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## Introduction

### Will Turning Transnational Foster Development in the Philippines?

Maruja M. B. Asis and Fabio Baggio  
Scalabrini Migration Center

2007 was a banner year for the Philippines. For the first time in thirty-one years, the country posted an impressive growth rate of 7.3 percent driven by strong private consumption and a surge in investments (SE-PO, 2007; ADB, 2008). In the same year, a little over a million overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) left the country to work abroad, the second year in a row in which the government met its one-million annual deployment target. Remittance receipts of US\$14.4 billion were another cause for celebration.

These milestones and their implications for the country's future were the subject of a conference, "Turning Transnational? International Migration and Development Prospects in the Philippines," held in Manila on 19-20 November 2007.<sup>1</sup> The conference had a two-fold objective:

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<sup>1</sup> The conference was spearheaded by the Scalabrini Migration Center, with the support and cooperation of the Foundation for Population, Migration and Environment, the Ayala Foundation Inc., the Commission on Filipinos Overseas, the Asian Institute of Management, the International Organization for Migration, the National Economic Development Authority and the Philippine Institute for Development Studies.

to examine how international migration and development impact each other, and to involve stakeholders in the fields of international migration and development in this assessment.<sup>2</sup> Resource persons from Mexico, another primary emigration country, shared Mexico's experience and provided insights for comparative purposes. By bringing together stakeholders in the fields of international migration and development, the conference stimulated a thoughtful assessment of international migration *and* development. Although there is a general appreciation of the links between international migration and development, the "and" part has yet to be thoroughly probed.

When the government launched the overseas program in the 1970s, it was intended as a temporary measure to relieve domestic unemployment and balance-of-payments problems. Framed as such, the recourse to international labor migration hinted at failure of development. The current policy regarding overseas employment no longer sees it as temporary and frames it instead as part of globalization and as a developmental strategy. The current policy is essentially an acknowledgment of the structural role international labor migration plays in the Philippine economy. In reference to the international migration-development nexus, the policy then and now views international migration as the independent variable and development as the dependent variable; in other words, international migration is expected to have an impact on development. The nexus, however, also implies that development can be the independent variable and international migration as the dependent variable. This alternative approach redirects the spotlight to development as the primary goal towards which concerted efforts by the state and other stakeholders must focus on.

The conference sought to fill the missing links between international migration and development. Despite almost four decades of large-scale international migration, migration realities have not been mainstreamed in development policies. Similarly, international migration policies have not been mindful of the opportunities and risks they imply for the country's development. Thus far, the links between international migration and development implied by current policies have not gone beyond deployment and remittances. The success of the Philippines in marrying the promotion of labor migration and workers'

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<sup>2</sup> The global discussion on migration and development is mostly about international migration. It will be fruitful to consider the issues of remittances, migrants' rights, social costs, among others, in relation to internal migration in the near future.

protection has been hailed as a model of migration management. The question is: has this model of migration management contributed to sustainable development in the Philippines?

The specter of further migration also raises concerns. External factors (emigration pressures because of the uneven impacts of globalization, pull factors due to the aging populations of developed economies, and facilitative factors or greater connectivity made possible by fast and cheaper communication and travel); domestic factors (persistent unemployment, low wages); and the government's target to send a million workers every year – specifically more highly skilled workers – imply the continuation of the migration saga that started in the 1970s and the Philippines being typecast (and complacent) as a supplier of workers for the world (Asis, 2008). The question is: will more international migration contribute to sustainable development in the Philippines?

Based on the contributions in this volume, the role of international migration in Philippine development (national, local and human) has been mixed. The 8.7 million-strong Filipino diaspora, unabated migration, the links between Filipinos abroad and those at home, and the remittance transfer of billions of dollars to the Philippines, among others, reflect the transnational dimensions of the nation's social landscape. But without a coherent, coordinated and clear development policy, the opportunities generated by the country's transnational connections may be lost, and the threats they engender, if left unchecked, can reverse the country's development prospects. Some details from the series of roundtable discussions and the conference proceedings are presented below to highlight how the international migration-development is assessed in the Philippine context.

## **Notes from the Roundtable Discussions**

Eight roundtable discussions (RTDs) were carried out with stakeholders representing various clusters; the consultations were conducted between August and October 2007 (Table 1). The RTDs sought to determine the following: views and perceptions concerning the role of international migration on the development prospects of the Philippines; views, perceptions and experiences in cooperating with overseas Filipino communities; and the role that stakeholders envision their organization play (or will play) in policies or programs in the area of international migration and development. The guide questions were

provided to the participants before the consultations so that they could prepare beforehand.

TABLE 1  
ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSIONS BY CLUSTER AND PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS

<b>Cluster/Convener</b>	<b>Participating Institutions</b>
Migration-related agencies (Scalabrini Migration Center and the Commission on Filipinos Overseas)	Overseas Workers Welfare Administration, Philippine Overseas Employment Administration
Human resource development agencies (Commission on Filipinos Overseas)	Commission on Higher Education, Professional Regulation Commission Technical Education and Skills Authority, Technology Resource Center
National development agencies (National Economic Development Authority)	Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas, Commission on Population, Department of Finance, Department of Health, Department of Trade and Industry, Philippine Retirement Authority
Local development agencies (Scalabrini Migration Center)	Cooperative Development Authority, League of the Provinces of the Philippines, UP National College of Public Administration
Migration-oriented NGOs (Scalabrini Migration Center)	Center for Migrant Advocacy, Development Action for Women Network, Episcopal Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, Migrant Forum in Asia, Unlad Kabayan
International organizations (International Organization for Migration)	International Labour Organization, United Nations Development Program, United Nations Fund for Population, World Bank (GTZ, observer)
Foundations/business (Asian Institute of Management Policy Center)	Ayala Foundation, Inc., Makati Businessmen's Club, Philippine Business for Social Progress
Recruitment agencies (Scalabrini Migration Center)	Representatives of three land-based agencies and one manning agency

Remittances were the most recognized contribution of international migration to the country, but doubts were raised about the real impact of remittances on household welfare and there were gnawing suspicions that the country has become dependent on money transfers from abroad. In general, national government agencies tended to have a more positive assessment of the country's development prospects, citing the upturn in economic indicators. There was a consensus that generating domestic unemployment is the foremost development challenge facing the country. Governance, corruption, lack of leadership and vision cited as obstacles to the road to development.

Migration agencies acknowledged that many steps must be undertaken to ensure better welfare and protection of OFWs. One major difficult was that the government does not have full control over this issue because host countries have their own laws. The target setting was defended as a reflection of the demands of the labor market. Furthermore, the target setting did not mean that workers' welfare will be sacrificed. The Department of Labor and Employment is setting its sights on quality markets. Also, the launch of the reform package in the hiring of household workers (which, among others, increased the monthly minimum wage from US\$200 to US\$400) was a major step to improve the working conditions of migrant workers. It was also acknowledged that labor migration policies should be integrated with development policies. The Korean model – which exported not only labor but also their product and technology – was mentioned as an example of labor export with development strategy. The incorporation of development cooperation in negotiations with destination countries was a proposal that received approval; this has been started with the memorandum of agreement signed with some provinces in Canada.

The consultation with the human resource development agencies cluster provided an opportunity to the participants to learn about the programs of other agencies. The Commission on Higher Education (CHED) has imposed a moratorium on the opening of new programs in nursing and maritime education. CHED's program called Expanded Tertiary Education Equivalency and Accreditation Program (ETEEAP) can be of interest to returning OFWs who had not completed a college degree. The program recognizes certified experiences of persons (including OFWs) which may be credited towards a degree. The Technology Resource Center (TRC) does not have a specific program targeting OFWs; previously it partnered with OWWA in the "Kabuhayan 2000," but this was not sustained. TRC has been invited by some Filipino

groups abroad to provide their members with livelihood training. The transfer of the TRC to the Department of Science and Technology (DOST) may enable it to provide training in the regions through DOST offices. The TRC's experience in cooperating with local government units helped in reaching a larger audience for its livelihood and business training programs. TRC suggested that a subject on entrepreneurship be included in the curriculum to introduce students to options outside of paid employment.

Based on economic indicators in 2006 (which were available at the time of the RTDs in 2007), the National Economic Development Authority was upbeat about the economic prospects of the country. The main reason for its optimism derived from the following indicators: "a much improved fiscal position,<sup>3</sup> inflation rate is on downward trend despite oil price volatility, low market interest rate environment with bank lending starting to pick up, a healthy external position, and a stronger peso and a substantial level of foreign exchange reserves."<sup>4</sup> Although macroeconomic fundamentals are in place, the challenge is how to sustain the favorable economic performance. Among the development challenges that the country continues to wrestle with are the need to improve governance, curb the high growth rate, and improve the performance of the agricultural sector. The development picture at the sub-national level indicates regional disparities. With the devolution of basic social services to the local government units, local government units need to practice greater fiscal discipline.

The Department of Health (DOH) shared that nurse migration has had an impact on health delivery. Also, the demand for nurses abroad has dampened the interest in physician training; the nurse medic phenomenon (i.e., doctors studying to become nurses) has also lessened the supply of medical doctors. The DOH and the Philippine Charities Sweepstakes Office jointly implement the "Pinoy M.D. Program," which funds 100 students in the medical program, but only 50 places are filled every year. As far as the supply of nurses is concerned, there is sufficient supply; what is at risk of shortage is the supply of experienced nurses. The DOH formulated a Human Resource for Health

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<sup>3</sup> According to the NEDA report, the country's balance of payments (BOP) started to post a surplus in 2005. At the time of the RTD, the US\$3.8 billion surplus in 2006 was the highest level of BOP surplus since 1999, the year when the BSP adopted a new framework for the BOP compilation. Remittances were a factor in driving the surplus.

<sup>4</sup> From a report prepared by NEDA for the RTD.

Master Plan, a 25-year plan to support management and development of human resources in the health sector. This Master Plan can be a useful reference in the formulation of a similar instrument for other sectors. The DOH calls for managing the migration of health personnel, the elements of which should include ethical recruitment, protection of migrants, and compensation by way of training and equipment support. More efforts are needed to facilitate the re-entry of health professionals and to tap their experience and expertise. The reintegration program thus far emphasizes the re-entry of health professional as entrepreneurs.

The Commission on Population cited the economic contributions of OFWs as a factor contributing to the country's development prospects; it also saw overseas employment as a means for Filipino families to improve their economic conditions. Owing to the country's high population growth rate (2.3 percent), the government is hard pressed to provide employment opportunities and to meet basic services. The lack of local employment opportunities compel Filipinos to work abroad, with painful social consequences. Reintegration programs, policies concerning skilled migration, and policies concerning permanent migrants can be elaborated further to maximize their development potentials.

The Department of Trade and Industry-Board of Investments (DTI-BOI) shared NEDA's optimistic outlook about the development prospects of the Philippines. As the country's lead investment promotions agency, the BOI identified investments in retirement facilities and healthcare and wellness services among the 2007 Investment Priorities Plan, which was approved by President Arroyo in June 2007. These two areas took into account the increasing number of retirees in countries such as Japan and South Korea and the country's competitive advantage in the services sector. The OFW sector was identified in the DTI's Roadmap for 2005-2007 "as a trade promotion agent, channel of distribution, source of capital, network of business intelligence, and as a market for Philippine products." For returning OFWs, the DTI has developed the Small and Medium Enterprise Agenda for OFWs which provides information on business and investment opportunities in the Philippines.<sup>5</sup>

The *Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas* is the main agency monitoring remittance transfers arising from the cross-border movements of Filipi-

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<sup>5</sup> From a report prepared by the DTI-BOI for the RTD.

nos. Between 1996 and 2006, the share of remittances as a percent of GDP jumped two-fold from 5.2 percent to 11 percent. To improve the remittance environment, the BSP has endeavored to: facilitate the flow of remittances through formal channels, encourage the banks to lower remittance charges, and encourage the beneficiaries to channel their savings to investment instruments and entrepreneurial activities. The BSP forecast that "remittances will continue to be a significant force in the Philippine economy over the medium term."<sup>6</sup>

The mandate of the Philippine Retirement Authority (PRA) is to promote the country as a retirement destination targeting former Filipinos and foreign nationals. While other Asian countries, such as Thailand and Malaysia, offer Long-Stay Program, which is usually for three years, the PRA's offer is lifetime stay in the country. The agency has proposed a brain gain program, wherein, for a minimum investment of US\$15,000 returning retirees may avail of a special lifetime visa. The PRA has signed a Memorandum of Agreement with the National Reintegration Center for OFWs to cooperate on some programs.

In the RTD with local government agencies, lack of resources was mentioned as a foremost obstacle in promoting development. The provinces have developed on their own, except in the area of health, which local governments cannot adequately fund. Bohol was mentioned as having an initiative to link with overseas Filipinos. Examples of provinces with programs dealing with labor migration were not known.

The challenge of reintegration was a major concern in the consultation with the migration-oriented NGOs. They were not clear about the programs and thrusts of the National Reintegration Center for OFWs. Participants lamented the lack of mechanisms to harness the skills and expertise migrants bring with them which can benefit the country. Some NGOs engaged in reintegration programs commented on the lack of government support for product development; also missing are incentives that would encourage migrant workers to invest. The government should strengthen a number of sectors where the Philippines could have an advantage – information and communication technology, health and wellness, creative media, education and tourism. The full potentials of these alternatives have not been explored; they perceived the government as aggressively pursuing labor migration. They saw nurse migration as having an adverse impact on health delivery.

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<sup>6</sup> From a report prepared by the BSP for the RTD.

They recommended that there should be a regular forum to thresh out migration and development issues.

The issue of brain drain was a major concern that came out in the consultation with the international organizations (this also surfaced in the RTD with foundations and business). Several organizations mentioned that the retention of the highly skilled and professionals (not just nurses and health personnel) was critical for the development of the Philippines; they also stressed the need to identify measures that will transform brain drain into brain gain. The pursuit of a rights-based approach to protect the rights of migrants in less-skilled occupations was critical. They lauded the recent efforts of the Philippines to elevate the minimum conditions in the hiring of household workers. They noted that unchecked population growth was posing an obstacle in the country's development, especially in the arena of jobs generation. For them, urgent steps to address population growth had to be undertaken. The country can hardly keep up with the growth in the labor force population, despite the relief offered by overseas employment. One recommendation from the RTD with foundations and business was the formation of a research advisory group that will engage with government agencies to contribute in policymaking.

The recruitment sector was very skeptical about the development prospects of the country. From their perspective, overseas employment was the lone bright spot for the country's development prospects. One participant remarked that the recruitment agencies were not just in the business of recruiting and placing workers with employers; rather they were "wealth creators." Participants said that the government was not serious in its reintegration programs. Several participants shared examples of working with migrants and their families, which revealed the practice of social responsibility of the recruitment sector.

## Notes from the Conference

The keynote address of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, which was read on her behalf by Labor Secretary Arturo Brion, underscored the government's aspiration to achieve development and to spread its benefits to create jobs for Filipinos within the Philippines. Development will usher in overseas employment as a career option rather an imperative. Her message also touched on the need to prepare for the return of OFWs. She envisions the recently established National Reintegration Center for OFWs as an instrument to close the migration cycle by offer-

ing programs that will promote brain gain and enhance the earning capabilities of returning migrants. She also cited the bilateral negotiation with Saskatchewan which included cooperation for youth training in the Philippines; similar provisions are expected in the negotiations with Manitoba, British Columbia and the federal government of Canada.

The presentations and discussions during the two-day conference identified key messages from which recommendations can be culled for enhancing the contributions of international migration to development.

### *Key Issues*

Although macro indicators in recent years suggest economic growth, unemployment is still a primary development challenge in the Philippines in general, and a major driver of overseas employment. The unemployment problem has several facets. The economic growth the country has experienced has been a jobless growth. Another consideration is high population growth - although jobs may be generated, these are not sufficient to keep up with the growth of the labor force: every year, some 1.3 million job seekers are added to the labor market. The Philippines' two percent growth rate (2.3 percent in some reports) is among the highest in Asia, and the highest among labor-sending countries.<sup>7</sup> Against this demographic backdrop, the deployment of Filipino workers does not make a significant dent in unemployment (also, a large part of annual deployment involves rehires). Another facet of the unemployment challenge is the problem of jobs-skills mismatch. There is a demand for workers in certain jobs and industries, but jobseekers are not equipped with the requisite competencies. In view of these factors, overseas employment has become the preferred if not the only option for many Filipinos. While the government does have the duty to uphold the right to migrate, above all, it should be committed to ensuring the right of people to stay and/or to return.

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<sup>7</sup> The Philippines' annual growth rate of 2.0 percent (same as Nepal's) is also the highest compared to other labor-sending countries in Asia: Indonesia, 1.2 percent; Thailand, 0.5 percent; Vietnam, 1.4 percent; Bangladesh, 1.7 percent; India, 1.5 percent; Pakistan, 1.8; Sri Lanka, 1.1 percent (ESCAP, 2007).

Governance problems, both at the national and local levels, were identified as obstacles to moving forward. Corruption, inefficiency, and lack of will were mentioned as particularly problematic areas.

International migration realities have implications for development which must be integrated and mainstreamed in the development policies and programs of the national government and local governments. Conversely, international migration policies need to consider the development implications of international migration patterns and policies.

International migration can contribute to development, *but* the development potentials of international migration are not automatic or inevitable. Lessons from former emigration countries and data from the experiences of sending countries that are known to benefit from international migration show that other policies and programs were in place, which triggered and sustained economic growth and development. The more successful countries did not develop based on remittances alone, or in relying on sending their nationals to work overseas.

International migration can pose some risks and threats which can derail the development prospects of the Philippines.

- In view of the increasing share of skilled and professional Filipinos leaving for overseas employment, the possibility of brain drain was raised anew. There are indications that the out-migration of nurses is adversely affecting the health care system in the Philippines. While there is enough supply of nurses in the country, there is a shortage of nurses with specialization and experience. With an eye on jobs abroad, the Philippines is becoming a “halfway house” for many nurses who accumulate enough work experience to help them land a job abroad.
- Continuing and more prospects of international migration from the Philippines may have implications for the country’s stock of human resources. Current trends in post-secondary education suggest that the Philippines’ future human resource pool may be skewed in favor of certain skills and coupled with severe shortage in other skill areas. For example, the country has some 550,000 registered seafarers, of whom some 300,000 are unemployed. Enrollment in nursing programs has soared in view of job prospects overseas. The career planning of Filipinos has become attuned to the needs of the global labor mar-

ket, and educational institutions have readily responded to support career-cum-migration intentions. Industry studies are needed to map out current and future needs vis-à-vis current and future supply of skills.<sup>8</sup>

- The government's plan to deploy more highly skilled and professional migrants, which is posited as less risky and as a source of brain gain, needs further study. The needs of the domestic labor market must not be neglected. Aside from experienced and trained nurses, the country is losing other highly skilled people, including managers. The optimism that brain drain may be transformed into brain gain must be tempered. Since highly skilled and professional migrants are offered residence (and citizenship) by receiving countries, the Philippines may "lose" them altogether. Drawing on lessons from other countries, it is sounder to go for interventions that will retain the highly skilled; it is more difficult to attract them back and to return to the Philippines permanently.

International migration carries social costs, particularly for migrants (especially for women migrants who are concentrated in unprotected sectors) and their families. This consideration should not be left out in the analysis of the international migration-development nexus, and the protection and promotion of migrants' rights should be an essential part of the country's international migration policy.

Remittances have become an important pillar of the Philippine economy. The contributions of remittances to the country's macroeconomic stability are acknowledged by all stakeholders. Strides have been made in increasing the use of formal channels and in lowering transaction costs. There are concerns about the use of remittances for non-productive purposes and financial literacy programs have been launched by various government organizations and NGOs to promote the productive use of remittances. These information/education programs directed at families must be matched by policies and programs that will maximize the benefits of remittances to the larger community.

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<sup>8</sup> The 2006 National Employment Summit identified current and future demand for jobs in selected sectors. The top three are in agribusiness, ICT and hotel/restaurant (from the report prepared by the Technical Education Skills Development Authority for the RTD).

Concerns were raised about moral hazards and the Dutch disease, which must be addressed.

Although they are not as widely documented, other remittances (collective remittances, social remittances) from overseas Filipinos are contributing to social programs in the Philippines in partnership with local institutions (government agencies, NGOs, and migrants' associations). Mexico's experience in engaging with its diaspora population offers some important lessons for the Philippines.

In the area of migration-related policy directions, some recent trends appear promising:

- The refocus on reintegration must be sustained and fine-tuned to make return migration a real choice and option for migrants. Previous reintegration programs were focused on turning migrants to become entrepreneurs. Other alternatives should be examined, such as how the skills and knowledge of returning migrants can be harnessed in the domestic labor market.
- Measures to enhance evidence-based policy directions have been taken to address nurse migration. The Department of Health has undertaken/plans the following: the development of the Human Resources for Health (HRH) Master Plan, the formation of a multi-agency/intra-sectoral HRH Network, and the conduct of the HRH stock survey nationwide. Similar efforts may be useful in assessing the migration of other highly skilled and professional migrants in other sectors.
- The incorporation of development in bilateral negotiations with Canada presents an added value to the usual bilateral agreements or memoranda of understanding.<sup>9</sup>

There is a need to expand the country's international migration policy to consider the various types of international migrants *from* the

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<sup>9</sup> In the reaction of POEA Administrator Rosalinda Baldoz (the statement was read on her behalf by Hans Leo Caddac) to the presentation of Federico Macaranas Jr., she said that provisions concerning human resource development and reintegration programs in have been incorporated in recent bilateral negotiations with Canada (e.g., the 2006 memorandum of understanding with Saskatchewan includes cooperation for youth training). POEA is also encouraging employers and the private sector to contribute to development-oriented programs.

Philippines. The overseas Filipino population is not solely composed of OFWs; it also includes other temporary migrants as well as immigrants and permanent settlers. Also, the opportunities and threats attendant to international migration *to* the Philippines require further study.

The directions and thrusts mentioned above require data and research. There is need to mainstream research in policy/advocacy-making: the creation of a research council or a regular forum between these stakeholders is proposed to enhance the use of research in policymaking and advocacy.

The answer to the question posed by the title is: the country's transnational connections can foster development, but this will not be automatic. The employment opportunities, money transfers, and social remittances from international migration cannot substitute for sound, coherent development policies.

## **Organization of the Book**

The preceding discussions also serve as an introduction to the topics and themes of the articles included in this volume. The contributions were either presented at the conference or were elaborated based on issues that surfaced in the conference discussions. In all, the articles offer readings of the international migration-development nexus in the Philippines through the lens of research, policy, and advocacy and action.

The articles by Aniceto C. Orbeta, Jr., Michael M. Alba and Maruja M.B. Asis examine the economic and social impacts of international migration and development based on existing research. Orbeta and Alba both tackle the much-discussed topic of remittances – the former reviews the methodological issues of extant research on remittances and their bearing on empirical evidence and analysis while the latter closely reviews the different motives behind remittance behavior. Both emphasize the need for modeling specification, which require more data, in order to craft well-calibrated policies. Asis offers a summary of research findings on the social dimensions of international migration which have implications for the pursuit of development goals; her article also outlines data challenges and international migration-development issues which need further study.

The policy paper by Fabio Baggio notes that there seems to be more disconnect rather than nexus in the formulation of international migration policies and development policies in the country. A plea for policy

coherence and more coordination and engagement among the different stakeholders is sounded off as a way to move forward. The contribution of Fernando T. Aldaba and Jeremaiah M. Opiniano elaborates on various policy options to maximize the realization of development potentials from the country's international migration experience. Golda Myra R. Roma's article on the Commission on Filipinos Overseas' initiative to harness resources from overseas Filipinos to support development projects in the country demonstrates the potential role that transnational communities can play in the home country.

The international migration and development agenda has thrust migration-oriented NGOs, which were and continue to be identified with the rights agenda, into a new arena which requires engagement with new actors and new competencies. The articles by Ildefonso F. Bagasao and Estrella "Mai" Dizon-Añonuevo deal with these issues.

The accounts by Charito Basa, John Richard Simon Alayon and Leila Rispens-Noel provide further examples of the transnationalization of the Filipino value of *bayanihan*. All three articles provide a view of migrant giving by overseas Filipinos in different contexts: Alayon writes about the Filipinos in New Zealand; Basa discusses the Filipino community in Italy; and Rispens-Noel tells of the virtual or cyber community of town-mates scattered in different parts of the world. All three articles also point to the challenges of planning, implementing and monitoring projects involving transnational actors.

The final two articles are contributions dealing with the Mexican experience. The Philippines and Mexico share some similarities – both are the top countries of origin and they are also among the largest recipients of remittances – but they also differ in some respects (Castles, 2008). The article by Raúl Delgado Wise and Humberto Márquez Covarrubias discusses the precariousness and dangers of a remittance-led development. Rodolfo García Zamora's analysis of hometown associations and the evolution of partnership between migrants' associations and government institutions (and recently, also the private sector) also provides instructive notes for the Philippines. We hope to continue the sharing of experiences and forging of cooperation among South countries to develop new modes of analysis and perspectives and to build cooperation based on genuine partnership.

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