation of migration has established in, predominantly in some districts, where the ambitions of youngsters are formed by the illustrations of migrants

(CMReport, 2013: 2).

Given the demographic disparities assimilating in better-off countries, as a consequence of increasing life expectancy and deteriorating birth rates, and given the perseverance of

economic disparities, it is probable that the usage of temporary contracts to employ labor from poorer areas of the global economy will strengthen. Home and receiving countries have accepted this phenomenon (Willoughby & Henderson, 2009:5). These external incentives and the internal high unemployment rate in the Philippines reinforce the migration in the Philippines. Not having enough work prospects, is one of the reasons why so many people in the Philippines migrate abroad. Because quickly after finishing college numerous mediums and highly educated Filipino work in less than desirable working situations, often these graduates have to work below the level they have graduated, working part-time or being jobless (Milink, 2012: 79).

Temporary labour migration from the Philippines has continually developed in the past 40 years. The growth has been predominantly striking between 2002 and 2011 when overseas Filipino workers (OFW) employment increased. The growing outflow of labour migrants is frequently due to the development of rehires, which designates that temporary labour migration is evolving into a long-term occurrence, or to a lifelong habitation. There is also a development in the increasing variations in the nations of destination in the past few years. Though other areas are increasingly accommodating more OFWs, the Middle East and East and South East Asian nations still accommodate 80 per cent of all OFWs (CMReport, 2013: 4). Some factors related to migration altered the last few years, but essentially, the tendencies disclose some constants:

“ (a) The top ten countries of destination are always the same, and they account for a large share of total deployment—in 2011, 83 per cent of all outflows were towards these countries. (b) The gender distribution of newly hired OFWs has been predominantly female since 1992, except for the temporary decline in 2007 and 2008 due to the immediate impact of the household service workers reform package. (c) The occupational distribution of OFWs is dominated by service and production occupations—three quarters of OFWs are in these two categories. (d) The single top occupation for OFWs is domestic work—one third of all OFWs in 2011 were domestic workers.” (CMReport, 2013: 4)

Feminization of labor migration

From the 1960s until now, there has been a global tendency in migration. Women have become a significant group of migrants. Today, nearly half per cent of the world's economic migrants are women (ILO). Feminization of migration is no longer just a trend in the Philippines; it is a fact of life. Figures display the rising feminization of migration. In 1975 women occupied 12% of the total deployment figure; in 1987 this was 47%. Since 1992 until 2000, women occupied average of 50% of the total number of Filipino migrants overseas (Anonuevo & Anonuevo, 2003:469). In 2011 there were 2.2 million OFWs, of these 2.2 million OFWs it's estimated that 1.03 million are women, that's 47, 8% of the overseas workers. In comparison with 2010 there is a 5.8% growth (PCW).

Diverse clarifications exist that explicate the relative intensification of women's migration. One clarification is that the global request for foreign labour is becoming more gender-selective, particularly in the richer nations (Milink, 2011: 10). The feminization of international labor migration in the Philippines can be understood from numerous vantage points. For some, it can be perceived as a leeway of the liberty of mobility. For another, the participation of Filipino females in international labor migration can be understood as a reply to the request for women workers in the more developed nations. The call for female migrants also came at a period when the call for male employees was decelerating in the Middle East, which was the chief endpoint for migrants in the 1970s and the early 1980s. Nations as the Philippines were poised to reply to the request for female migrant workers, because they were known to have overseas experience. They had gained knowledge because of the extensive overseas service in the 1970s (Guerrero, et. al, 2012).

Gender is an essential categorizing standard of everyday life. It is a social construct in addition to analytic notion which allows us to comprehend social roles and practices (Tharan, 2009:35). The kinds of labour involved for these women migrants disclose that they are typically engaged in reproductive labour. Women are migrating to work in conventionally feminized occupations; many of them work in the services segment (for example entertainment). Female labour migration is concentrated in occupations connected with habitual gender roles. Apart from entertainment work, many of the female migrants also work in the domestic work sector. This is viewed by many as unskilled work, since women have been habitually doing this kind of labour. (DAWN, 2012:23). The request for care services in less-skilled and under-valued occupations, such as domestic work is growing (International

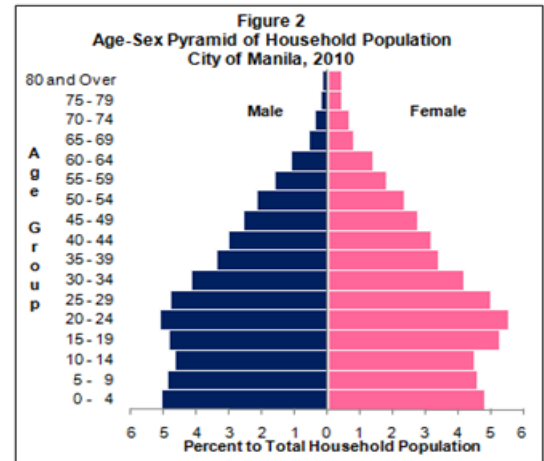
Organization for Migration, 2008:10). These occupations are regularly low-paid and avoided by local women. These occupations also make women more susceptible and place them at hazard. In a study titled, *The Feminization of Philippine Migration in Europe* (05 March 2009), Filipinas undergo a multitude of difficulties linked to their occupation circumstances. Since they are women, who are viewed as actors who originate from the “Third World”, they are permitted to work merely in the bottom job classifications. They are exposed to numerous forms of abusive labour practices, for example, working for jobs, which make usage of their skilled and qualified labour at a low cost (*Feminization Of Migration Philippine Workers Welfare Sociology Essay*, 2013). Bearing in mind the dissimilar situation of women and men in the labour market and in the family, infers that women and men returnees may encounter different experiences and scenarios after relocation. For instance, men’s work might not transmit identical stigma that some women’s professions have (for example entertainers), an aspect which may perhaps influence economic and social reintegration (Passl & Basia, 2001). Since there is a rise of female labour migrants, it is not surprising that there is a need for a gender-sensitive reintegration strategy, but this would demand some simple info on the reintegration practices of female returnees (Tharan, 2009:35).

The phenomenon of feminization of labour migration in the Philippines has been substantial studied. An assembling of studies points out that the next facets are studied by numerous studies: demographic and socioeconomic outlines of women in particular work-related groupings, recruitment approaches, counting trafficking, portrayal of employment and living in specific destinations, and evaluation of migration guidelines and recommendations for enhancement (Guerrero, et. al, 2012: 283). However, the return migration of these women is much less studied, and is side-lined in comparison with other components of the migration cycle.

3.2 Manila

Most international labour migrants originate regularly from Metro Manila and the neighbouring provinces, excluding Pangasinan, Cebu and Maguindanao (CMReport, 2013: 3). The top ten origin districts of OFWs “ [...] *account for about half (51.2 %) of new hires in 2012*” (CMReport, 2013:66). Seven of the top ten origin district comprise Metro Manila and the neighboring districts (CMReport, 2013:66).

The research takes place in Manila. Manila is the capital of the Philippines. It has a total of 1,652,171 inhabitants, the average household size in this city is 4.2 persons, the sex ratio is 96 males per 100 females, the median age in Manila is 25.3 years (NSTOM). These figures show that the population of Manila is relatively young and female. Table one reveals that a lot of women from this city work overseas. Because of the intensification of circular migration (from province to Manila, from Manila to abroad, then return to the province, and then from province to Manila) most of returnees end up in Manila. Therefore the subgroups of my research are female returnees, who worked as a domestic worker or entertainer and live in Manila.



Source: National Statistic Office, 2010 Census Population and housing

Table I . Overseas Workers 10 Years Old and Over by Age Group and Sex: City of Manila, 2010

Age Group	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Total	31,001	19,620	11,381
Below 20	981	507	474
20 – 24	1,844	948	896
25 – 29	4,528	2,517	2,011
30 – 34	5,378	3,368	2,010
35 – 39	4,702	3,042	1,660
40 – 44	3,929	2,635	1,294
45 and over	9,639	6,603	3,036

Source : National Statistics Office, 2010 Census of Population and Housing

4. Methodology

4.1 Host organization

I have worked closely with Scalabrini Migration Center in the Philippines. The Scalabrini Migration Center (SMC) is established in Manila, Philippines in 1987. The centre is dedicated to the advancement of the interdisciplinary study of worldwide migration, with a comprehensive focus on migration questions in the Asia-Pacific region. Besides research, SMC also upholds a resource centre on migration literature, issues the academic quarterly Asian and Pacific Migration Journal, and organizes workshops and meetings on migration in Asia. It works with civil society organizations, migrants and their family, governments and

international organizations in the promotion and protection of the dignity and rights of migrants (SMC, 2013).

4.2 Methods and techniques

The methods and techniques that are implemented during the research are; participant observation, semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews, informal conversations, focuses groups, and life stories. It is important to highlight the stories of the returned migrants, to gather information on what kind of opportunities the female returnees have during their reintegration and evaluate how the women are assisted by the state, civil society and their own social network.

Interviews

Generally, interviews are an outstanding way of acquiring ‘factual’ information, such as information about NGO policies and government initiatives (Desai & Potter, 2006: 146) and these aspects are rooted in my research. Since, I want to examine whether the service mechanism that are provided by NGOs and government services are adequate. The semi-structured interview method is implemented, because during a semi-structured interview you can ensure that the topics you think are important are discussed, but you still provide space whereby the interviewees can provide their own ideas and thoughts (Desai & Potter, 2006: 145). A “*semi-structured interview follows a form of interview schedule with suggested themes, but there is scope for interviewees to develop their response*” (Desai & Potter, 2006: 144). This is important, because even though I have read a lot about the topic and prepared myself, there is always a chance that I have missed important aspects or some aspects are too contextual that they are not included in the literature or has not yet been observed by others. Also during the so-called ‘elite’ interviewees for example, government officials, the amount of formality that a semi-structured interview can offer may be regarded more professional and inspire participation (Desai & Potter, 2006: 145).

The unstructured interview method is also used throughout this research. This method can help with building rapport with your respondents (Bernard, 2006: 211). This method is relevant to my study, since a major part of my data is text data. I had to build a rapport with the female returnees in order to be able to gather data about their perceptions. After a while during my fieldwork, I had the experience to know on which aspects I need to focus. Therefore, I shifted from informal to unstructured to semi-structured interviews. I have

applied this method for interviewing female returnees and their social network (Bernard, 2006: 211).

Participant observations

During the fieldwork the method participant observation was also used. A reason why this method is applicable for this research is because it provides the opportunity to enhance a growing awareness of the unforeseen effects resulting from interventions. This method can focus attention outside the field of anticipated results. By using this method I observed what the living conditions of the female returnees are, and what kind of outcomes the return policies can have for female returnees (Desai & Potter, 2006: 181). Besides this, the method also provided information on how the government services, civil society and the social network of the women interact with the returnees, and therefore providing information about how these three dimensions assist the women during their reintegration.

Informal conversations

The method informal conversation is also implemented during the research. During informal conversations the researcher does not essentially determine the topics of conversation, but follows issues which are raised in the course of the conversation (De Walt & De Walt, 2011). This method is relevant for this research considering the fact that I engaged in activities and settings, which contained informal conversations. The informants provided other information than during an interview or focus group discussion, because of the setting.

Focus group discussions

Focus group discussion method has continuously been depicted as a means of producing information on public insights and viewpoints. Focus groups offer an outstanding tool for discovering group behaviors, interactions and norms, and they are now extensively used as part of a multi - method approach to development field research. They are an exceptional tool for emphasizing the reservations, strains and inconsistencies that must be played out before 'collective decisions' are grasped (Desai & Potter, 2006: 154). Through using the method, focus group discussion, I gathered information about how the returned female domestic workers and entertainers conceptualize their opportunities during their reintegration process and how they frame this in a group dynamic.

Free listing and pile sorting

Free listing and pile sorting is also used in this research. It is implemented to obtain information about which actors are important for the women. It facilitated with identifying the important actors within their social network. It also assisted with sorting out which actors in general are important during the reintegration of the female returnees. The actors had to be piled or listed from the least important to the most important actors according to the women.

Life stories

Lastly, life story method is also implemented. This method is used to obtain information about the whole migration cycle, and therefore gather information on how the history of the returnees has influenced the current reintegration process. It offered information on which factors are determinative in providing the opportunity to obtain economic, social, and cultural capital.

To give an overview; pile sorting is used to obtain information about which actors according to the women are important in their own social network. The method life stories is applied to gather information about the history of the returnees. In addition, participant observation method is used to observe what kind of outcomes the policies have on female returnees, and how the government services, civil society and the social network of the women interact with the returnees. Throughout the fieldwork I have met a lot of people who can be framed within my research, I had informal conversation with them about my research topic and I have used this data, because it has provided additional information. Throughout my research I have tried to protect my informants. I have interviewed in total 19 female returnees, 1 NGO, 1 grassroots organization, three government officials, I have organized two focus group discussions, and 11 women participated with free listing and pile sorting.

Sampling

During the research snowball sampling and opportunity sampling is used. Several NGOs and government officials who work with returnees have assisted with getting in contact with the women and interviewing them. Migrante and the NRCO helped out with sampling domestic workers, while DAWN helped out with sampling the entertainers. These actors have also provided the opportunity to do a focus group discussion, and the informants have also

facilitated snowball sampling. They have introduced me to other female returnees, because of this sampling I was also able to organize another focus group discussion.

Limitations

Throughout my research I was able to speak English with the informants. The female returnees all worked overseas, because of this and because of the schooling system in the Philippines they were able to speak English. Though I was able to gather all the data in English and didn't have to use an interpreter, one has to consider that the data could somehow be limited, because the conversations were not in their mother tongue. One is able to express oneself better in her/his mother tongue and can convey subtle information in a better way.

I also think that my position as a foreign academic in the Philippines has influenced the data that I gathered. The women all were apprehensive in the beginning; I had to build up some trust. Most of the women didn't understand why I was researching this specific topic, and I had to explain why I was interested in this topic. Eventually, most of the informants opened up, however, I have to consider that some information was limited because of my position. There is the possibility that some of the informants limited themselves, because there was a huge gap between my position and their position.

Before my fieldwork I wanted to do surveys, but during the research I encountered some difficulties with distributing the surveys. I was able to distribute some of the surveys; however, I was not contained with the amount of surveys. I decided not to use these surveys since it was a small sum, and therefore not representative for the target group.

In general, I am pleased with my data; however, I do recognize some limitations within it. I was able to encounter several government officials, NGOs, grassroots organization and was able to interview female returnees and stakeholders. However, when I view the data there are in comparison more informants who were assisted by NGOs or grassroots organization than by the government. This can influence the findings, since it provides more information from one position than the other position. However, I have tried to take this into account during my analysis and writings.

5. Findings

5.1 Migration

“Your feet are in a whole, because your life is fifty fifty”

Keira, 39

Like most of the countries the Philippines doesn't gather data about return migration (Battistella, 2004:117). Therefore, it is very difficult to provide figures about returned female domestic workers and entertainers. Despite this limitation, this section will highlight the stories of these women are outlined. This chapter summarizes; the journey of the women beginning with their social situation prior to their migration, the incentives and motives for departure are displayed, important aspects of their lives as migrant employees overseas are captured and lastly the return migration is elaborated

During the many interviews I have conducted with various actors, it was clear that there are several factors that drive women to migrate. The most common answers for why the women chose to migrate is helping out the family, and earning decently. The story of Emma sums up why most of the women migrate, and how most of the informants prepare themselves for this migration.

Emma: “ maybe my luck will change if I go abroad, because my salary is not enough, particularly in the province, it is not equal to the salary here in the national capital. So it's not enough my salary is not enough for my food and my accommodation, I am also renting an apartment. I lent some money from someone who also leans money. I am getting interested in this flyer, maybe my life will be changed, I asked someone how to contact them, first I talked to the recruiter. Who is directly in contact with recruitment agency here in Manila, because it's a recruiter there is an additional payment, to pay the recruiter if I can pass the trail and the interview. So when I went to Manila, I had an interview, I passed the trail and the interview, and the recruitment agency told me that I need to post all my documents. But I had to pay 10 000 as for my processing fee and there is no placement fee. So of course I asked my parents and relatives for this 10 000 pesos, more or less I spend around 25 000 including all my documents, my passport, and my postal ide, and other document and my medical examination. I pay the brokers fee and tax”.

This quote demonstrates what the women have to organize and pay to be able to migrate. The women migrate because of the poor economic conditions they live in. To migrate from the

Philippines there are various requirements one has to undertake to be able to migrate. For example, women who migrated to Japan as entertainers had to apply for dancing classes, language classes. All migrants are required to pay \$25 dollars to OWWA to be able to migrate; because of this payment they have the right to make use of the philhealth and the reintegration program on return. Some have to pay a large amount of money to the recruitment agency or promotion agency for placement fee; since there are a lot of requirements and fees to pay, many of the informants had to loan money from a lending agency and/or their social network. When the women eventually migrate, they already develop some debt, thus limiting the option to develop economic capital during their migration, since they have to pay back the debts. Therefore, when the women return, they cannot transfer their economic capital (savings), because they were not able to accumulate money during their overseas migration. The pre-departure conditions do differ between the informants. Some of them graduated and had worked for several years, while others were studying and migrated to support their education, whereas others didn't finish their school and never graduated. Different kind of pre-departure conditions can play a significant role to different amount of capital that is gathered by the women. If a woman is graduated or worked for several years, this setting creates the opportunity to develop a certain amount of economic and/or cultural capital. Thus, upon return these women can activate these capitals in order to reintegrate. In comparison with the entertainers more domestic workers were college graduates. Although, I haven't noticed a significant difference between the group who worked or graduated before migrating and the women who didn't have a job or didn't graduate before migrating, they have all faced the same difficulties on return. What all these women have in common is that not being able to earn enough money to provide for them and for their family, created incentives for migration. Most of the women feel they don't have many options because of the deprived economic circumstances at home. To be able to provide for their family, they opt to migrate. They feel the only option to survive is to migrate. The choice to migrate is for most of the informants a way to enhance their economic capital; they hope when the work abroad, they will earn more and therefore are able to save money which they can invest with the assistance of their family. Occasionally the informants also migrated to be able to develop their own cultural capital or the cultural capital of important actors within their social network. Some of the women were not able to continue their study, because of lack of money. The women opted to migrate, to gather money to finish their study. Also, the informants highlighted during several interviews that the main reason why they migrated besides earning more, is to create the conditions whereby their relatives

(most of the time siblings, cousins, and children) could be better educated, thus cultural capital. They felt they were obliged to create these conditions for these actors and felt responsible for providing for their family.

Domestic workers and Entertainers

This research focusses on two groups, namely, domestic workers and entertainers. Most of the informants who worked as a domestic worker worked in the middle-east or Hong Kong, all the informants who worked in the entertainment sector, worked in Japan. I have focussed on this target group, because most of them haven't developed a valued added capital during their migration, which the women can practice when they return. The groups do face different kinds of difficulties because of the dissimilar conditions. Most of the domestic workers encountered a lot of physical distressed situations, while the entertainers have encountered more psychological issues. Because of the different issues the women have different needs when they return. Lucy has worked as a domestic worker and as an entertainer. The difference between the jobs was, according to Lucy:

“[...] domestic helper it is purely labour, it is probably safe to say it also depends the employer you are getting. If you get an employer who is not good, your experience will be doomed. My experience as being an entertainer is being fun, although my first experience was difficult it all depends on you. It is degrading, but you still have the chose what you do. In my case even do the job entails intimacy with a customer, it has some limits. Since in our culture, personal we have to behave probably, my parent taught me well, but the notion of the Filipino people if women work in entertainment, they call as zapyopee, in their eyes you're a prostitute. We cannot really condemn them some women they do act like that, when I came back, I try to be very simple, that's why most of the people they don't know I was in Japan, because I wear simple clothes”.

The OFWs are viewed as heroes by actors for the government, because they claim they support the economic development of the nation. The women themselves feel great that they are viewed as heroes. For example, when Lucy took the airplane to Dubai to work as a domestic worker there was a band playing and people clapping. Though, most of the women were proud about this, this feeling faded when they arrived at the destination. The workload for most of the informants who worked as a domestic worker was/is a lot, so the feeling of pride fades during these conditions. It is also significant to highlight that the entertainers are not viewed as heroes. The entertainers are also not viewed as OFWs (overseas Filipino

workers). Many of the entertainers I have spoken with felt that a lot of Filipinos judge them for the work they have done abroad. Some of the informants feel that they are viewed as prostitutes, and because of this they don't proclaim to people that they have worked abroad as entertainers. The women during the second focus group discussion mentioned; people assess domestic workers as heroes, because it is viewed as something the migrant can be proud of, because it is purely hard work. These different notions about the two different professions create different settings to which the women return to. The domestic workers are able to discuss their overseas experience, while some of my entertainers' informant felt apprehensive to discuss their overseas work with their surroundings. For the entertainers there is a need for acceptance when they return, besides cultural and economic capital opportunities, there is also a necessity for social capital opportunities. What this signifies is that the women have different needs when they return, and the welcome is dissimilar for the two different target groups.

Meeting the heavy demands

This section discusses the daily routines of the women, and illustrated how many of the women were not able to develop value added skills during their migration. Hence, when the women return the need for cultural capital opportunities is great, so they are able to find a job.

Lucy mentioned during our interview how she experienced working overseas: *"I stayed in Dubai for four months, I had to endure, the culture was different, the food was different and long hours, and it was a drastic change for me, because I had to work as hard as I can"*. During the interview all the women highlighted that their work was very hard, and demanding. For most of the returned domestic the load of work was very demanding. Rhonda explained what her daily routine was when she worked as a domestic worker:

"In Hong Kong I work for Chinese family for two contracts. I can see I'm a little bit lucky from others, the family was very good. But looking at the load of work aside from the domestic work I have to teach their children, they assignment, math, English, etc. and then my female employer was a teacher at the same time studying to graduate study out with her book (laughing). I have to read it and make some suggestions. [...] The length, the working hours were really long, like I started my work at 5 clock, because I have to wash the cars. This is not part of domestic work, you have to bring the cars inside the house, and then you have. Anyway, that was my routine and after that I have to prepare food for the whole family, because all working, two kids are going to school. During the day I was alone, I have to work".

For most of the entertainers the physical work was less demanding, but some of the returned entertainers did experience psychological difficulties. Kate's stated, "*we do the entertaining for the Japanese men, dohaan in the afternoon (calling the men, to be sure that enough customers will be in the club), and we have to have at least three to five customers a night*". The returned entertainers felt pressure in being able to ensure enough customers every day. If they weren't able to do that, they feared they will be sent back to the Philippines. Though, domestic workers and entertainers had different issues to deal with during their migration, all of them did emphasize that they weren't able to develop skills they could use on return.

Return

Few of the informants came back because they lived for years abroad and had the desire to come back. Most of the entertainers returned, because their contract ended or were pregnant. Some returned because of the difficulties they faced in the recipient country (for example being undocumented, living in Syria during the civil war, challenging work environment) and were not prepared to return. The women who were not prepared had also some difficulties on how they returned. They had to seek help from different organizations, like the embassy, NGOs, or other Filipinos in their surroundings. Thus, the living conditions in the recipient country were not just difficult; on their return, they also faced a lot of hardship. However, most of these women met important actors during this time, who also helped them out, during their reintegration. Thus, while facing hardship these women were able to develop their social capital, which for some became very significant actors in their reintegration. Table two shows the level preparedness of the informants, and displays whether the women were able he mobilize their capital when they returned.

Preparedness	Motivation	Capital mobilization	Informants	Reason for return
Not prepared	Deportation, expulsion, rejected extension	Non-existence	Emma Monica Abby Nathalie	Not enough salary payed Runaway Caught as an undocumented The club was closed down

			Keira Rory Hope Kim Rosy	Runaway, civil war Difficulties with the employer, undocumented Salary not paid/ undocumented Harassed by the employer and not paid by the employer Runaway
Low level of preparedness	Migration objectives could not be reached, disappointment	Few savings	Rhonda Molly Kate Becky Robyn Lucy Amber Angel Candice Adriana	Opportunity in Manila Relationship with her husband ended Contract ended Contract ended Hart issues Contract ended Contract ended Pregnant Pregnant Pregnant
High level of preparedness	Migration objectives are reached, perceived positive change in the job market or government.	Savings Contacts Knowledge Skills		

Table 2.

The only informant who was able to save enough money and invest it in a house and a family business was Robyn. The reason that she was able to save enough money was because of her circumstances in Hong Kong. Robyn stated: *“I saved enough money when I returned. Every*

month when I was working in Hong Kong I saved my money. My employer said, sister you have to save money every month. You don't have to live abroad your whole life, you have your family, you have to spend time with your family. I was lucky my boss tried to save enough money. I have a lot of family members who ask for help, my boss said this is not bad, but you have to save some money for yourself". Her employers encouraged her to save money. This illustrates that reintegration is deeply influenced by the conditions the migrant encountered abroad, since this will have effects on how well prepared the migrant is when she returns. This also interfaces the notion of structuration, one has to consider the contextual setting (the interaction of structure and agency) of the migrant, when the migrant returns.

Most of the informants migrated more than once. While some experienced a lot of hardship during their migration, they did decide to migrate again. When asked why, all most all of the informants replied that they had a hard time finding a decent job and that they had to support their family. What this displays is that for most of these women the three institutions; government, civil society, and their own social network, were not able to provide opportunities to develop their; economic capital to earn money, cultural capital to develop skills that could contribute to developing economic capital, or assist them with finding the right people who could help them out with these difficulties (social capital). Although one has to be careful to not view these women as passive agents, their actions are the product of combination of the capital opportunities that is offered by the institutions and their own actions. For some migrants return is not viewed as the end phase, but just a phase in the circular movement. Therefore, they already planned out to migrate multiple times.

Migratory cycle

Kate: "[...] because I live in the province and then my cousin is going to japan. I decided to continue my study, so I thought going to manila is the best choice. Because I can work and study at night. So I applied in my cousins as a nanny. But during my stay she was in Japan. So I was aspired by her, coming back and she became my manager, she introduced to her promotion agency in manila, and that's how it started".

This displays the circulation migration for most of my informants. Most the informants lived in a province and moved to Manila to find a steady job, but during their stay in Manila they encounter various difficulties with finding a job which can provide for the whole family. Eventually, the women decide to migrate abroad. When the women migrate back to the Philippines, most of them migrate back to their province. However, almost all of them face

the same difficulties they encountered before migrating, namely, finding a ‘decent’ job, to develop their economic capital. That’s why most of them migrate again to Manila, where they think they have more opportunities. However, this migration to Manila can generate difficulties; most of the women have children and have to leave them behind. Hence, to be able to develop their economic capital to support their family, they migrate, but this migration substitutes the guilt of not being able to provide for their family, into the guilt of leaving one of the most important actors within their social capital behind. *“I had to leave my two kids behind, it was hard, it was my obligation to stay with my children, but at that time I couldn’t bring my kids, I had to find a job first. It was difficult to find a job, I was in my thirties”¹.*

5.2 Government services

The Philippines has a long history of migration, because of this the country has structured various institutions that deal with migration. Aware of the high scale effect of return migration, government and non-governmental administrations as well as the Church and church-based establishments have established re-integration programs and facilities for the OFWs and their families (Tornea, 2012: 207). This chapter will discuss how the government policies and programs are implemented, and how is this evaluated by the female returnees. It enables me to answer what kind of capital opportunities are provided by the government.

The key elements of the Philippine migration policies were established in the 1974 Labor Code and it contained endorsing and simplifying foreign employment, defending Filipino migrants, and making the most of the benefits of migration. The program was additional expounded in Republic Act 8042 or the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995, which was amended in 2007 and 2010—by Republic Act 10022. The “Migrants Law” is basically protective regulation. The Philippines have shaped an all-inclusive construction of guideline, protection and aid which embraces the whole migration process, for which the Philippines have gained prominence as a model for migration governance (IOM&SMC, 2013: 8). This Act comprises the formation of the bureau of the Legal Assistant for Migrant Workers Affairs, the formation of Filipino housings abroad, and the founding of the reintegration center, among others. This is the legal foundations for the facility of livelihood and support for migrants at all phases of migration, plus their reintegration. There are additional regulations, guidelines and local government decrees that as well offer

¹Lucy

mechanisms for the reintegration of returnees. These and all other comparable projects and services can be used by the migrants (DAWN, 2012:12).

It is important to emphasize that one of the reasons why this prominent migration model was established was to benefit from migration. The Philippines increasingly rely on remittances. Remittances reached 9% of the gross national product and 20% of the entire export in the Philippines are due to migration (Aldaba, 2004). Because of this reliance it is perhaps not astonishing that the administration of the Philippines gradually started endorsing migration. President Corazon Aquino throughout her period in office from 1986 to 1992 encouraged to work abroad, and viewed as part of a national development plan and numerous times referred to the female domestic workers as the “modern-day heroes” of the country. President Fidel Ramos likewise denoted the Filipina migrant workers as “a vibrant export commodity” for the own economic policy (Rosca 1995:524). Signifying the women in this way would enable the nation-building plan of the Philippines, the main strategy was to integrate into the worldwide market economy as a country which provides an export labour (Milink, 2011: 26). Migration was and is seen as an essential part of the entire course of development with a possibly significant role to play in the alleviation of poverty (Chetail 2008:199).

OWWA

The Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995, comprised also a part regarding return migration. Article 17 and 18 offer for the formation and function of the replacement and monitoring centre. The centre objectives are the reintegration, occupation, campaign, and the application of the migrant skills for development. Explicitly, it is to advance livelihood programs, synchronize with private and government interventions for the application of migrant potential, launch a database system for skilled migrant workforces, occasionally evaluate job chances for returnees, and develop and device other suitable programs. Though the law was accepted in 1995 and became operative in 1996, the centre was not established until early 1999. Interference of returning migrants is usually passed on to the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA), a private trust initially formed by contributions from the employers, but nowadays mainly supported through donations given by migrants before going overseas (Douglas & Taylor, 2004: 219). As the government’s dominant administrative for the facility of welfare services to OFWs, OWWA is an important actor in the reintegration program of OFW in scope and coverage. OWWA’s has incorporated

economic and social reintegration concerns in their program (Tornea, 2012: 207). The psychosocial parts include establishing of relatives relations (meaning the relation between the abroad workers' relatives and returnees) and services such as family therapy and anxiety debriefing (ILO, 2012: 18). The economic part in the reintegration program of the OWWA includes the Livelihood Development Program for OFWs (LDPO) giving funding services such as project sponsoring, technical support in project planning, and training for returnees who would like to initiate income producing projects or to enlarge their current businesses (Tornea, 2012: 207). Reintegration awareness, conduct skills instruction lessons and commerce forum, are also arranged for employees at their overseas work site (ILO, 2012: 19). The OWWA services start at the abroad work site and carry on all the way through the entrance into the nation and return to worker's residence. Upon entrance in the Philippines, airfield help is extended and, where needed; short-term housing, health check and psychoanalysis services as well as domestic transport are provided to the returnees. OWWA is the leading migrant welfare trust in the world. Its facilities can be characterized into: schooling and teaching, insurance and credits, and repatriation and reintegration (Cmreport, 2013: 89).

Programs of OWWA

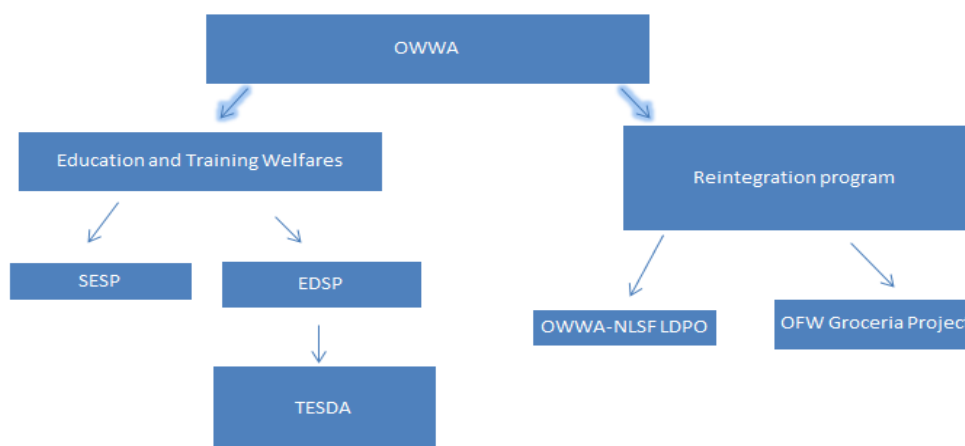


Figure 1.

Figure 1 displays OWWA's multiple programs, which have multiple goals. Education and Training Welfares OWWA offer educational support and skills expansion welfares. It is intended to improve the employment marketability and expand administration efforts in upholding highly skilled labourers in the country for local and overseas jobs (OWWA). Within this welfare there are two programs:

1. Education for Development Scholarship Program (EDSP)

2. Skills-for-Employment Scholarship Program (SESP)

- Grant program that OWWA offers in management with the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA).

Figure one also displays that OWWA has a reintegration program. At present, the component has two loan programs: the OWWA-NLSF Livelihood Development Programs for OFWs (LDPO) and the OFW Groceria Project.

The OWWA-NLSF LDPO Project

- Is a combined task of OWWA and the National Livelihood Support Fund (NLSF)
- Addresses the economic element of the OFW Reintegration Program
- Destined to advance entree to commercial development opportunities and credit services to OFWs, their relatives, and organizations

Acceptable Purposes of Loan

1. Working capital - for acquisition of produce goods and/or raw materials
2. Business resources acquisition (except lot) - for buying of machines/ equipment
3. Business site building or upgrading

Eligible Borrowers

1. Member OFWs and former member OFWs
2. Their immediate family members (one family member per one OFW)
3. For wedded OFWs: spouses or children of legal age
4. For single OFWs: parents or siblings of legal age
5. OWWA LOPO recipients with good refund records
6. Officially organized groups of OFWs (partnerships/corporations, OFW organizations/associations/cooperatives & Federations) (OWWA)

NRCO

On February 2007 the NRCO was established as a “one-stop centre” for all reintegration forces; for workforces, their families and communities. It is also coordinating the deliverance for all participating service providers. The NRCO and the OWWA work jointly to run the reintegration program. The aim is to capture the whole overseas employment cycle, starting from pre-departure, in the receiving country and return (Manzala, 2009). NRCO highlights the argument that setting up for final reintegration ought to begin previous to when the migrant leaves the Philippines (ILO, 2012: 19).

The NRCO has three agenda aims; personal reintegration, economic reintegration and community reintegration. For personal reintegration, the NRCO has established programs intended to help out with migrants’ personal adjustment to existence with their relatives and in the previous community. For the economic reintegration part the NRCO works closely with financial and other institutions, as well as NGOs (ILO, 2012: 19). In the community reintegration part, programs are to be planned to push workforce to chip in to the progress of their communities by partaking their skills, expertise and savings and therefore alter the “brain drain” into “brain gain”. Projects are merely in the beginning phase. Up to now, the center has focused above all on its economic reintegration element (ILO, 2012: 20). The beneficiaries of the NRCO are; OFW returnees, those who made the decision to return to the Philippines permanently; Returning OFWs, those who have returned, but still wish to migrate for overseas employment; Distressed OFW Returnees, victims of human trafficking, illegal recruitment, or with employment and health related problems; Families of OFW Returnees (NRCO). Though there are prevailing reintegration programs for the Filipino migrants and their relatives, their outset and application have been challenging thus far (Yeoh & Rahman, 2005: 28).

OWWA/NRCO

Rendering to OWWA, they conduct reintegration in two stages. The first stage is the reintegration readiness stage, which is directed on site. Trainings on value development, monetary literacy, business development training, techno-skills and capacity building trainings are directed. Nevertheless, these are not obtainable in all places where there are Philippine posts. In-country reintegration is applied under the backings of the NRCO. The facilities they offer contain local and overseas job recommendation, commercial counselling,

community forming, financial literacy seminar, networking with support institutions and social preparation programs.

There is also a particular OWWA project for women, the Balik Pinay, Balik Hanapbuhay program, established in 2011. The program ambition is to address the joblessness of returning women OFWs and to inspire them to be able to cope with their finances, start their own commercial, to aspire them to stay in the country. It was originally established for distressed returning OFWs, but has since been also obtainable to returning male OFWs. During this program the recipients obtain a bundle of entrepreneurial support in the method of built-in training offered either by the Technological Education and Skills Development Administration (TESDA) or the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and a P10, 000 money to begin a household commerce. Starter tools in reflexology, cosmetology, production of bath soap, scented oils, herbal medication and skin health treatment, manicure/pedicure, fashion accessories, repair and food processing are also delivered to improve the skills learned after the training. The program is being applied countrywide, through the local workplaces of OWWA (DAWN, 2012:34).

Before migrating the government also provides Pre-Departure Registration and Orientation Seminar (PDOS). Country-specific PDOS are directed for migrants to address their adjustment worries in their recipient country. In these sessions, numerous topics such as travel guidelines, immigration processes, cultural differences, settlement apprehensions, employment and social safekeeping and privileges and duties of Filipino migrants are addressed (CFO).

Assessment of the government services

When the women return, they can make use of several reintegration program benefits. The women I have spoken with had a lot of difficulties in obtaining information about these benefits. Most of the women I have spoken with did not know about the reintegration programs. After getting in contact with actors within the civil society the women were informed about the government reintegration programs. For some of the women it was too late, they couldn't apply for the programs. I have spoken with several women who worked as entertainers, who got the information about the reintegration programs too late. Most of these women were supported by their Japanese husband/boyfriend for a few years. When the support stopped, these women sought help from the civil society; however, by then it was too late to apply for the government reintegration program. There were also many domestic

workers informants who had no knowledge about the reintegration programs of the government. The women, who did know about the reintegration program, had only general knowledge about the loan program. According to some the money that is offered by the government is not sufficient to start a functional business. It is evident that there is an information gap about the reintegration program that is offered by the government. Though OWWA is visible throughout the whole migration cycle, there are some difficulties in providing information to the female returnees about; what they can expect from the government, what their benefits are, and what kind of reintegration programs exists. The women who did become beneficiaries of these programs were assisted by other organizations, for example by *migrante* or DAWN. Through the help of these organizations it was easier to get access to the reintegration program benefits. Monica is a good example, she stated: “*We (migrante and her fellow travelers) slept outside the OWWA for two days, two nights and three days, before they gave us financial assistance. And what kind of financial assistance did they give? They gave us financial assistance, just for ourselves. Because we tried to tell them it’s our right as OFW to be helped by the OWWA, because you pay \$25, for the OWWA fund assistance for migrants*”. Persons who did do it on their own, had more difficulties in receiving the benefits. Most of them have difficulties with the papers they have to submit. Some of the women are also reluctant to apply for the reintegration program, because of the stories they heard about how difficult it is to get the benefits (for example the loan). The following quotations illustrate how doubtful the women were about receiving benefits from the government:

Emma: “[...] it’s difficult for an OFW to get a reintegration program. They very strict, like example David, he asked for the reintegration program and he already passed all the documents, but until now there is no reintegration program. He never haven’t jet received the reintegration program, that’s the only program of OWWA”.

Robyn: “I didn't ask help from the government, because according to me they can't sufficiently help me. A lot of my friends and family, they were not helped by the government. They just promise, but in real life they don't help”.

Most of the women who evaluated the program of NRCO which provides 10 000 pesos (€167, 55), were very critical about it. They contemplated that 10 000 pesos is not enough to construct a sustainable livelihood. Keira mentioned during our interview: “*actually 10 000 is*

a small amount it is not enough to begin our lives, because before when we left Philippines we have a lot of credits on our relatives, so we can get our required papers". The fact that many of my informants were so focussed on the loan program can imply that most of the informants assume that the government could help them with developing their economic capital; less attention is paid to the cultural and social capital development aspect by the female returnees.

Most of the government programs are focused on assisting with the development of a business. Though many of the women do want to own their own business, there are still some women who prefer other assistance, one example is Rhonda:

But you didn't go to the government to ask help? No, during that time I was not inclined to go into business. When I went home in 2004, it's not my cup of tea. Because some people say that a lot of migrants dream to have their own business? No, it was not my dream, because I'm a social

Some of the criticism towards the government policies are that it is short-term and therefore lacks the opportunity to enhance the position of the women. As Kate stated: *"the government the help is very limited and sometimes short-term. So it's not a big help, because you know, in my experience migrants, especially victims of many violations they can't recover immediately it takes years, to recover. When after they came back even domestic workers when they came back they still need medication before they start a business, and the government offers 10 000 pesos, trainings, and then they fail, because they are not yet ready, physical, emotional, psychologically to really to work on the business unless you're really a business person then you can start, but if not it's difficult"*. What this illustrates is that some women feel that there is less attention paid to the social and psychological part of reintegration and that the economic capital opportunities is inadequately linked to the psychosocial condition of the women by the government. Though OWWA has policies for addressing the psychosocial aspects and providing social opportunities (such is reconnecting with their family), these policies are less visible in comparison to other programs. During my fieldwork I observed that there was a lot of focus on developing cultural and economic capital. The programs which targeted the cultural capital development had as an end goal, transforming the cultural capital into economic capital, thus reducing all the capitals into economic capital. Up to now, the NRCO has focused above all on its economic reintegration element. Another example of

how reintegration is virtually at all times linked with finance, the economic capital is emphasized. People who work for the government and the civil society highlighted that the government is lacking in providing a holistic reintegration approach, hereby I mean extensively, including the economically (resources) and psychosocial aspects within the reintegration program.

A member of DAWN (NGO) stated: *“In my experience DAWN is more holistic, although other NGOs they're only focused on the advocacy, so it's a different kind of thing, but in DAWN a holistic. In our experience the NGOs can easily decide and help and access, because of the network. The government is too big, if you sometimes ask help they say this is not our department. I wish they looked bigger picture of the reintegration program”*. Though, the criticism is valid; as a researcher, I have to remember the position of the informant, because this unveils the interaction between the two institutions. The data provides a lot of information on how the government works, it also displays is the tension between the two institutions. While they often work together, there is a lack of trust between the two institutions. This will have consequences on how services and assistance is provided to the women.

5.3 Civil Society

Numerous NGOs enable organization of community resources and stimulates development inventiveness; Integrate gender-responsive policies/ programs and helping returned OFWs (Torrea, 2012:219). NGOs concentrating on providing provision and help migrants began to arise in the late 1970s, around the time when difficulties associated with labour migration started to appear. One of the first NGOs to answer to migrants' difficulties was faith-based civil service. These organizations were approached by migrants and their relatives for help. The statistics on the market development in 1970s caused gaps in services and security which NGOs started to notice and to address. The association among NGOs and the government has altered in the last few years. Though NGOs remain to have a critical attitude towards the government, there have also been noteworthy inroads for cooperation and teamwork. The Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995 and the edited act by Republic Act No. 10022, sec 1 (h) identifies NGOs “as partners of the State in the protection of Filipino migrant workers and in the promotion of their welfare”(CM Report, 2013: 159). The most significant Church related and non-governmental agencies in the Philippines are; Kapisanan ng mga Kamag-anak ng Migranteng Manggagawang Pilipino, Inc. (KAKAMMPI). It is a

community-based group of relatives of foreign migrant labours and migrant returnees. It focusses on social facilities and welfare projects, developing education and organization construction, economic development: and activism and lobby work; Friends of Filipino Migrant Workers, Inc. or KaibiganKaibigan supplies to the needs of deprived Filipino foreign personnel chiefly through research and activism efforts; Development Action for Women Network (DAWN) the objective of this organization is to support women OFWs who pursue alternative livelihoods as they reintegrate into Philippine society, the organization also assists them with developing skills for lively participation in constructing self-reliant communities. It offers instant aid for crisis interference, education and reintegration, research and information distribution, networking and advocacy (Tornea, 2012:212). Migrante International is a progressive organization existing of OFW and their families. Migrante supports and progress the rights and welfare of overseas Filipinos. Migrante International has developed a vigorous support for the rights and welfare of OFWs by educating public awareness. The core programs of migrante are: rights and welfare, they receive objections of OFWs in distress and their families and seek compensation for their grievances. In this framework migrante encounters and assist returned migrants. Migrante is also very active in campaigns and advocacy, education, research, networking and lobbying.

Opportunities offered by the civil society

“ [...] They provided the conditions whereby we could accept the past and look forward to the future”

Hope, 35

Most of the women that I have interviewed have encountered various civil society organizations. The civil society is very active in manila, through ads, media, rallies, some of the women were also referred by other organizations (for example, most of the returned entertainers got a list of NGOs from the Japanese embassy) or their social network. An employer of DAWN explained what kind of opportunities they offer:

“we provide them counselling, workshop, legal matters, and paralegal matters like the papers, documents that you need, and then we have also, if we have volunteers available lessons, cultural lessons, and then we have the research education through the research education we provide the theatre so we have group of women and children, because that story is about ourselves it's about going to japan, and our experiences in japan and going back, from pre-departure to reintegration, that's the musical play that we have. [...] And then we also do have a newsletter, we also encourage women to contribute in the letter. So they can share their experiences, and then of course we develop, advocacy, for the children and the women, because by sharing their own experiences is better information. We also have publications, with churches; we also attend lobbying the government of the Philippines and sometimes in Japan. We are part of the changing somehow. [...] And third program is this alternative livelihood, we call it decays, it means empowerment. With this provide them entrepeunal, we provide them seminars, the skills, training, the management skills, because here we, the members are doing everything renting, marketing, of course is not always successful, but do offer, even we always we continue”.

The women highlighted throughout interviews, focus group discussions, and informal conversations that these organizations helped them out in various ways, such as providing counselling, trainings, start-up kits for their business, receiving their benefits, and advocacy. These organizations provide the women the chances to develop their cultural and economic capital. Some of these organizations deal with migrants in general, while others have specialized in return migrants. The civil society is visible throughout the whole migration cycle. Most of the time the civil society organizations try to fill the gaps that spur because of irregular government policies, inefficient programs, inadequate application of the programs. Some of the government reintegration unit workers who I have interviewed did recognize these gaps; they acknowledged that there are some program application difficulties, because there was a labour shortage in the unit.

Most of the informants didn't know about the reintegration programs of the government, before being informed by the civil organizations, some of them made use of these programs, but for some it was too late (they were informed about the programs ten years after return). The civil society, most of the time provides the opportunity to inform the women about the programs, they try to fill the information gap. Although as a researcher you have to acknowledge that the NGOs that provided some of this data are biased. They probably want to believe and portray the government as insufficient, because then they can highlight why their interference is important. Nevertheless, the information gap that's highlighted by the

NGOs is on many levels visible and by many actors acknowledged. This is not only expressed by the NGOs, many of the female returnees also acknowledge the lack of information that they experienced.

Heroism Vs. Victimization

Most of the actors who work for civil society organizations are very critical about the government. These actors underline that the government is still pushing for migration; although the government denies this, these actors seem to be very confident about their assumptions. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the government has a lot of policies and programs which target, the return migrants. Nonetheless the actors in the civil society who I have spoken with, contemplate that these programs are not adequate and are not applied in the way they were promised. According to them these programs are not easily accessible; though the programs exist the application is being stagnated because it requires a lot of paperwork. An official of an NGO expressed how lots of NGO's view migration: *"Yeah, that of course the biggest lesson is that migration is not the answer, to the problem of the Philippines of poverty of unemployment and all other problems. The solution is here in the Philippines, that you have to be part of the overall struggle for a land reform and a national industrialization, so it will create more jobs, with liveable wages. Migration in the Philippines is simple migration, is poors migration, is not for adventure, it's no job and poverty is very serious conditions"*. I have observed during the fieldwork that there exist two notions about the migrants by the two institutions, the government and the civil society. Actors within the government consider migrants as heroes, while most actors with the civil society consider the migrants as victims. Thus, there exists conflicting notions about migration for two important spheres within the return discourse in Manila. The government underlines heroism while most of the actors in civil society highlight victimization. Therefore, it is not surprising that most of the programs for returned domestic workers and entertainers are approached differently by the two spheres. As mentioned in the previous section, the government, particularly focuses on providing economic capital opportunities (credits, loans), while some actors within the civil society besides focussing on economic capital, also focusses on psychosocial aspects, and social capital opportunities (for example DAWN's program reconnecting the mothers and the children with their Japanese fathers). This is perhaps influenced, because of the different notions that exist about migration.

Most of the actors within the civil society who I have spoken with claim that they have to advocate for the return migrants. According to them government is lacking in providing opportunities for returnees. However, one has to be careful in framing the government as the main obstacle and the women as victims. Framing them as victims, one neglects to acknowledge the agency that these women do have, and exercise on a daily base. Although the government or the civil society can provide opportunities or obstacles, the women are not passive agents. As one of my informants said “*I am thankful to DAWN, because DAWN provided many opportunities. It depends on the women what they do with these opportunities [...]*”. DAWN is an NGO but this also applicable for the services of the government. So it is the interaction between what is offered by the institutions and what the women do with these opportunities.

Assessment of the Civil Society

“DAWN facilitated us with getting in contact with women who experienced the same journey.

Also for most of the women DAWN provided the conditions whereby they could accept the past and look forward to the future”.

Candice, 45

Thanks to the civil society, most of the women got in contact with important people. These civil society organizations helped them with developing their social networks. Many of the women that I had encountered, experienced bad events during their migration. The opportunity to encounter actors with the same story could facilitate the reintegration process, since accepting the past could contribute to be willing to invest into the future. As I mentioned before the NGOs claim that they provide more assistance and at times they also claim they have a more holistic implementation, since they don't only focus on economic reintegration. However, I have observed that most of the NGOs, programs do focus on encouraging entrepreneurship and building up a business, thus emphasizing the opportunity to develop an economic capital. While most programs also provide the opportunity to develop cultural capital of the women, they do this so that the women can transform these skills into economic capital. Thus, most of the capitals are reduced to economic capital. Also, some of

the women I have spoken with are very critical about the implementation of the programs of civil society. They feel like they are used to obtain subsidies and beneficiaries and that they are not assisted in the way they are promised. They feel betrayed.

Focus group discussion, Candice: “We have to obey what they want us to do, or our kids will suffer, no allowance. We have an idea what's going to happen with the money, the money is already diminishing. The women, all discuss every Saturday what to do. (...) I will withdraw my case, and ask for my 10 000 pesos (, but I think they won't give the money”.

Society/community reintegration level

How active a woman is on return differs, different women encounter different organizations and people during their return. These actors will somehow influence what the woman is going to do when she returns. So it is important to highlight that besides the woman's own idea of how to participate in the community, society, or family, the surroundings will influence her options. For example, women who participated in the DAWN programs, are mostly focused on establishing their own business, and provide for their family. While women who have encountered migrante during their return or migration, are more active in the advocacy of migrant rights. What this exemplifies is that the women have different kind of needs, and they will probably seek out help from organizations that will meet their needs. Most of the women I have spoken with live in various conditions, due to the opportunities that are provided by the three institutions, and what the women do with these opportunities. Some of them are active in migrant groups, and in the advocacy of the migrant rights, and try to work with different actors, to extend their knowledge. They hope that the conditions within the country would improve so that migration is not the main solution for poverty. They work with migrants and try to help them out. Thus, they try to contribute to the development of the society as a whole, by transferring their cultural capital to enhance the position of the return migrants.

Emma: “My objective before when I go home is to help, to help regarding my experience. So, that there will be no OFW, that the OFW must be aware about their right”.

5.4 Social networks

For most of the women, their social network consists of their children, parents, siblings, nephew/ niece, friends, and their partner. The women I have spoken to emphasize that they didn't migrate only to provide for themselves, but also to support their family. During the focus group discussions it was mentioned by the women, that supporting the family is a very significant aspect within the culture. In their upbringing it was always emphasized that family members have to help each other. Therefore, it is inherited knowledge, thus cultural capital. Since it is learned throughout the household, and inherited from the household setting. This inherited knowledge is probably used to enhance the economic capital of the household. This notion influenced why the women migrated, and what kind of expectations they had from migrating, hence supporting their family. As Lucy stated during the focus group discussion:

“I think this is a culture we have. We are basically very family oriented people, very close with our kin. We sacrifice for the betterment for a family. Like for our cases we have siblings, we help so that they can finish their schools. We have also extended family, like the sister of my mother or father; we also try to help them, that is our culture. I actually noticed that the most of the people who feel obligated are the oldest sibling, like in her case it is also so. We feel obligated to help the younger ones”.

Assigned role

Keira: “I begin to migration on 1996, at that time not yet married, and after that, of course, as being a simple woman, and what we call this live as independent and of course plan to support, because I am the eldest of my family. We are six and after that when my father died, I was nine years old. Of course I look forward to my sister how they can go to school, my mother cannot able support them for their study in especially when she get married, another family, after that we have 2 brothers and 3 sisters, so we are 11, so how she can handle this, especially, in the first children how she can support, because we don't have enough, I mean money, we are just only, we are selling fish like that. So how can, very difficult, so of course I look the situation in my family, specially brother and sister, then I am the eldest of course then I feel something difficult for my mother. So i decided to stop my study, and I was in the province at that time, so I came in manila, first I worked as a factory worker. So I feel that's not enough also which the money I earn is not enough, for myself, and how I support to my of course brother and sister that want to go to school, also. So I decided to migrate. I was 22 years old at that time”.

During various interviews and focus group discussions the women mentioned how they felt they were obliged to help their families, and how significant this was for them. They had an assigned role as a provider; especially the eldest sibling has to take care of the other siblings. Lucy articulated during one of our interview very explicit why they have this assigned role. Lucy stated:

“That’s our mentality as Filipinos we tried to help each other, especially our siblings. We are trying to obligate ourselves to really help. If you are not helping your parent, then you are selfish. That’s the main thing if you don’t help your parents you are a selfish brat. Our parents send us to school; it is proper in return, you have to try to help your siblings. That’s our duty, it’s a culture”.

What this shows is that the cultural capital that is inherited is used to activate one of the actors in the household to contribute to the development of the economic capital of the household. Though having an assigned role to provide for the family, hence inherited knowledge, the women felt some vagueness because of this. Most of the informants highlighted throughout the research that their relatives didn’t understand the hardship they faced during their migration, and didn’t understand how difficult it was for them to earn the money. However, stating this there was some ambiguity in this, because even though they felt that their family didn’t understand their hardship, they did feel proud in being able to provide for their family. With being able to provide for the family, some can argue it is for the returnee easier to reintegrate into the family level, since she has fulfilled her role/expectations.

During migration

While most of the women migrated to enable themselves to provide for their family, during their stay overseas some of the women were also assisted by their developed social capital. Since some of the family members migrated before, they exchanged their migration knowledge with the women. Hence, the women used their social capital to enhance their cultural capital, before and during their migration. This will have an influence on their reintegration, since if the women are able to adjust in the recipient country; they are more able to accomplish their goals. Thus, on return the women will have developed some capitals which they can use during their reintegration process.

Return

When the women return the support of the family differ. Almost all of the women I have spoken with separated from their husbands when they migrated (in most returned domestic workers' cases) or when they returned (in most cases of entertainers, since they all met a Japanese partner during their migration). Most of the women who worked in the entertainment sector met a Japanese husband or boyfriend, and most of the husbands and boyfriends did send money for several years, to support their wives and children. Thus, these women were able to develop their social capital during their stay in Japan, and the investment in these actors has contributed to the economic development during their reintegration for several years. Eventually for most of them the support ended when the men met another woman, the women felt deceived: *“I don't what to do. Emotional and financial it was very hard, because nothing was given by my husband, and my son was going to be hospitalized he was sick. I kept calling my husband, he just said he couldn't help me, I felt betrayed”*².

Women who worked as a domestic worker had a different context; most of them worked longer abroad, then the women who worked as an entertainer. The women who worked as an entertainer had on average a contract of six months, while the women who worked as a domestic helper had on average a contract of two years. All the women I met during my fieldwork who worked as a domestic worker had a Filipino husband, and all of them separated. The majority of the women separated from their husbands, because the men found another woman. When these women returned, they were not significantly assisted by their exes, occasionally the women felt desperate about the situation. Keira expressed during an interview how she felt just after she found out that her husband had met another woman, and that this woman was expecting a child: *“why? What was my mistake? Why is he being to me like this? I don't have any wish on my life just to give them a good life; I mean to help him, why?”* Because of migration these women's social capital decreased, they had fewer actors to ask help from during their reintegration. In the case of the entertainers as mentioned before, the financial support also stopped after approximately three years. The women who migrated for a long time (most of them worked as a domestic worker) had also a weakened relationship with their children when they returned. Rhonda expressed during an interview that this aspect has to be also considered during the constructions of reintegration programs:

²Lucy

“Yeah, reintegration program is not only economically, reunification is very hard. Yeah, it’s difficult in the sense if you physical absence for ten to twenty years. Then you’re totally stranger, they know you only you as the provider, but not as part of the family. The adjustment difficult between husband and wife, between your children. Like for example, I went home my youngest son has already a family, it’s very very hard. Up until now they view me mam can you help me, that’s financial. Reconstructing what you have lost in several years cannot be done overnight. It’s really developing, but it will not happen very easily, because you’re also far from each other”.

While most of the domestic workers are dealing with reconnecting with their children, the entertainers face other issues, namely, losing their partner and the adjustment issues of their children in the Philippines. Within this scope there is a difference noticeable between entertainers and domestic workers. Since most of entertainers met a partner in Japan and had children in Japan they face different reintegration issues.

Abby “Every night I always cry. It’s difficult to adjust, because I stayed 8 years. Why was it difficult? Because the children, it’s a different lifestyle. When they came back, it’s difficult life and lifestyle and everything. And did you self-experience difficulties? So it’s like in the beginning the acceptance is very difficult, but now of course she accepted everything. But during those time sit was very difficult to accept”.

While both of the groups face different difficulties, there is a common ground, namely; difficulties with reintegrating on the family level, and decreasing social capital, because of overseas migration (for most of the domestic workers) or because of return migration (for most of the entertainers).

Assistance

Rhonda: “Migrating the first time to Singapore, while I was still married to my husband. I was able to save that time, and that’s why we were able to set up a price store. *And how was the business?* if you have your capital is not enough, it will not survive, if you all depend on one income”.

This quote display how having a partner can provide you the setting where you can save money have tangible capital, be better prepared when you return, and how significant it can be. However, when the women have the assigned role to take care of the family (including parents, siblings, nephews, nieces) it is difficult to build an investment which can support a whole family on a one person's salary. For most of the women, their family (parents, siblings, nephews, and nieces) gave them moral support and accommodation during their return.

Monica: “They tried to tell me it's ok, you’re now in the Philippines so don’t worry, you have a family, you have friends, they can help you to forget”.

Kate: “*They didn't support you?* Not in terms of money, because they are there with me, we stay together in one house. *Maybe during that time I don't feel the support, because we have a successful business, but, no. but my mother supported me all the way, but you cannot balance. How did she support you?*she is like my friend, and she always supported me, and pushing me that you know you can move on, especially when the Japanese man did not support me, and didn't then visited me again. She really supports me, and of course my friends”.

Some women who sought help from the civil society were referred by their social network; these actors helped the women with getting in touch with organizations that assisted them with developing their social, cultural and/or economic capital. In most cases the family was not able to assist them financially, they provided for most of the women a support system on which they could rely on emotionally. The women continued to feel obliged to support their family, if the women are able to start-up a business, their main motivation will be to support their family. For the majority of the women, their friends didn’t provide much help when they returned.

During the focus group discussion, I asked the women to make two lists. The first list consisted of the most important people in their lives and the second list of the persons who helped them when they returned. While analysing the lists it was remarkable that the their parents and children were ranked high when asked to list the most important person in their lives, and when asked who helped them during their return, NGOs came at the first place, the family on the second place. It can display a fraction between the actors in their social capital who they feel connected with but are not able to support them when they return, and the actors who are able to provide the assistance but are less connected with. Therefore, it can display some ambiguous, since the women have to reintegrate into the first list on a family level and are occasionally assisted by the civil society organization in reintegrating on this level. However, the actors within the first list (family) are not able to provide the women the assistance they need to reintegrate on community and a society level.

The most important people list consisted out:	People who are important when you returned:
1. Child	1. NGO
2. Parents	2. Family
3. Siblings	3. Relatives
4. NGO	4. Child
5. Nephew/Nece, Friends	5. Myself
6. Relatives, God/Church	6. Relative, Siblings, Parents, and Friends
7. Child's Father	

Table 3.

Family reintegration level

Though there are women who stay and contribute to the development of the society as mentioned in the society/community level reintegration section. Even though they're not earning enough, this is not the average case for a returned domestic worker or entertainer. Most of them consider migrating again since they have a lot of difficulties developing their economic capital during their return; they feel obliged to help their family. Most of the women want to support their family economically, but also assist their siblings or their children to develop their cultural skills. Monica: *"I was trying to save money, not only for my family, but also for my baby. Soon he is going to school, so I have to earn money for that"*. They want to transfer their economic capital into cultural capital for their family. Although some encountered horrendous abuse during their migrations, they still consider migrating again, like one of my informants, Kim. She regrets migrating the first time, she almost died

during her migration. She migrated to help out the family, but this was not conceivable, because of the hardship during her migration. However, she is planning to migrate again to be able to provide for her children. She hopes it will be different this time. This illustrates how not being able to develop economic capital during reintegration, leads to onwards migration. The women can be very ingenious in constructing plans to migrate again. During the last focus group discussion, Candice expressed how she was planning to migrate again, and why this was very important for her: *“We learned from her (another OFW) how we can migrate again to Japan, through the help of a couple in Japan. They're going to get us into Japan with our children. I want to go to Japan. [...] I want to stay in Japan for the sake of my daughter, and because of a job, in the Philippines it is very low salary. For the sake of the children so they will have a better future, and of course for my family. Because right now I don't have enough money to send them, and they are already getting old, I am getting worried”*. Every informant linked their willingness to migrate with being able to provide for their family. Numerous women feel an obligation towards their families to return overseas to uphold dependable household revenue, causing arrangements of circular labour migration. Traditional asset plans (like building a house, or business) appears to sustain circular migration.

While some female returnees focus more on setting up a business in the Philippines. Some try to contribute to the development of their family, by improving the social-economic conditions of the family. They have applied for different programs to develop their skills, and used this newly developed cultural capital, and the social capital, to establish a setting, whereby they can develop their economic capital. It is important that the women are able to earn enough money, because if the women are not developing their economic capital, they will probably migrate again.

Keira: so after that, after 2010 I decided again to migrate. Why? Because I was thinking as soon as I can do as to work, I have to, because minutes, or hours or days are too important of me. Because my son begins the school, of course they also become begin, their expenses, of course I have vision to finish my house, like that. And begin also to have a small business so cannot go migration again, have enough money, to begin the business. After that 2010, I decide to go migration again, I met this woman who is recruiter, because she a neighbor of my aunty, Quezon city, also. So she help me everything, for the processing my papers, but actually, I want to go in Dubai, but she said no need in Dubai, because it takes a long time, for waiting the visa, and we have already visa now, it's in Syria. But I was thinking Syria is not a well-known place, how come? She said no, no it's also the salary is \$400 and the what we call this, it's a good country. So, I said okay, because I felt at that time hopeless, you know “.

Monica“I have to earn money for my baby. I have a baby, and for my family also. If the government would give us decent jobs in the Philippines, why should we go back to abroad? But here in the Philippines there is no job. [...] I was trying this new job as a household worker, I tried if I can do that job. Because, I need to have a job for my baby, and for my family. *Did someone help you out with finding this job?* My grandfather was working in Saudi. He asked me to apply. And my employer is his co-worker. So I'm not very confident in applying for household work, maybe I try anyway, because my grandfather knows the employer”.

The women want to contribute to the cultural capital of their social network, which they hope can transform into economic capital. The informants will sacrifice themselves for this. The informants continuously linked their migration experience with a sacrifice they have to undergo to support their family. Philippine society still favours the household as the female's residence, and though more and more women have turned into co-breadwinners or occasionally chief wage earner, the opinion, still succeeds that women ought to continue to be the main guardians and nurturers of the household. Women migrant labours are therefore thrown into opposing burdens: to provide for the relatives; but also answer to society's outlooks of a helpful and altruistic mother, wife or daughter.

As I mentioned before, all most all of the informants highlighted that it is important to earn enough money when they return. Besides developing their economic capital, most of the women also want to develop their skills, so they are able to do work that provides enough money for them, and their family. As Monica said: “*Earn money, and maybe my life is better, my whole life is better after, for my family*”. For most of my informants to be able to develop

their economic capital and cultural capital, to support their social network, is what reintegration comprises. Most expect during return, assistance with developing their economic capital, they also convey that cultural capital assistance that's provided during return by the institutions will transfer into economic capital, or vice versa, economic capital development will be transformed into cultural capital not only for themselves, but mostly for their siblings or their children. In the framework of reintegration, social and cultural capital that is offered during the return by the institutions is almost always linked with economic capital, thus economic policies and services.

Keira: “My expectation that you can build a house, you can give good education to your, children, you can have a good live, begin also some business, and better life. As me I want only simpel, but the problem is many times you go to migration, you can also see the problem of your family. Having no job, no good prospects, that's why people migrate”.

6. Conclusion/ Discussion

This research focussed on domestic workers and entertainers. The migration of entertainers has decreased since 2005, but this research has provided data on how these women were assisted, if there is weakness in the reintegration structures, and how their situation is in comparison with the already growing overseas migration of domestic workers. In general, these groups faced different requirements before migrating (trainings, etc.), migrated to different countries which lead to different contexts (all of my entertainers informants migrated to Japan, and most of the domestic workers migrated to the middle-east or Hong Kong), they migrated back to the Philippines for different reasons (most of entertainers migrated back because their contract ended or were pregnant, while most of the domestic workers migrated because they were distressed), migrated for different periods (most of the entertainers migrated for six months, while domestic workers migrated for approximately two years). Though there are some common grounds: both groups migrated more than once, and all of them emphasized that they weren't able to develop skills they could use during their return. This illustrates that there is a need for cultural capital opportunities when the women return. Two of three spheres (government services and the civil society) do offer programs which can assist with skills development.

Finding a job is the major struggle which the returnees face. Occupation overseas is partially accountable, once the women return, they and their families have to alter their consumption behaviour, as they make less money. Nevertheless, it is also because of the economic context in the Philippines, whereby it is difficult for the women to find a job which can support their family. Also the women don't develop value added skills during their migration, which are essentially for reintegration. In many cases the entertainers and domestic workers need skills that workers already have. A substantial section of the women plan to save money during their migration, to be able to be self-employed upon return. However, this goal is realized by only a small group. The main hurdles to this are: inadequate investment, lack of knowledge and adverse local economic circumstances. There are a lot of programs which try to assist the women in accomplishing this goal; however, this produces meagre effects, since the single most important aspect is the nation's general economic condition.

Government

There are three institutions highlighted throughout the thesis; government services, civil society, and the social network of the women. Every sphere has its own role during the reintegration of the domestic workers and entertainers. As displayed throughout the previous chapters every institution provides different assistance, and provides different capital opportunities. The government in general provides assistance which is linked with economic capital (loans) and cultural capital (skill enhancement programs). Most women didn't have any expectations of the government when they were able to provide for themselves, for example entertainers during the time they were supported by their Japanese partners. Because of this they ignored the role that the government services can play in their life.

Because of the different settings these women have different necessities. The government policies are very general. Since the women encounter different conditions they have different needs. The general programs are less able to provide them opportunities for specific contextual issues, for example entertainers who lost contact with their Japanese partners, and they want to reconnect with their Japanese partner. There are NGOs who are created for specific groups, for women, entertainers, etc. However, not all NGOs provide the opportunity to develop programs which can capture the needs of the women. In general, it is focused on advocacy and providing the opportunity to develop a business skills (which is also provided by the government). As presented in table 2 none of the women were well prepared. Just one informant was able to save enough money to invest in her capital; she was able to transfer her

tangible capital. Most of the women had developed a debt, because of the migration requirements. The women had to pay back their debts, so they were not able to save enough money to support themselves and their family during their reintegration. After observing what kind of information is provided during the PDOS, I think it is also important that the women besides cultural instructions, there are also saving plans and schemes provided during PDOS. Though the government offers cultural capital it is almost always linked with economic capital, government services assume that the skill enhancement programs will contribute and transform into economic capital. Most of the applications of the government programs are linked with economic capital; one has the feeling that the government agencies view reintegration as being able to develop economic capital. A substantial number of the women I have spoken with encountered several problems during their migration; their social network can play a significant role during counselling and psychosocial support. Actors who work for the government and the civil society emphasize that the government is lacking in offering a holistic reintegration approach, including the psychosocial aspects. What this means is that the government besides providing an economic and cultural capital development has to invest in establishing a social capital development program. However, there is some ambiguity in this, because when analysing what the women expect from the government, the women solely focus on economic capital (loan program). The fact that many of my informants are so focussed on the loan program can imply that most of the informants assume that the government could help them with developing their economic capital; less attention is paid to the cultural and social capital development assistance by the female returnees.

Most of the government programs emphasize starting-up a business. A lot of my informants want this. They emphasize that when they are their own boss, they would be able to provide better for their family. However, there are women who don't aspire to have their own business, hence; they're less eligible for the government services and less keen in applying for the programs. In general, the government has established a lot of policies and programs for returnees, however there is an information gap. Most of the informants didn't know about the programs, or were informed too late. Actors within the government acknowledge that there is an information gap. Most of the actors within the civil society try to fill the gap, by informing the women about the programs.

Civil society

There is a lot of NGO's and church based organizations which are active within the migration discourse. The services of the civil society are very scattered. Some focus on advocacy while others provide programs which assist with skills enhancement. Certain actors claim that most of civil society organizations have a more holistic implementation. However, I have observed that most of the programs that are provided by the civil society are focused on encouraging entrepreneurship and building up a business, thus emphasizing the opportunity to develop an economic capital. While most programs also provide the opportunity to develop cultural capital of the women, they do this so that the women can transform these skills into economic capital. Thus, almost all of the capitals are reduced to economic capital, and reintegration is probably always defined as developing an economic capital by most of the civil society actors. The poor economic conditions of the Philippines are continuously highlighted as the main reason for migration, by the majority of the actors within the civil society.

Some of the women I have spoken with are very critical about the implementation of the programs of civil society. They feel they are used to obtain subsidies and beneficiaries by the NGOs. Besides the lack of trust between some beneficiaries and some NGOs (I want to highlight this was not a big group), there is also a lack of trust between the civil society and the government. Most of the actors who work within the civil society and who I have spoken with are very critical about the government. They continuously highlighted; that the government is still pushing for overseas migration (the government actors deny this), that there is a lot of corruption within the government, and that the implementation of the government reintegration programs are lacking (for example the information gap). The NGOs are also not always trusted since there was a big national corruption scandal. This displays that there is tension between the two institutions, while they often work together; there is a lack of trust between them. This will have consequences on how services and assistance is provided to the women. Since they have a great influence on which reintegration programs the women will apply for, and how the women view the institutions.

Social network

For most of the women, their social network consists of their children, parents, siblings, nephew/ niece, friends, and their partner. The women I have spoken to, emphasize that they didn't migrate only to provide for themselves, but also to support their family. Supporting the family is a very significant aspect within the culture, in their upbringing it was always emphasized that family members have to help each other. Almost all of the women I have spoken with separated from their husbands when they migrated. All of my informants who worked in the entertainment business did receive financial support from their husbands/boyfriends for several years. Eventually for most of them this support ended when the men met another woman. Women who worked as a domestic worker had a different kind of setting; most of them worked longer abroad, then the women who worked as an entertainer. The women who migrated for a long time (most of them worked as a domestic worker) had also a weakened relationship with their children when they returned. Because of migration these women's social capital decreased, they had fewer actors to ask for help during their reintegration. This displays the social costs of a lengthy migration for mothers. The estrangement and apprehension of mothering prearranged by spatial distances should be underlined.

While most of the domestic workers are dealing with reconnecting with their children, the entertainers face other issues, namely, losing their partner and the adjustment issues of their children in the Philippines. For the informants, their family (parents, siblings, nephews, and nieces) gave them a moral support and an accommodation during their return. During various interviews and focus group discussions the women mentioned how they felt they were obliged to help their families, and how significant this was for them. They had an assigned role as a provider; especially the eldest sibling has to take care of the other siblings. Most of the informants highlighted throughout the research that their relatives didn't understand the hardship they faced during their migration, and didn't understand how difficult it was for them to earn the money. However, stating this there was some ambiguity in this, because though they felt the family didn't understand their hardship, they did feel proud in being able to provide for their family.

There are women who stay and contribute to the development of the society, even though they're not earning enough. However, this is not the average case for a returned domestic worker or entertainer. Most of them consider migrating again since they have a lot of

difficulties developing their economic capital during their reintegration; they feel obliged to help their family. What this displays is that for most of these women the three institutions; government, civil society, and their own social network, are not able to provide opportunities to develop their; economic capital to earn money, cultural capital to develop skills that could contribute to developing economic capital, or assistance with finding the right people who could help them out with financial independency. Although one has to be careful not to view these women as passive agents, their actions are the product of combination of the capital opportunities that is offered by the institutions and their own actions. For some migrants return is not viewed as the end phase, but just a phase in the circular movement. Therefore, they already planned out to migrate multiple times.

Most of the women want to support their family economically, but also assist their siblings or their children to develop their cultural skills. They want to contribute to the cultural capital of their social network, which they hope can transform into economic capital. The informants will sacrifice themselves for this cause. The informants continuously linked their migration experience with a sacrifice they have to undergo to support their family. For most of my informants to be able to develop their economic capital and cultural capital, to support their social network, is what reintegration comprises. Most expect during return, assistance with developing their economic capital, they also convey that cultural capital assistance that's provided during return by the institutions will transfer into economic capital, or vice versa, economic capital development will be transformed into cultural capital not only for themselves, but mostly for their siblings or their children. In this framework of reintegration, social and cultural capital that is offered during the return by the institutions is almost always linked with economic capital, thus economic policies and services.

As stated before these women work in sectors that don't offer the opportunities to develop skills that they can use throughout their reintegration. Therefore, they are not able to develop their cultural capital or able to transform other capitals into cultural capital. So when the women return, they have problems finding a "decent" job, since they worked for several years in sectors which are regarded as low skilled work. So when the women try to find work in Manila, they face lot of difficulties with finding a job that provides enough money, especially when the women compare the salary earned in Manila with the salary they earned abroad. So it is therefore not surprising that when the institutions are not able to provide sustainable economic capital opportunities during the reintegration they are planning to migrate again.

To sum it up the government provides mostly economic capital, and cultural capital opportunities. The civil society offers cultural, economic capital opportunities, but also assists with getting in touch with the people who can help the women if they face some issues, and are besides very active in advocacy. The social network often cannot provide economic capital opportunities. They mostly offer accommodation, emotional support, and inherited knowledge which the women can build upon.

Policy recommendations

I observed during my fieldwork few shortcomings about the kind of capital opportunities the women are offered by the government, civil society, and their own social network. That is why I have constructed a few policy recommendations, which can be helpful in creating an environment in which the women are proactively assisted during their reintegration.

The first recommendation is that in the case of the government, but also for some NGOs, one has to recognize that some programs should be geared to all returnees whereas others ought to be personalized for specific contexts. Most of the time policies are created for all returnees, while within this assembly there are various groups, who have various needs. For example, domestic workers migrate overseas for a long time; therefore there is a need for family reconnecting programs. While entertainers, face the problem of losing contact with their Japanese partner when they return to the Philippines, therefore there is a need for family reunification

The second recommendation is that the information about the government programs should be better distributed by the government. Perhaps during the PDOS, information about the reintegration programs should be provided. Info on economic tendencies, employments, and training opportunities ought to be a part of pre-departure seminars so that the women and their families can use this information to arrange and pursue realistic objectives.

Because of the feminization of labor migration, reintegration programs must comprise gender-sensitive requirements. Women are mainly limited to conventional female jobs, profession for which they find no occupation upon return. While there exist NGOs who target women, and though the government subsidies organization who target women. I did get the feeling that the some institutions forgot that they're different migration costs for women than for men.

Social reintegration support is utmost required for migrants who return due reason, such as exploitation or struggle at the employment site. During my fieldwork I encountered a great deal of women who were distressed returnees. Since my research took place in just 13 weeks it displays that this is a big group. Social reintegration support help has been offered mainly by the NGOs and migrant establishments, which appear to be more operational than government agencies in offering quality facilities. However, forming these services presented by NGOs in collaboration with the government, possibly even the government's authorization, would safeguard some accountability past the voluntary exertions of the civil society. Due to the victimization viewpoint of NGOs and the heroism viewpoint of the government, there is a huge gap on how the migrants are viewed and therefore it is sometimes problematic on how these two institutions collaborate, since they have different notions about migration.

I also have a critical note about application of the capital concept by academics. Most scholars underline the transfer of capital during the return migration, one has the feeling that scholars forget that within the international migration there a lot of actors who do unskilled work, and are not able to develop their capital. The concept capital is continually linked with transfer of capital; whereas it is also imperative to link the needs and opportunities of the returnees with specific capitals, by doing this the conceptual framework of reintegration can be more comprehensive

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8. Appendices

Overview of the female returnees

Name (altered names to protect my informants privacy)	Where they migrated to	Work Abroad	Work in Manila	Age	Migrated
Emma	Taiwan	Domestic work	Volunteer at a migrants organization	40	2
Rhonda	Singapore, Hong Kong	Domestic worker	Volunteer at a migration organization	60	2
Monica	Saudi-Arabia	Domestic worker	Plans to migrate again in about two weeks	24	2
Molly	Japan	Entertainer	Works as a sewer	45	2
Kate	Japan	Entertainer	Project manager of DAWN	47	2
Abby	Japan	Entertainer	Weaving	40	1
Nathalie	Japan	Entertainer	Weaving	40	3
Keira	Kuweit, Syria	Domestic worker	Volunteer for migrants organization	39	3
Rory	Saudi-Arabia	Domestic worker	Volunteer for migrants organization	39	1
Becky	Hong-Kong	Domestic worker	Lending business	44	1
Robyn	Hong-Kong	Domestic worker	Lending business	43	1
Lucy	Japan and UAE	Entertainer and domestic worker	Call center	43	2
Hope	UAE	Domestic worker	Her own shop	35	2
Kim	Syria	Domestic worker	Her own networking business.	25	1
Rosy		Domestic worker	Street vendor	44	2
Amber	Japan	Entertainer	Weaver	48	2
Angel	Japan	Entertainer	Caretaker	46	2
Candice	Japan	Entertainer	Street vendor	45	2
Adriana	Japan	Entertainer	Caretaker	45	3

Semi-structured interview questions

Migration

- Do you have an education degree?
- When did you migrate?
- Where did you migrate?
- When did you decide to come back?
- Why did you decide to come back?

Return migration

- How did you experience your return migration?
- What kind of needs did you have when freshly migrated back?
- What kind of needs do you have now?
- Which issues did you face when you came back?
- What was your financial situation after return?
- What was your social situation after return?
- Do you have a job, if so how did you find your job?
 - o What do you do besides working?

Services of the government/civil society

- What kind of services did you use when you came back?
 - o Why did you use these services?
 - o What kind of expectations did you have from these agencies?
 - o How did you get in touch with these services?
 - o How did these agencies help you?
 - o How do you evaluate these services?
 - o Did you acquire any skills or education because of the help of these agencies?

Social network

- What is the composition of your household?
- Who helped you out with your adjustment?
 - o How did they help you?
- What kind of expectations did you have from your family and friends?
- How important are your friends?
- How important is your family?