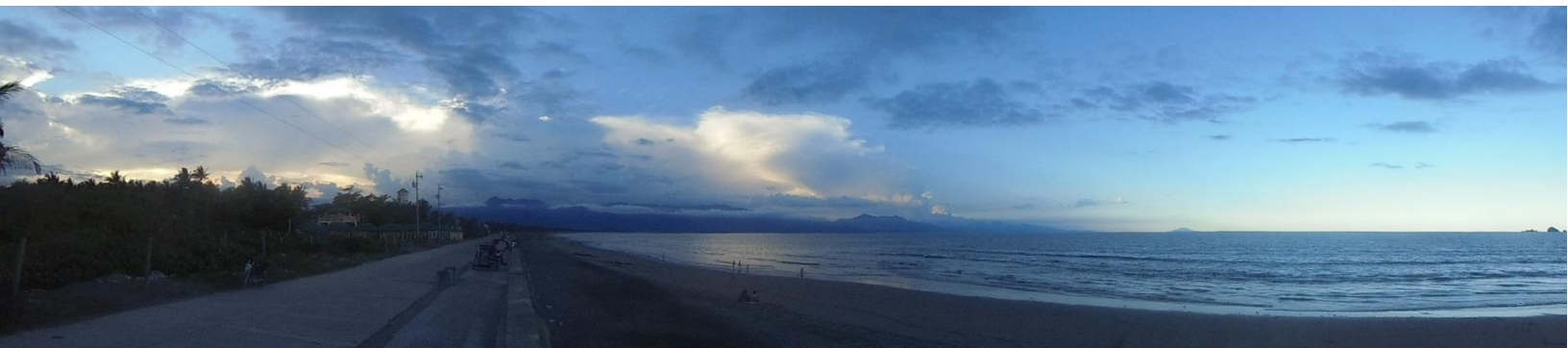




Development Aid and the Aspiration to Migrate in the Philippines

A new perception on the horizon



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Preface

Creating a research to conclude the Master programme of Human Geography is an interesting and challenging process. It was my chance to practice the things I have learned in the past years by doing a research abroad. The chance to go abroad and experience a new culture and meet new interesting people with their own personal story is something I am grateful for. With this research I have made the story of development aid and the influence on people's perception and aspiration visible. This research helps the ongoing discussion of what influence development aid can have on a country. This project has been made possible by the support of the Radboud University and especially with the help of supervisor Joris Schapendonk. Thank you for the support! And of course I would like to thank family and friends for always supporting me. But most important the support I received from the people in the Philippines. Thank you Commission on the Filipinos Overseas for being a terrific place to have an internship, thank you municipality of Baler for supporting me while searching respondents for my research and thank you all the people I met in the Philippines, this project is also realized because of you!

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1. Introduction

1.1 Framework

Migration is a process that is strongly interlinked with the lives of people. For centuries people have moved from one place to the other for various reasons. Moving from one place to another frequently concerned a developmental process. Development in one area and the lack of such in another could provide migration patterns. This connection of development with migration has always been a point of discussion (de Haas, 2008). My research focuses on this relationship, and contribute to the continuing discussion of the relationship between migration and development. By doing so, the themes 'aspiration to migrate', 'perception' and 'development' are connected.

The theme 'aspiration to migrate' plays a central role in this research. The aspiration to migrate expresses the interest someone has to migrate. How much interest a person has to migrate can be influenced by several factors. According to the works of Jørgen Carling, these factors can include social, economic, political and cultural aspects (Carling, 2002). All these aspects are visible in any country and in any place, only the level of influence they have on the aspiration of a person can differ. Hence the aspiration to migrate can be seen as a dynamic and complex process which is dependent on place, person and the above mentioned factors.

The interest people have to migrate is also based upon which perception people have of places. The perception people have of places can be visualized in a 'mental map'.

"The term mental map has been introduced as the representation of a person's, or group's, preference for different parts of the world and is an example of one approach that uses the mapping paradigm for the examination of our internal understanding of the world in which we live (our cognitive map)" (Bell, 2009).

This 'mental map' can create a perception of countries as the United States and Canada as places of great prosperity for example. A perception based upon the internal understanding of the world we live in (Bell, 2009). According to Carling (2002) this mental map can be influenced by several factors, whereby foreign policy is one of the factors that can be of influence. One way foreign policy has influence is by the means of development aid. Development aid can have several goals, the development aid of the European Union for instance has a special focus on employment issues, demographic developments and governance to address the root causes of migration (European Commission, 2013). Hence the foreign policy of countries can use development aid to influence the 'mental map' of people and by doing so influence the aspiration to migrate. This shows the important link foreign policy of countries has with the aspiration to migrate and development. What the policy's influence is on development aid and subsequently the influence on the aspiration of people to migrate is important to understand.

This directly shows the importance of the third theme 'development'. This theme concerns itself with the influence development aid can have on the lives of people. As development aid is one of the

tools by foreign policy to influence the perception and aspiration to migrate my research focuses on this type of development.

To connect these themes a research area has been selected where the three themes are present in everyday life and where people are likely to be influenced by these factors. Hence the area of research is located in the Philippines.

The Philippines is a country with influences from Western and Asian culture. In the past it has been colonized by Spain and later on by the United States of America. It is also a country which adapted the English language broadly and where the Catholic religion is the main religion. The Philippines is a country located in the southeast of Asia and consists of 7,107 islands which are characterized into three main geographical divisions: Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. The capital city of the Philippines is Manila. The Philippines has a population of over 99 million (Commission on Population, 2013) whereby the largest number of people live in Metro-Manila, an agglomeration of cities which form a dense connected network. The population of the Philippines has shown a great growth in recent years. In 1970 the population consisted of 36.7 million people, 40 years later this number has almost tripled. The median age remains to be rather young: In 2010 the median age was 23 years old. The working age population consists of approximately 57 million people. Concerning migration, the Philippines shows to be a country which culture and policy are strongly interlinked with migration. Many scholars say that especially beginning the 1970's the Filipino government started with seeing labor export as a development strategy (Lindio-McGovern, 2004; Yang, 2004; O'Neil, 2004). These characteristics of being a 'migration country' make it a suitable and important country to conduct my research on. To conduct my research I focused on a single development aid project in the Philippines. This project is located in the city of Baler, Aurora: The 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project'.

The 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' is one of the many development aid projects in the Philippines. It is a project funded by Filipinos overseas partly living in Hawaii with the goal to improve the lives of people in Baler. As each development aid project has its own targets it wants to meet, it is interesting to see what those targets are and with what means those targets are constructed. Because development aid can have a direct effect on social, economic, cultural and political factors. But aside of the direct effect also an indirect effect can occur: Particularly how development aid can contribute to a 'mental map' of a 'development aid providing country' which then can generate an aspiration for people to migrate. Connecting the themes of 'development', 'perception', and 'aspiration to migrate'. This shows my main point of research where the goals of development aid providing countries are examined while looking at the effects it has on people's lives and their perception and aspiration. It gives a new view on the aspiration to migrate, the role development aid has in this process and the way we look towards the relationship between migration and development.

1.2 Societal & Scientific Relevance

Migration is a subject that is relevant in current society. After the events of 9/11 several challenges originated which involved a new set of political and social uncertainties which previously did not play

a significant role. These uncertainties, such as terrorism, spread of diseases (e.g. SARS) and the impact of climate change on refugees, introduced a new dimension of debate about migration policy. This has contributed to often extreme populist debates about migratory movements and provided support to people which considered international population mobility an area which could have negative effects on national and international security (Inglis, 2007). New ideas about how we should look towards migration are developed and new policies are made. But this policy is mainly focused on how it can play a central role in migration and give more control on migration. By doing so the matter of how development aid is perceived in a developing country and the consequences is not the primary focus of this policy: Not much attention is paid to the side-effect of the policy. Still, some research has been done by the European Union regarding this topic. Under the name of 'Eumagine' research is realized in seven countries. The projects "specifically explore how perceptions of human rights and democracy affect migration aspirations" (Eumagine, 2013). This project uses the perception of people living in Europe to see if they have an aspiration to migrate. However, the direct connection between development aid and perception and aspiration has not been made. This project focuses solely on the perception of human rights and democracy rather than trying to discover the perception of countries and migration. My project can contribute to the understanding of the perception of people towards countries and the aspiration to migrate. In case of the Philippines it is very interesting because this country is focused on migration and looking abroad for possibilities. How Europe and other countries are perceived because of the foreign policy of those countries would be interesting to understand.

The scientific relevance of my research focuses on the continuing discussion that has taken place the past decades. The relationship between development and migration has always been a subject of discussion and the views differentiated between seeing a positive relationship or a negative relationship. Researchers see the benefits development can have for reducing migration but there are also scholars that think that development not necessarily contributes to the reducing of migration and that migration has a positive influence on development in general (Papademetriou, 1985). Although in the years there have been several researches, no decisive agreement has been made on this relationship. My research can contribute to this discussion by focusing on the importance of aspiration. The aspiration to migrate which is based on a diverse amount of factors is interesting to understand. The aspects of this aspiration to migrate brings a new dimension of discussion in the scientific debate of the relationship between migration and development. Another ongoing discussion is the influence socio-cultural factors have on migration dynamics (Jónsson, 2008). Massey (1998) argues that research on migration traditionally has been inspired by the neo-classical economics approach, which has led that research mainly have been focused on economic disparities. Especially when having a context of migration in developing countries, which often have unpredictable economic markets and structural constraints on migration, this type of research becomes problematic (de Haas, 2008; Carling, 2002). By focusing my research on which influence the socio-cultural factors have on migration, this shows the relevance of other factors than an only economic approach. The contribution of social factors brings us to the importance of aspiration. The 'livelihood perspective' of Olwig and Sørensen (2002) shows the importance of migration aspirations and immobility in a society. The importance of the aspiration to migrate lies in the distinction that has frequently been made of migration and non-migration. The aspiration to

migrate shows the more complex nature of migration. Carling (2002) shows the possibility of wanting to migrate but not being able to do so next to the distinction of migration and non-migration. Because the aspiration to migrate shows the importance of social and cultural factors and makes the distinction of wanting to migrate and not being able makes this view on migration scientifically very important. Jørgen Carling has shown a new perspective on migration which is a great addition on previous research on migration. By focusing this research on migration while using the perspectives of Carling important information about migration dynamics is obtained.

1.3 Objective

The objective for my research is to *gain knowledge about the relationship between development aid and the aspiration to migrate to a country in order to contribute to conceptual and policy debates on the relation between migration and development*. Particularly how development aid contributes to the perception of certain countries which influences the aspiration to migrate is the focus of my research.

1.4 Research Model

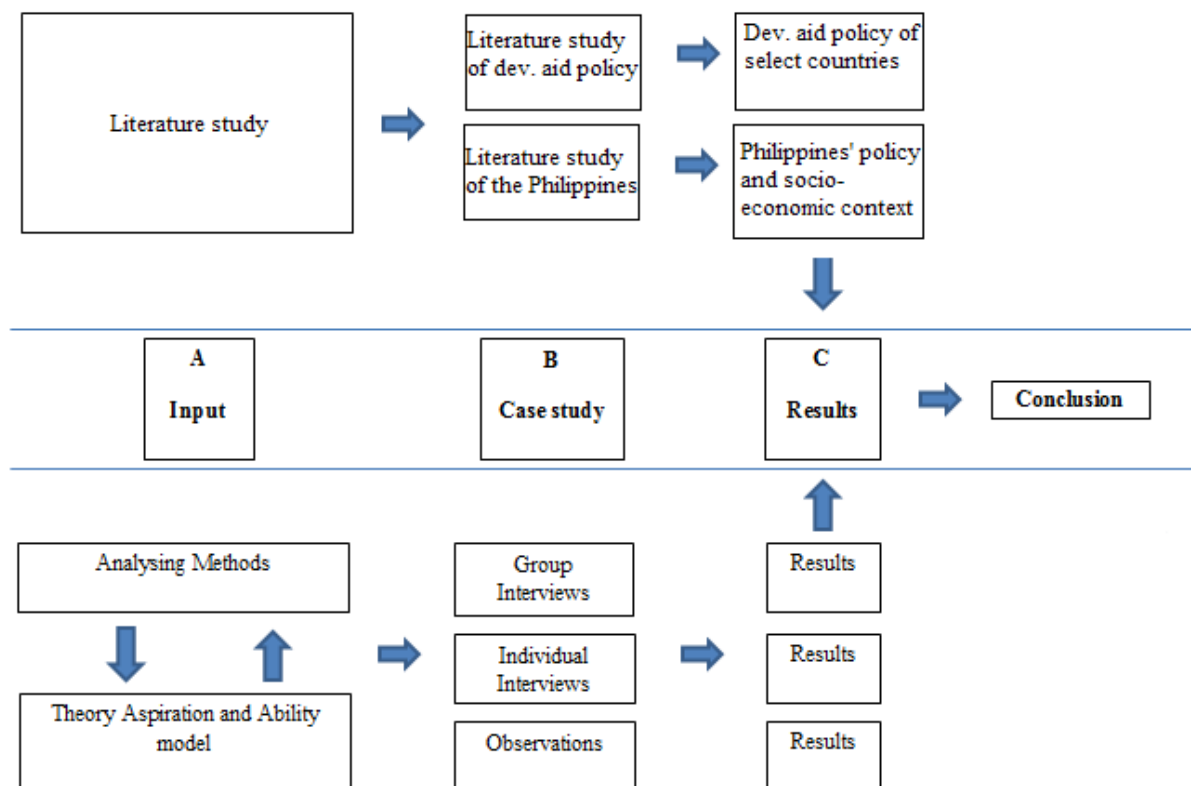


Figure 1. Research model.

The research model shows the two main parts of my research. The first part is a literature study and the second part is the use of the case study which focuses on the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project'. The literature study consists of the development aid policy of various popular Filipino receiving countries and a literature study of the socio economic context of the Philippines. With what means development aid is distributed by popular Filipino destination countries is answered in the first part of the literature study. The second part of the literature study examines the Philippines and the factors which are of influence on emigration in the Philippines including development aid. This provides a view on the national distributed development aid and on the factors which are of influence on migration on a national scale. Following this the case study examines the subject of development aid and the factors which are of influence on the emigration of Filipinos. Only now by looking on a local scale: The development aid project in Baler. For this case study an existing theory is used and tested by the use of individual and group interviews and an observation. The conclusion combines the results of the case study and the results of the literature study.

1.5 Research Questions

To conduct research on this subject I have divided my research in five questions: one main question and four sub-questions. The four sub questions together provide the information needed to answer the main question. My main question is: *'To what extent does development aid contribute to the Philippine's people aspiration to migrate to a country?'*

The four belonging sub-questions are:

- 'Which countries provide development and with what means is development aid distributed?'

This sub-question looks primarily at the countries providing development aid and which factors are of influence on providing development aid.

- 'What type of image do Philippine people have of a certain country?'

This sub-question looks at the perception Filipinos have of other countries. Do people have a very positive image of countries and which factors influence this kind of perception?

- 'In what manner is this image of Philippines people influenced by development aid?'

To see what influence development aid has on the perception of people is what this question gives answer to. Aside of the, by answering the second sub-question, several factors of influence on the perception of other countries this question shows the exact influence of development aid.

- 'Does this image of certain countries encourages the aspiration to migrate?'

The answers on the second and third sub-question provides the information needed to answer this question. Is the perception people have of countries also an influence on the aspiration to migrate?

The assumption on these questions is formulated as: 'Development aid contributes to the perception of certain countries of a place to migrate to, which stimulates the aspirations to migrate to these countries.'

1.6 Overview

My report on the relationship between migration, development and aspiration to migrate begins by explaining the theory that I have used. Following this the method for my research gives a clear view on how I have implemented my interviews and the observations and how this has been beneficial for my research. The section 'Research Material' provides information considering my internship, The Commission on Filipinos Overseas, and the development aid project where I have conducted my research. Chapter 4 focuses on development aid. What can be considered as development aid and what kind of policy regarding development aid is used by the top destination countries of Filipinos? Most essentially I examine the motives behind development aid. This answers my first sub-question. Chapter 5 looks at the socio-economic situation of the Philippines and the concrete effect of development aid. What effect does development aid concretely have on the Philippines and in what extent are the social, economic, cultural and political factors of influence on the aspiration to migrate? Or are there already signs that show that development aid is an influence on the aspiration to migrate? The next chapter focuses on the case study itself. Where the previous chapter has looked to the influence development aid has on a national scale the case study looks at the influence on a local scale. The chapter is divided in four sections: 'The people of Baler', 'Perception of countries', 'Development aid: The 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project'' and 'The aspiration to migrate'. The four sections represent an introduction to my research area and the three remaining sub questions. Hence the influence of development aid on people's lives and their perceptions are examined. Where the last section asks the question if people's aspiration is influenced by the local development aid project. The final results of my research are explained in chapter 7: Connecting the knots: Development, Perception and Aspiration. The factors of influence on providing development aid and the concrete (national) effect of development aid are combined with the results of the case study. This provides the essential data for the conclusion and answers the main question of my research.

2. The theoretical perspectives on aspiration and migration

2.1 Introduction

To be able to thoroughly discuss the themes ‘aspiration to migrate’, ‘development’ and ‘perception’ a research of the theoretical background of these themes is needed. The first section focuses on the relationship between migration and development. Mainly the influence of the different factors comes to light. This is followed by discussing the ‘Aspiration and Ability model’ of Carling (2002), a previously mentioned model which connects the three themes of my research. With this information the “Aspiration model” is created which is discussed in the next section. At the end of this chapter the theory behind the three themes and the conceptual model which has been used for my research has become visible.

2.2 Migration and Development

Migration and development can be viewed from different point of views. Policy views the process of migration from different perspectives then theory does for example. The difference between how the process of migration is viewed upon by policy and how a theorist perceives migration is important because policy and theory are interlinked. They both try to understand and in their own way influence the process. As Castles (2008) states: “Development and migration are part of the same process and therefore constantly interactive”. In this process policy can be of influence. Policy makers have a clear orientation to achieve their policy objectives. From their perspective policy plays a major part in determining the type of migratory movements which affect their countries (Inglis, 2007). One of the major trends in policy making are the increasing efforts to control migration through national and international policy regimes. But while policy makers give high value to the importance of policy, theorists are more interested in understanding the migration process itself. How migration is perceived through the age of time, and most important the connection between migration and development, is important to see a good overview of theories. As Castles (2008) already states, the relation between migration and development is continually changing. Until 1973 there was optimism about the relation between migration and development. Capital and knowledge would help developing countries and would facilitate return of migrants. From 1973 to 1990 pessimism arose on this relationship. Migration policies were tightened and migration was seen separate from the development field. This continued from 1990 to 2001 while the views on this relationship became already more subtle due to empirical work. Still, immigration policies were further tightened. From 2001 onwards optimism has renewed the relationship between migration and development. This period represents also the strong growth of research, especially on remittances. Remittances, ‘brain gain’ and diaspora involvement were seen as important tools. These shift in these periods of time ultimately represent the more general paradigmatic shifts in social and development theory (de Haas, 2008). These periods of time were characterized by different dominant theories. The optimistic views were seen in the Neo-Classical migration theory and the development theory for example. Neo-Classical migration theory sees migration “as a form of optimal allocation of production factors to the benefit of both sending and receiving countries” (de

Haas, 2008). With this theory the development role of migration is entirely realized through the factor price equalization. While the development theory's view on return migrants shows that it was expected that these migrants were important agents of change and innovation. It was expected that migrants not only brought back money but also entrepreneurial attitudes, knowledge and (innovative) new ideas. Migrants were visualized as an important factor which influences spatial diffusion of modernization in developing countries (de Haas, 2008). The pessimistic views are characterized by the Cumulative Causation theory and the "Migrant Syndrome" theory. Migration was considered to increase spatial differences in case of development levels. Myrdal (1957) argues that capitalist development is inevitably marked by deepening spatial welfare inequalities. A group would benefit from the development while others would be left out and could get the aspiration to migrate. The 'Migrant Syndrome' agreed on various points and states that development rather than the decrease of underdevelopment it deepens the inequalities between developed and undeveloped regions. That it would deepen the inequalities between sending and receiving countries of migrants. Mainly the loss of good labor forces in rural areas (that migrated to urban areas) were seen as negative effects of the relationship between development and migration. The relationship of migration and development and views towards this relation shows changing interest over time. Looking at the situation in Asia, governments have always showed strong interest in international migration as a major instrument of national economic development during these different periods of time (Bertram, 1986, 1999; Fraenkel, 2006). A combination of migration, remittances, aid and governments' policies was expected to contribute to the strong economic development of developing countries (McKee and Tisdell, 1988; Hayes, 1991). This shows that the Asian region is a region which consequently maintained connections between development and migration. However, these theories of development and migration mostly focus on what development and migration concretely mean for a region or a person. And they also focus mostly on economic disparities. But it is important to consider another factor which views upon the more social side of migration as migration should also be seen as a social process. When do people want to migrate and which factors are of influence on a person to migrate are questions essential to ask. Hence the aspiration to migrate becomes essential in this matter. Scientific research regarding the aspiration to migrate is conducted for example by Jónsson (2008), Czaika & Vothknecht (2012) and by the International Organization for Migration (2011). Another good example which focuses on the aspiration to migrate is the works of Jørgen Carling. Jørgen Carling has developed a theory, the 'Aspiration and Ability model', which gives insight in the aspiration and the ability to migrate. His 'Aspiration and Ability model' is influenced by various theories which for example focus on migration pressure and contemporary barriers to migration. Migration pressure focuses on the migration potential not realized because of restrictions imposed by immigration countries. By the works of Bruni and Venturini (1995), Straubhaar (1993) and Schaeffer (1993) the migration pressure has been explained. The contemporary barriers are mainly based on the works which focus on the effect of absence of legal or political barriers, works of Arango (2000), Keeley (2000) and Massey et al. (1998) are examples of these kind of theoretic thinking. The theory the 'Aspiration and Ability model' has been formed out of the information and lack of information these theories provided.

2.3 The Aspiration and Ability model

The two central subjects of the 'Aspiration and Ability model' are the aspiration to migrate and the ability to migrate. The 'Aspiration' to migrate seen in the model focuses on the aspects which motivates people to migrate. The second subject 'Ability' to migrate focuses more on the boundaries that are made to limit migration or boundaries that are removed to stimulate migration. An example of boundaries to limit migration is the immigration policy of a country. An example of boundaries that are removed is the policy of the Philippines which stimulates the migration of people. But also a stimulant can be that family is living abroad or people hear positive stories on television about migrating abroad.

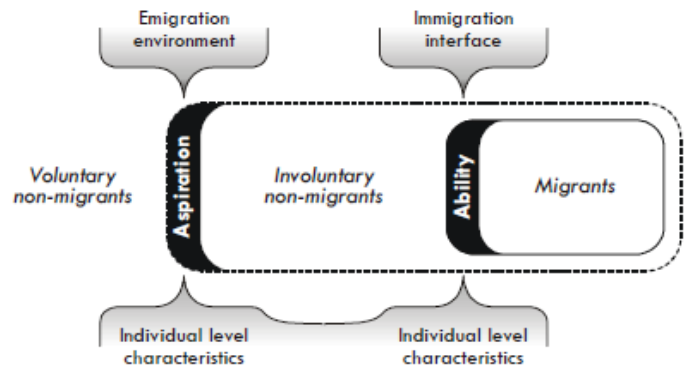


Figure 2. The 'Aspiration and Ability model' (Carling, 2002).

The model also shows a distinction between *involuntary non-migrants* and *migrants*. *Involuntary non-migrants* are people who have the aspiration to migrate but are (involuntary) limited which makes them decide not to migrate or are people that have not yet decided to migrate or not. *Migrants* are people which have the aspiration and the ability to migrate. These both 'types of people' are influenced by the various social, economic, cultural and political factors visible by the 'individual level characteristics', 'emigration environment' and the 'immigration interface'. These different levels are summarized as the micro level (individual level characteristics) and the macro level (emigration environment and immigration interface). The micro level addresses the individual wish to migrate. The macro level shows how the social context influences the wish to migrate (Carling, 2002).

2.3.1 Micro level

The aspiration to migrate greatly depends on the individual perspective of a person. The migration of this person can also be 'forced' or 'voluntary' as all migration involves both choices and constraints there is no categorical distinction between these two types of migration.

The micro level shows which type of person wants to migrate. The factors that are likely to be important for this level are gender, age, family migration history, social status, educational attainment and personality. Also the social networks an individual participates in are important. Ultimately social, economic, cultural and political aspects are the factors of importance.

The most important questions applicable for the micro level is if someone sees him- or herself as a migrant and imagining oneself as a stayer (Carling, 2002). The follow-up question on this is the meaning migration has for someone. What does it mean to migrate for a person him/herself and his/her social surroundings? What does the aspiration to migrate mean for a person?

2.3.2 Macro level

The macro level is also influenced by social, economic, cultural and political aspects. These aspects are characterized by the politics of the Philippines, media and the social networks for instance. The image of these aspects are present through the locally existing, discursively constructed ideas about these places (Carling, 2002). This is when the perception of a place plays an important role. For instance an example of constructed ideas of places is how someone perceives Canada. Someone can see Canada as a prosperous place and where someone could have a 'better life'. Some people see this situation as the reason to migrate to a place where they can work while others can interpret this situation differently and chose not to migrate. When someone decides to actually migrate it is not simply a demographic event for this person. In most of the cases people don't think about going from place A to B, but think about a parcel of expected actions and consequences (Carling, 2002). Often an ideal type of these 'migration projects' is used as reference. In the works of Hägerstrand a good explanation is seen of how migration flows work: 'Both as historical entities, rooted in the flow of life, and as ready-made blueprints, preserved in the store-house of culture' (Hägerstrand, 1996). This influences the image people have of the wish to migrate: It is often based on ideas about a culturally defined blueprint of their 'migration project' (Carling, 2002). People create a certain perception of places and actions. This makes that the social, cultural, economic and political factors can be different per person. On the macro level it is again also of importance the way people perceive migration. Some people give another definition of migration than others. That is why it is important that the emigration environment must be analyzed in ways that account for differences in people's engagement with the emigration project (Carling, 2002).

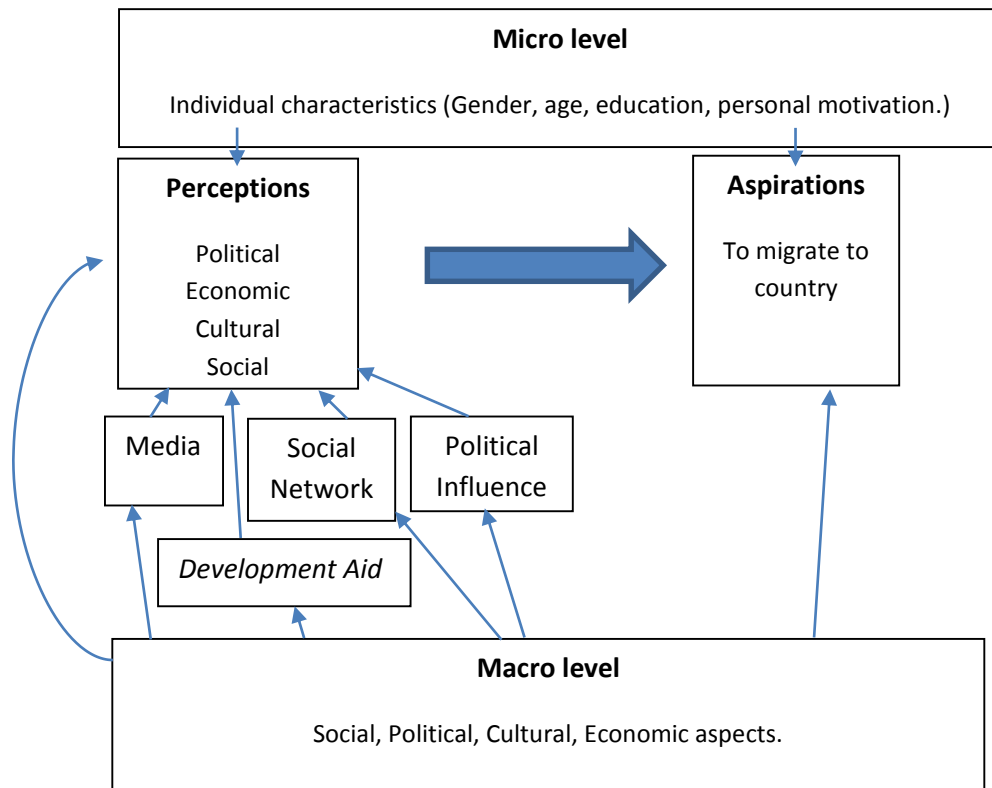
The 'Aspiration and Ability model's' second subject, the 'ability' to migrate, is not discussed. As my research question focuses on the development aid's influence on the aspiration to migrate the ability to migrate is not relevant to discuss. Hence it is not incorporated in my theoretical framework and conceptual model.

2.4 The Aspiration Model

Following the 'Aspiration and Ability model' I have made a conceptual model which consists of all the aspects relevant for my research. These aspects are generated out of the 'Aspiration and Ability model' and combined with the case study of the Philippines. As I focus on the aspiration to migrate and not look at the ability to migrate, this conceptual model is named the 'Aspiration Model'.

The 'Aspiration model' focuses on the perception of people and the aspirations of people towards migration to countries. The perception of a person is influenced on a micro and macro level. The micro level shows the individual characteristics, the macro level is based on political, economic, cultural and social factors. How people experience these factors is mainly by media, social network and political influence. Development aid is a factor which combines the economic, social, cultural and political aspects and has next to the political influence, media and social network its own influence. The aspiration to migrate is influenced by the same factors and on the same levels, also because of already being influenced by someone's perception.

Figure 3. The 'Aspiration Model'.



3. Research set in motion

3.1 Introduction

To fully explain my research model this chapter provides detailed information concerning the research methods used. The first part of this chapter focuses on the four different research methods. The literature study is discussed and explained which shows where information is obtained and which information is provided. Following this the individual and group interviews are discussed. Primarily the structure of the interviews and with what purpose the specific interviews are practiced are explained. Following this the observation is examined. The second part of this chapter focuses on the research material which shows which institutions have made it possible to conduct my research and gives background data on my case study the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' located in Baler, Aurora.

3.2 Literature Study

The literature study focuses on the policy behind development aid of popular destination countries of Filipinos. The literature study also examines the socio-economic context of the Philippines and the factors of influence concerning migration. The development aid policy of several countries is mainly provided by research on the internet by using the online library of the Radboud University and websites of nation's policy regarding development aid. The data of the socio-economic context of the Philippines is mainly provided by the data received from my internship, the Commission on Filipinos Overseas. Also the information regarding the migration policy of the Philippines is mainly received from data resources of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas. These resources were received by the use of books and the use of internet.

The literature study has been conducted in the first four weeks of my research and the last two weeks of my internship at the Commission on Filipinos Overseas. After this period of time, when writing the thesis research, the information gained from the literature study has been edited and enhanced.

3.3 Interviews and Observation

As I have used, next to the literature study, three types of qualitative research this results in the so-called 'Method-Triangulation'. Method-Triangulation gives the researcher perspectives on a certain subject from different angles. By having three types of research data my research is more reliable. O'Donoghue and Punch (2003) state that it is a "method of cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data". The individual interviews are semi-structured by having certain vital subjects that need to be answered by every interviewee, while it is mainly focused on the theme 'aspiration to migrate'. The group interviews are more interactively based with a strong focus on the theme 'perception'. The observations are seen as a supplement to the information gathered and mainly provide background information. But important to note with taking interviews and observe people in the Philippines is that there is a difference in investigating due to

the differences in culture. Hence the interviewer needs to be highly sensitive to local codes of conduct. How someone represents itself and how he or she approaches the interviewee is likely to have an effect on the interview overall and on interpreting the interview data (Longhurst, 2009). This has always been kept in mind when having an interview and when interpreting the data of an interview.

3.3.1 Individual Interviews

The individual interviews are conducted in a period of four weeks. In these four weeks I have conducted fifty semi-structured interviews of which forty-six interviews were suitable for my research. The length of each interview was approximately thirty minutes. To conduct each interview I have made use of a translator. The translators were local high school students that had a summer job at the municipality of Baler. These students were usually sufficient in English and were able to translate a diverse amount of interviews.

The individual interviews have examined the individual opinion of people about the perception of several (developed) countries and the aspiration to migrate to these countries. Questions are asked about the perception of countries and the possible aspiration. Also, as the development project is partly funded by Filipinos overseas in Hawaii, a 'example-question' is asked if people possibly have the aspiration to migrate to Hawaii. This connects the central three themes 'development', 'migration' and 'aspiration to migrate'. Especially the individual stories of people are interesting to be heard with this interview. Hence the question 'why' a person has an aspiration to migrate is central in this conversation. This question is answered by obtaining the, previously mentioned, 'mental map' of someone's life. This 'mental map' shows the life of someone along with its aspirations and perceptions of the world. Also, very important, the various influences on the aspiration to migrate becomes visible with this interview.

To see which factors are of influence on the perception and aspiration to migrate the influence of the political, economic, cultural and social factors are asked to the respondent. The interview outline provides four main questions that when answered provide the answer on the main question of my research: 'To what extent does development aid contribute to the Philippine's people aspiration to migrate to a country?'

- *What is the perception of other countries?*
- *Does the respondent have/had an aspiration to migrate?*
- *Yes or no? And what are the main factors that influence this decision?*
- *If "yes", what destination countries do people have in mind to migrate to?*
- *What influence does the Sabutan project have on the aspiration to migrate?*

This outline has been used to indicate the main questions that needed to be answered by the individual interviews. The questions that follow out of these main questions are listed below which provide a clear view of which precise questions are asked. But, as the interviews were semi

structured the exact moment when questions were asked and which questions were asked could vary per interview.

To answer the above four questions the interview is divided in different sections. The first section focuses on the individual characteristics of the person interviewed. These characteristics are name, gender, age, education, profession and family (married, number of children).

Following this the question is asked what influence the development aid project has had on people's lives. For example this could be a mostly economic or a social influence.

This section is followed by the perceptions of people. The section starts with the question if people have any ideas about a job or a study, or an aspiration to migrate for instance. This question provides the information needed to focus my interview on the fact that people have an aspiration to migrate, or people do not have an aspiration and want to stay in the Philippines. The questions that follow shows if people think there are more possibilities abroad and how people see the future of their children, functioning as a follow up question if people think there are more possibilities abroad.

The questions about the perceptions of people are then asked more in a broader sense. The subjects family, cultural, political and media cover the different factors that influence someone's perception.

The subject 'Family' looks at the influence of people's parents on their aspiration to migrate but also what influence family has on their life and their choices. The third question asks if people have family or friends living abroad.

The subject 'Cultural' focuses on the main traditions of the Philippine's and if these traditions maybe have an influence on people's decision to migrate or not. The follow-up question looks at what aspects of culture people see as important. Religion or family for instance.

'Political' looks at the government's role concerning migration. Do people think the government facilitates migration? If so, what kind of help do people think they will receive from the government?

'Media' asks questions about someone's perception of things. The questions are focused on unravelling the 'mental map' of a person. It emphasizes on the influence media has on the perception of other countries. What picture do people visualize when watching several (Western) television shows and does this have influence on their aspiration to migrate or their children?

The later section focuses more on the development aid and what role development aid has on the aspiration to migrate. One vital question that is asked is if people have an aspiration to migrate to Hawaii, as the development aid project is partly funded by Filipinos overseas in Hawaii. This question is asked to see if a direct link is visible with the aspiration to migrate and the development aid project.

To conclude my general picture of people's perception of countries I ask what picture people have in mind when they think of a particular continent. This provides me with information to easily compare the perceptions of different countries.

The interview finishes with the questions if people ever had the aspiration to migrate and what the word 'migration' really means for people. Stated by Carling (2002) this questions shows what it

precisely means for a person and possibly her or his surroundings.

The complete outline of the individual interview is to be found in the Appendices, section A. Important to note is, to protect people's identity, the full names of the persons which were interviewed are not listed in this report.

3.3.2 Group Interviews

The group interviews were realized by organizing several sessions where people in groups of a minimum of four persons were interactively interviewed. Meaning, the interview has an interactive character by using a chalkboard and providing space for discussion. Ultimately six interviews have been conducted with a total of thirty-one persons. These interviews were conducted in a period of two weeks, following the four weeks of the individual interviews.

The main objective of this group interview is to see the perception people have of the world and also the perception people have of migration. When starting a group interview people are questioned to illustrate the 'mental map' they have of the world to focus on the perception of places. In practice this meant people had to draw their perception of the world by drawing a world map on a piece of paper. The chalkboard is then used to discuss about the just drawn world map and to write down answers on further questions. When the discussion places itself on the chalkboard, the first questions are asked concerning an example of a place to migrate to: Europe. Europe is used as an example due to three points:

- To see what people's perception is of a 'Western' continent (United States and Canada, Europe, and Australia and New Zealand)
- To see what the Filipino perception of a continent is which is, of the 'Western' continents, the least popular to migrate to (CFO, 2011)
- Is the knowledge/perception of this continent sufficient enough to know what countries are part of this continent?

This gives interesting insights in what factors influence the perception of a continent when people are, on a national scale, less interested to migrate to this continent. What comes in mind when people think of Europe, what kind of life people have in Europe and how do the cities look like for example? And do people think it is easy to migrate to Europe? But also the question which countries are part of Europe?

The group interview continues by asking the respondents what they think of migration, hence the perception of the subject migration becomes visible. Mainly the practical matters are up for discussion. Is migrating expensive and do you need to have certain requirements to be able to migrate? Or is migrating difficult and what transportation do you need are some questions that are answered. But as the interview is semi-structured the interview still has room for discussion and where a conversation could take.

The outline of the group interview is to be found in the Appendices, section B.

3.3.3 Observation

With the observation I have observed the people and their surroundings connected to the ‘Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project’.

The observation is conducted in a period of six weeks, the same period of time the group and individual interviews were conducted. The observation is the observation of the way people live in Baler, by looking at the houses people live in and what kind of decoration is seen for example. What kind of pictures are seen in people’s home and are people watching any particular television shows are some of the questions that are answered by the observation. With each individual and group interview I have taken notes and made pictures, this have provided extra information about people’s lives next to the information received from the interviews itself.

Category	Includes	Researchers should note
Appearance	Clothing, age, gender, physical appearance	Anything that might indicate membership in groups or in sub-populations of interest to the study, such as profession, social status, socioeconomic class, religion, or ethnicity
Verbal behavior and interactions	Who speaks to whom and for how long; who initiates interaction; languages or dialects spoken; tone of voice	Gender, age, ethnicity, and profession of speakers; dynamics of interaction
Physical behavior and gestures	What people do, who does what, who interacts with whom, who is not interacting	How people use their bodies and voices to communicate different emotions; what individuals' behaviors indicate about their feelings toward one another, their social rank, or their profession
Personal space	How close people stand to one another	What individuals' preferences concerning personal space suggest about their relationships
Human traffic	People who enter, leave, and spend time at the observation site	Where people enter and exit; how long they stay; who they are (ethnicity, age, gender); whether they are alone or accompanied; number of people
People who stand out	Identification of people who receive a lot of attention from others	The characteristics of these individuals; what differentiates them from others; whether people consult them or they approach other people; whether they seem to be strangers or well known by others present

When observing the way of life in Baler and observing the people when interviewed I have chosen to use a method frequently used by qualitative research. Hence I have made use of a checklist, the checklist I maintained was from the Qualitative research methods: A data collector’s field guide (2005). The main categories are: ‘Appearance’, ‘Verbal behaviour and interactions’, ‘Physical behaviour and gestures’, ‘Personal space’, ‘Human Traffic’ and ‘People who stand out’.

Figure 4. A data collector’s field guide (2005).

The ‘Appearance’ tells something about the clothing people wear, age, gender and the physical appearance of someone. The appearance of people can already tell a lot about the type of living, living conditions of people and their social status.

The ‘Verbal behaviour and interactions’ shows which interactions are visible during observation. Do people talk a lot with each other and do other people join the conversation when having an interview are central in this section.

‘Physical behaviour and gestures’ looks, compared to the ‘verbal behaviour and interactions’, more to the social rank of people and with what kind of people persons interact with.

The ‘Personal space’ looks to the physical distance between people when they communicate with each other. This tells something about relationships between people and what kind of behaviour people are used to.

‘Human traffic’ shows the transportation of people in a certain area. Which persons are entering, leaving or staying in a certain area.

‘People who stand out’ looks at people which receive more attention than others and people which have special stories or appearances which makes them stand out.

This checklist has provided the tools to observe the life in Baler and its people in a structured way. The complete observation is to be found in the Appendices, section C.

3.4 Research material

The research material consists of two parts. The first part consists of the literature used for my research with information about the policy of various countries and the Philippines and the socio-economic situation of the Philippines. This part is mainly provided at the earlier mentioned Commission on Filipinos Overseas. The second part is the research material received from the case study. The ‘Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project’ has provided research material by the means of the conducted individual and group interviews and the observation of people connected to the development aid project.

3.4.1 Internship Commission on Filipinos Overseas

At the Commission on Filipinos Overseas located at Manila I have followed my internship. CFO was also the place where I conducted my literature study and which provided me several development aid projects to conduct my research on.

The Commission on Filipinos Overseas is a government agency important for the maintaining of interests of Filipino migrants and situates a good connection between the Philippines and Filipinos living abroad. The Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) was realized in 1980 to promote and strengthen the interests of Filipino emigrants and permanent residents abroad and also to strengthen the connections with Filipino communities abroad (IOM, 2013).

The primary tasks of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas are:

- Provide advice and assistance to the President and the Congress of the Philippines in the formulation of policies concerning or affecting Filipinos living overseas.
- Develop and implement programs to promote the interests and well-being of Filipinos overseas.
- Serve as forum for preserving and enhancing the social, economic and cultural ties of Filipinos overseas with the Philippine motherland; and
- Provide liaisons services to Filipinos overseas with appropriate government and private agencies in the transaction of business and similar ventures in the Philippines. (CFO, 2014)

To realize these tasks the Commission on Filipinos Overseas has several projects concerning migration, the main beneficiaries of these projects are listed below:

- Filipino emigrants and immigrants or permanent residents abroad;
- Filipinos overseas who have become citizens of other countries or dual citizens;
- Filipino spouses and other partners of foreign nationals leaving the country;
- Descendants of Filipinos overseas as defined in B.P. 79
- Filipino youth overseas; and
- Exchange Visitor Program participants (CFO, 2014a)

Hence the Commission on Filipinos Overseas is an organization that shows strong connections with migration and especially focuses on the connection of Filipinos overseas with family and friends living in the Philippines. As the organization also had several data concerning development aid projects in the Philippines I was able to choose the most suitable development aid project for my research: The 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project'.



Figure 5. CFO, location Manila.

3.4.2 Development aid project: 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project'

The 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' is located in Baler, Aurora. Baler is the capital of the Aurora province and is a second class municipality. The population of Baler consists of 36,010 people during the last census in 2010 (National Statistics Office, 2010). Baler is a town with influences from the Spanish and American colonial period and it also experienced Japanese occupation during the Second World War. Baler consists of a total of thirteen 'Barangays'. 'Barangays' can be compared with a small district, the smallest type of governmental unit. The 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' is active in several of these Barangays.



The 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' is a rehabilitation project created for Barangay Buhangin in Baler. In December 2004 and January 2005 this area was heavily affected by the Typhoons 'Unding', 'Violetta', 'Winnie' and 'Yoyong'. After these events an association was organized and a production center was realized to help create Sabutan woven products. The products created are woven hats, sandals, fans and bags for example. The material used, Sabutan, is grown from the Sabutan plant, a locally grown plant in the Aurora province.



Figure 6. Baler, Aurora.

The project is part of the Pilipino Linkapil programme, a diaspora project created by the Commission on Filipinos Overseas. A programme created in 1989 to provide the transfer of resources of Filipinos overseas to support "small-scale, high-impact projects that address the economic development needs" (CFO, 2014b). Development aid that is distributed by Filipinos overseas.

The project costs are estimated on approximately P 888,743.10 / 13,886 Euros since its origin in 2005. The organizations which finance the project are the Hawaii International Relief Organization and Feed the Hungry, Inc. The Hawaii International Relief Organization is an organization founded by

overseas Filipinos. The Feed the Hungry, Inc. is a non-partisan, non-denominational, non-profit organization based in Virginia, United States. Also this organization is founded by overseas Filipinos.

The current main beneficiaries of the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' are twenty-five women members aged from 22-78. As several women are former members, the total number of people that have worked for the development aid project surpasses twenty-five women. This number is approximately fifty members, no exact data of this was available. The project is currently being realized at people's homes as the Sabutan Production Center is not operational anymore. Still people produce several Sabutan products which are then sold in local shops located in Baler and are also exported.



Figure 7. The Sabutan plant.

Although the project is financed by Filipinos overseas instead of the development aid policy of countries this project still is a good indicator to show the influence development aid has on people. This project is also focused on improving the lives of people (development) which show great resemblance with other (national) funded development aid projects. Aside of these points this project is chosen to conduct my research on because of:



Figure 8. Sabutan woven products.

- The location: It is located in a remote area of the Philippines which makes the influence of other factors possibly smaller (compared to an international city as Manila for instance) whereby the influence of development aid could become more clear.
- Size of the project: The project influences approximately 50 women (and their families), this makes it possible to interview a large part of the people in the period of time for my research.
- Relatively long running: The project has been active for several years, hence the effect of the project becomes clearer compared to a short term development aid project.
- Place of distribution: Hawaii is, as part of the United States of America, an important destination place of Filipinos.

To elaborate further on the place of distribution a census of 2010 shows that Filipinos make up for approximately 25% of the total population of Hawaii (State of Hawaii, 2010). Also of the 1.813.600 Filipino immigrants living in the United States in 2011, 4.1% to 7% of this total population lives in Hawaii (Migration Policy Institute, 2011). And the geographical location of Hawaii shows that it is the nearest state of the United States to the Philippines. This shows that Hawaii as place of aspiration for migration is highly relevant. Hence all these factors combined show that the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' has valuable aspects to examine and make it highly suitable for my research.

Practicing my research has been made possible with the help of the municipality of Baler. The municipality has provided a working place at the town hall and provided help contacting interviewees and arranging translators. With the help of the municipality it has been made possible to conduct the interviews and the observation in this period of time.

3.5 Conclusion

The literature study, interviews and observation have provided me the tools to examine the three themes of 'development', 'perception' and 'aspiration to migrate'. In combination with an internship and research location that both show strong linkages with the above three themes, my research has been executed most effectively. Especially choosing for a method triangulation combined with a literature study shows a clear picture of the influence development aid has on the lives of people in Baler. Next to this, as there are forty-six persons interviewed with the individual interviews, the representativeness of my research is positively influenced by two factors: Applying method triangulation and the interviewing of approximately all (former) members of the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project'.

Figure 9. Local people connected to the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project'.



4. Development aid from ‘abroad’

4.1 Introduction

The Philippines is a development aid receiving country and a ‘country of migration’. Hence the main Filipino emigration countries are examined and the development aid these countries provide. To see which countries are important emigration countries of the Philippines, this is first examined.

Following this the definition of development aid is explained which provides the information to adequately discuss the distributed development aid. The last section of this chapter discusses the countries that provide development aid which are organized by continent and amount of Filipino migrants. The important question that is answered with this chapter is: ‘Which countries provide development and with what means is the development aid distributed?’

4.2 Emigration in the Philippines

The Philippines’ emigration numbers are divided over a variety of countries, but some countries show to be of great interest for migrating Filipinos. When viewing figure 10 especially the United States shows to be a country which receives a substantial amount of Filipino migrants. The countries that follow are Canada, Japan and Australia. However, these countries have, in comparison with the United States of America, far less Filipino migrants. When looking at the characteristics of emigrants this shows some interesting insights. 59.9% Of the migrants are female opposed to 40.1% male. The average age of Filipino emigrants shows to be primarily between twenty-five and fifty-nine years of age. But at the same time children below fourteen years of age make up for 20.68% of the total migrant rate. This could indicate that parents frequently migrate with their children. But while these figures show an image of the migration rate in the period of 1981-2011, the total amount of Filipinos living abroad show a slightly different image.

Mainly the country of Saudi Arabia inhabits a lot of overseas Filipinos as well as the United Arab Emirates. Hence as the discussed development aid policies are popular destination countries of Filipinos a variety of countries are discussed. Countries in the Asian region are discussed as well as the Middle East region, Australia, The United States of America, Canada and the European Union.

Major destination countries, 1981–2011			
	Number	%	
1. US	1,203,815	64.84	
2. Canada	310,866	16.75	
3. Japan	120,713	6.50	
4. Australia	113,625	6.12	
5. Italy	20,718	1.12	
6. New Zealand	14,518	0.78	
7. Germany	13,175	0.71	
8. UK	10,990	0.59	
9. Spain	9,626	0.52	
10. Korea, Rep.	9,391	0.51	
11. Others	29,018	1.56	
	1,856,455	100	

Profile, 1981–2011			
o Sex	Number	%	
Male	743,788	40.1	
Female	1,112,667	59.9	
	1,856,455	100	
Sex Ratio	67M/100F		

o Age Group	Number	%	
Below 14	383,932	20.68	
15-19	190,741	10.27	
20-24	198,502	10.69	
25-59	891,469	48.01	
60 and older	191,501	10.32	
No information	310	0.02	
	1,856,455	100	

Countries with at Least 100,000 Filipinos, 2011					
Rank	Country/Region	Number	Rank	Country/Region	Number
1.	USA	3,430,864	8.	Japan	220,882
2.	Saudi Arabia	1,550,572	9.	UK	220,000
3.	Canada	842,651	10.	Kuwait	186,750
4.	UAE	679,819	11.	Italy	184,638
5.	Malaysia	569,081	12.	Singapore	180,000
6.	Australia	384,637	13.	Hong Kong, China	174,851
7.	Qatar	342,442		TOTAL	8,967,187 (85.8%)

Source: CFO, Stock Estimate of Overseas Filipinos.

Figure 10. Migration patterns (IOM, 2013).

4.3 But what is development aid?

But before discussing the various policies of countries concerning development aid, it is essential to indicate what development aid precisely means. Development aid can be provided by agencies, countries and organizations. Approximately 80-85% of the development aid is provided by governments, the remaining 15-20% is provided by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's), development charities and foundations (OECD, 2013). The 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' for example is funded by two NGO's. But as the vast majority of development aid is provided by governments, hence its influence and representativeness for development aid is the largest, the type of development aid used by governments is discussed.

The official term of development aid is called Official Development Assistance (ODA). This assistance needs to contain three elements:

- (a) It must be undertaken by an official sector (National and local governments or their executive agencies)
- (b) The main objective of the assistance given is the promotion of economic development and welfare
- (c) Certain concessional financial terms must be applied (if a loan, a grant element of at least 25 per cent for example) (OECD, 2008)

Generally speaking there are two types of development aid (ODA): Multilateral and bilateral. Bilateral development aid is aid given from one country directly to another. Multilateral is aid given by a donor country to an international organization such as the agencies of the United Nations (UNDP, UNICEF, UNAIDS, etc.) or the World Bank for instance. The balance in 2013 shows approximately 56% bilateral and 44% multilateral development aid (OECD, 2013).

Development aid which does not meet this criteria is called Other Official Flows (OOF). The reason that it does not meet the criteria can be that it is not primarily aimed at development and/or because the grant element is less than twenty-five per cent (OECD, 2001). Aside of the ODA humanitarian aid must also be mentioned as it can be an important part of the total aid provided. "Humanitarian assistance is generally accepted to mean the aid and action designed to save lives, alleviate suffering and maintain and protect human dignity during and in the aftermath of man-made crises and natural disasters, as well as to prevent and strengthen preparedness for the occurrence of such situations" (Good Humanitarian Donorship, 2014). Humanitarian aid is generally coordinated by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and is funded by donations of governments, corporations, other organizations or individuals (United Nations, 1991). An example of humanitarian aid can be the donations that were given after typhoon Haiyan hit the Philippines in 2013.

But another important other form as the support of development is the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI): "The investment from one country into another that involves establishing operations or acquiring tangible assets, including stakes in other businesses" (Financial Times, 2014). This support for development is essential to note because the importance for development in developing countries can be substantial according to a 2010 research. An analysis of foreign direct investments in developing and transition countries suggest that it substantially influences the

productivity growth on a local scale (Havranek & Irsova, 2011). But as my research focuses on development aid foreign direct investment is not one of the important objectives of research. Although when FDI shows interesting linkages, then these are certainly discussed.

4.4 Development aid and the policy of countries

The most important destination countries of Filipinos are listed in this section. The countries are organized by the amount of Filipinos residing in a country, or a group of countries. With what means development aid is distributed, in which sectors aid is given in and what type of development aid is distributed to the Philippines are points of discussion.

4.4.1 United States of America and Canada

The policy of the United States concerning development aid is concretized by the USAID organization, The United States Agency for International Development. This organizations main mission is that they “Partner to end extreme poverty and to promote resilient, democratic societies while advancing our security and prosperity” (USAID, 2014). When reading the policy framework 2011-2015 the urgency for development aid is described by showing various dangers that are visible in the current world. By describing these dangers the relevance of development aid is explained.

Also international development of the United States is shown as the key component of “American power”, along with diplomacy and defense (USAID, 2011). The international development is described as a cost effective tool that is to ensure the people’s security and prosperity. And at the same time the policy describes that the core values of the United States of freedom and opportunity are expressed by the policy.

The projects that are facilitated in the Philippines are mainly focused on ‘Education, Health & Population’ and ‘Other Social infrastructure’. Examples of these type of projects are supporting the Basic Education and Higher Education for children. One of the goals of a development aid project is to improve the reading skills of early grade students. But also the support of the Department of Education to strengthen its capacity is where development aid provided by the United States is seen (USAID, 2014a). Health is improved by the support of strengthening demand, improving supply and policies concerning the health care in the Philippines. The ‘Other Social infrastructure’ mainly focuses on social/welfare services and employment and housing (OECD, 2014c). Examples of this are the

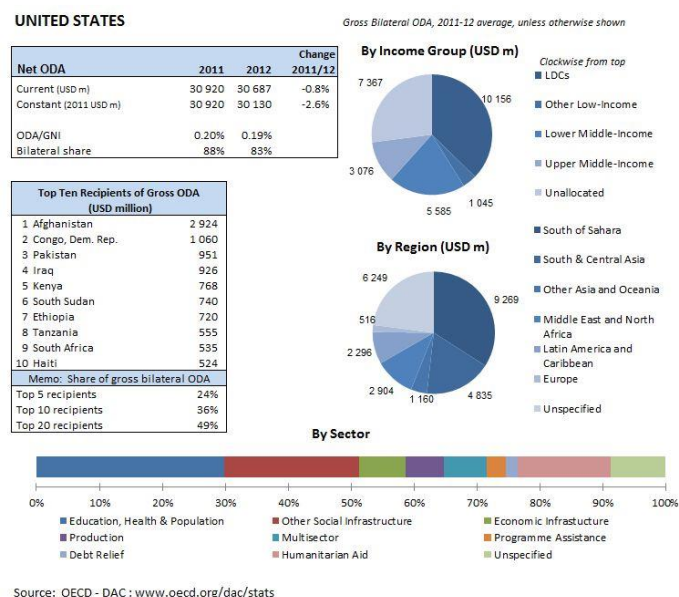


Figure 11. Development aid United States of America (OECD, 2014).

promoting of water and energy security (USAID, 2014b).

But an interesting research to the development aid of the United States is the research of Franzblau (1997). This research states that United States' development aid is used as a tool to reduce migration. The research shows that in the short term the policies to reduce migration, for example trade, investment and foreign assistance are likely to increase emigration (Diaz-Briquets, 1995). Interesting, because this shows a direct relationship between migration and development and a relationship that shows that more development not necessarily decreases migration. However it also shows that in the long term economic development reduces demographic pressures, improving the labor conditions and the rising of wages and living standards. This reduces the emigration rate as argued by Franzblau (1997). This is a supplement to the theoretical discussion of development and migration and shows that development aid indeed can play a role in this discussion.

Canada is another important development aid donor as well as a substantial migration country of Filipinos:

"The Philippines remains the largest single caseload for temporary foreign workers migrating to Canada" (IOM, 2014).

This quote shows that a high amount of temporary migrants, as compared to other countries, are migrating to Canada. The Philippines shows to be the third migration country to Canada with China and India being respectively on the first and second place (Hyndman, 2003). But as it shows similarities with the United States considering the amount of migrants does it also show similarities with the policy conducted?

The policy of Canada shows five priorities by giving development aid to countries:

- Increasing food security
- Securing the future of children and youth
- Stimulating sustainable economic growth
- Advancing democracy
- Promoting stability and security

Aside of these key priorities three cross-cutting themes are part of Canada's international development policies and programs (Government of Canada, 2014a):

- Increasing environmental sustainability
- Advancing gender equality
- Helping to strengthen governance institutions and practices

These key priorities are part of the policy which focuses on 25 countries, these countries were selected on the basis of the capacity to benefit from development aid, their real needs, and also the alignment with Canadian foreign policy targets. Especially this last point shows that development aid is distributed selectively, as it is dependent on which policy the Canadian government has in mind. But as one of the 25 countries Canada's development aid also focuses itself on the Philippines. The goal for the Canadian development aid in the Philippines is "to support economic growth by improving the climate for investment and advancing the economic opportunities of poor women and men" (Government of Canada, 2014b). Some pragmatic examples of this are to simplify business regulations and processes and to help local governments to implement their economic development plans. The formulation of these goals for the Canadian development aid does not show explicitly the self-interest of the development aid for Canada as the aid of the United States shows. But at the same time the goals generally strive for the same outcome: To improve the (economic) situation in a country.

Examples of the improvement of the economic situation are the increase of income of poor micro-entrepreneurs by 40 percent. Also more than 5,000 businesses would benefit of the licensing and taxation process and the simplified registration, according to the website of the Canadian government (Government of Canada, 2014b). The Education, Health and Population mainly invest in the quality of health and nutrition services. To lower the malaria mortality rate and to increase the functional literacy rate are some of the goals (Government of Canada, 2104c).

But the focus of development aid (ODA) on economic development is by the research of Hyndman (2003) susceptible to some interesting factors. In case of the development aid provided to Sri Lanka during the period 1990-1998 there was a substantial change to be seen in the amount of ODA given. During this period the country struggled with inland conflict in which the development aid assistance given declined. The Canadian ODA showed to decline once the conflict intensified and the government decided to a military intervention. Surprisingly, the FDI was not negatively affected. This showed to four-fold in this period of eight years. What this situation of providing development aid shows is that development aid is affected by several factors. In case of a conflict for this matter the political view upon this conflict shows to be of importance to decrease the development aid given to Sri Lanka. By providing development aid the (stable) situation in a country has a considerable influence. Hence development aid shows to be politically influenced.

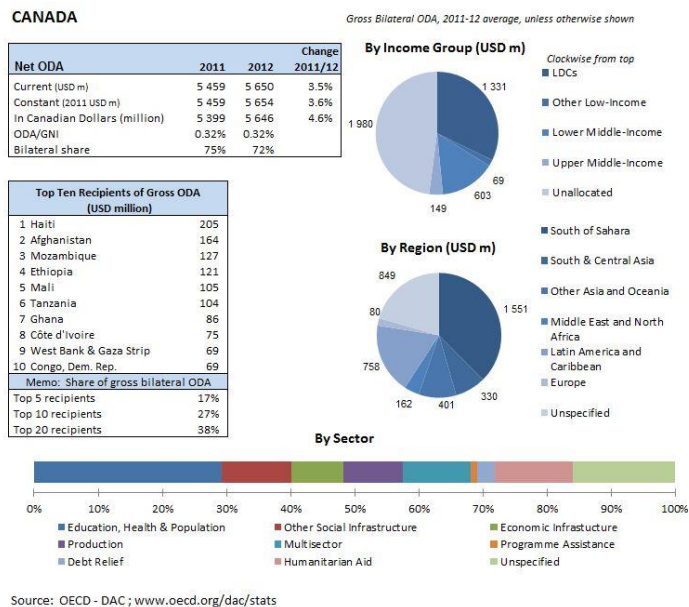


Figure 12. Development aid Canada (OECD, 2014).

4.4.2 Middle East

The development aid policy of the Middle East has been a relatively unknown contributor to the development aid finance, while it can be seen as one of the most generous contributors to development aid (OPEC, 2003). But as 'Arab aid' is relatively understudied, data of the OECD which studies development aid providing countries are not available. However research from the World Bank (2010) shows that Arab development plays an important role considering global development aid. The developmental aid of the Middle East is known by the name of Arab Official Development Assistance. The Arab Official Development Assistance is funded for over 90% by three main contributors: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. In total these countries have funded the ODA with US\$ 272 billion between 1973 and 2008 (World Bank, 2010). The type of development aid is mostly in the form of soft loans and the majority of the development aid is provided bilaterally. The development aid of these Arab nations can be best described as development aid centred on countries in the same region and policy promoting the south-south cooperation. The countries that receive ODA in the Arab region are Syria which receives 70 percent of the total development aid. Jordan, Morocco, Lebanon and Yemen also receive a substantial amount, between 20 and 40 percent (World Bank, 2010). But aside of providing development aid to Arabic countries also other countries receive development aid from the Middle East. Especially poor countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia are granted development aid (World Bank, 2010).

The south-south cooperation is an important trademark for the development aid of the Arabic nations. This policy is created to promote the cooperation between developing countries. An example of this is the financial assistance agencies provide to countries to fund projects in regional economic integration, particularly in roads, energy and hydropower infrastructure. Five road projects were funded to promote the trade between Burkina Faso, Chad, Sierra Leone, Rwanda and Cameroon.

Also despite the financial crises in 2008 Arab donors have increased their development aid and also broadened the sectors of influence. For instance agriculture, health, education and social services are now supported.

In case of the Philippines the United Arab Emirates has send 10 million dollars of donation after typhoon Haiyan and an additional 10 million dollars' worth of assistance and support program to the Philippines (Al Arabiya, 2013). However this is considered as humanitarian aid and not as development aid. Still it has shown a strong image of the Arab Aid: As the website UAE Interact states: "This generous initiative placed the UAE among the top ten donor countries to the Philippines. Such levels of aid in light of the disaster are impressive, as the total UAE assistance to the Philippines in 2012 was over US\$2.7 million (UAE Interact, 2013)." 'Arab Aid' shows to be of importance considering development aid, it also shows a focus on the (economic) development primarily to increase south-south cooperation between countries. But most importantly this shows a policy with a clear view of future goals which makes development aid intertwined with the foreign policy of countries. With that in mind development aid shows to be, again, heavily influenced by political and economic factors. Hence development aid is not only provided out of idealistic motives but it has to be implemented in the nations (future) policy.

4.4.3 Australia

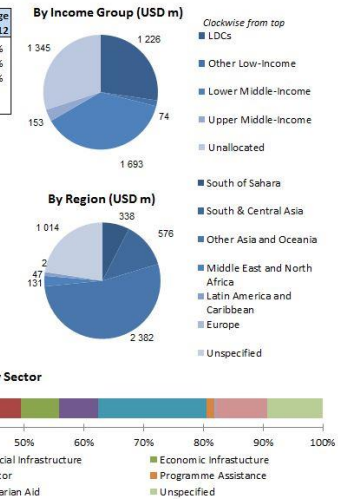
The policy for development aid of Australia is, when reading the Australia's international Development Assistance Program 2013-14, focused on 'Effective Aid'. The formal mission of the programme is: "To assist developing countries reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development, in line with Australia's national interest" (AusAID, 2009a). Effective Aid shows the five strategic goals of the development program: "Promoting opportunities for all, sustainable economic development, effective governance, and humanitarian and disaster response" (Australian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013).

AUSTRALIA

Net ODA	2011	2012	Change 2011/12
Current (USD m)	4 983	5 403	8.4%
Constant (2011 USD m)	4 983	5 399	8.4%
In Australian Dollars (million)	4 829	5 219	8.1%
ODA/GNI	0.34%	0.36%	
Bilateral share	86%	84%	

Top Ten Recipients of Gross ODA (USD million)	
1 Indonesia	527
2 Papua New Guinea	505
3 Solomon Islands	239
4 Afghanistan	193
5 Philippines	144
6 Vietnam	141
7 Timor-Leste	106
8 Bangladesh	100
9 Cambodia	86
10 Pakistan	81
Memo: Share of gross bilateral ODA	
Top 5 recipients	36%
Top 10 recipients	47%
Top 20 recipients	58%

Gross Bilateral ODA, 2011-12 average, unless otherwise shown



Source: OECD - DAC; www.oecd.org/dac/stats

Figure 13. Development aid Australia (OECD, 2014).

To a high variety of countries development aid is given to. But the main recipients of Australia's development aid are Papua New Guinea and Indonesia. The Philippines for instance receives 141 million Australian Dollars against 507. 2 million Australian Dollars that is received by Papua New Guinea (Australian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013). An important influence to the type of development aid that is given are the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's). The MDG's are goals agreed upon by approximately 200 United Nations member countries, these goals focus on targets as the declining of poverty, gender-inequality and providing every person clean drinking water for instance.

As shown in figure 13 the Philippines is listed as 5th most receiving country of development aid provided by Australia. Although the Philippines is listed 5th of the most receiving country, the amount of migrants migrating to Australia are of higher numbers than countries that receive more development aid, such as Indonesia and Papua New Guinea for example (Migration Policy Institute, 2014). It seems to be that, in this case, development aid does not show a direct correlation with the amount of migrants received by a donor country.

In case of the Philippines the main factors where invested in is education, improving local government capacity, disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation and the improvement of peace and security conditions (Government of Australia, 2014a). For example Australia supports projects to expand schooling from 10 to 13 years and to support training programs for 225,000 teachers and build 1,000 classrooms (Government of Australia, 2014b).

But as previously stated it tends to look like development aid is, also in this case, heavily influenced by the nations own foreign policy. The next quote underlines the intertwining of development aid with a nation's policy.

“... There are several narratives that run through the post-war history of Australian aid. Most notable is the long-running contest between the foreign policy demands that aid must serve the national interest (defined with a focus on security) and an increasing cognizance among aid bureaucrats, and some politicians, that effective ‘development’ may be stymied by these demands. The most recent expression of this is seen in the emphasis on ‘pragmatic aid policy’, but it can be seen throughout the post-war contests within the Australian bureaucracy over budget and policy control of the programme” (Davis, 2011).

This shows how many factors influence development aid and that development aid must always be seen as part of a nation’s policy. This policy can then be influenced by the people through the means of political influence and/or influenced by the economic factors. This is underlined by the next quote.

“Australia’s location in the developing Asia-Pacific region, and the contribution of our aid programme to the stability and economic progress of our near neighbors, means Australia’s aid programme is more closely aligned with our national interest than is the case for most developed countries . . . Our aid programme is not separate from our foreign policy. It is a crucial part of it” (Commonwealth of Australia, 2009).

4.4.4 Asia

Asia is a continent which consists of several countries whom receive development aid. Also various countries are contributors to development aid. One of those countries is Japan. A country which is also listed third as major Filipino destination country.

The policy concerning development aid of Japan focuses on four main issues. Issues that shows similarities with policies of other already mentioned countries. Poverty reduction, sustainable growth, addressing global issues and peace-building (Government of Japan, 2003).

The Philippines is listed as 8th largest recipient of Japan’s development aid. The countries which Japan focusses upon are Vietnam, India and Indonesia. But the most interesting of development aid contributed by Japan is the focus on the “Economic infrastructure” compared to countries as Canada, United States and Australia. Examples of this economic assistance are irrigation projects, rural road improvement project, port development project and a ship repair yard project (Embassy of Japan, 2012). But Japan’s aid policy also shows to important aspects. Research of Furuoka (2005) states that the Japanese government overlooks bad human rights practices in the aid recipients that represent

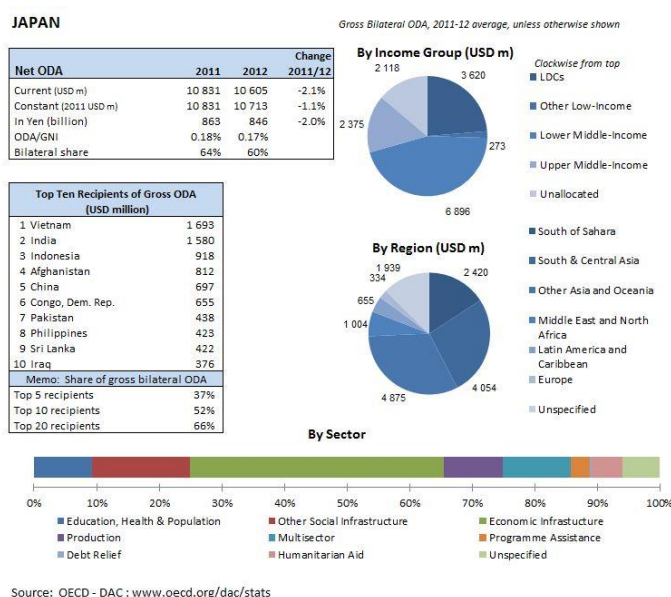


Figure 14. Development aid Japan (OECD, 2014).

economic interest for Japan. Following this, even if Japan takes punitive measures against those countries, it resumes aid as soon as it finds a suitable pretext to do so. The findings indicate that the size of population and economic interests have significant influence on Japan's ODA allocations (Furuoka, 2005). The ODA of Japan shows, in accordance with other countries, being dependable on economic and political factors. The aid provided is dependable on the economic benefits of Japan itself. Ironically self-interest shows to be of importance when providing development aid.

One other important country with a substantial influence in the region is China. The development aid given by China reaches out to Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia. Research of The New York University Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service shows that foreign assistance of China has primarily been driven to secure and transport natural resources and also for diplomatic reasons. Hereby Africa receives the greatest amount of development aid, followed by Latin America and South East-Asia. But also interestingly to note is that "China has become a major financier and investor in infrastructure, energy, agriculture, and mining in the Philippines." (Congressional Research Service, 2009) According to Michelle Remo (2008), in 2006, China was the third largest contributor to bilateral development aid to the Philippines after Japan and the United Kingdom. The policy of China concerning development aid is also very result oriented. "Chinese leaders insist that achieving economic growth should be the core objective for assistance programs". (Reilly, 2011) Also from researcher James Reilly (2011) it is stated that China is to exert greater influence in the regional institutions. It does show that China sees development aid as a part of its (foreign) policy. Australia shows some similarities with this as do Canada and the United States. Various countries in the Middle East also show these characteristics, while the focus of those countries tends to be more focused on developing the south-south cooperation.

4.4.5 European Union

The policy of the European Union concerning development aid shows some interesting goals. The previously discussed countries have mainly showed an economic and political interest and development aid which is heavily influenced by foreign policy. The policy of the European Union is an example of an institution that shows that development aid is intertwined in its foreign and internal affairs policy and which uses development aid to reach one of its goals to reduce immigration. Hence in the case of the European Union it is important to start by looking at the migration policy as the development aid policy is strongly influenced by this policy.

The policy of the European Union concerning migration primarily consists of the 'GAMM'. The Global Approach to Migration and Mobility is an evolved version of the Global Approach to Migration which was constructed in 2005. The Global Approach to Migration "was designed to address all relevant aspects of migration in a balanced and comprehensive way, in partnership with non-EU countries" (European Commission, 2011a). To benefit of migration to the European Union and to respond on the challenges of changing migration trends, the Global Approach was changed into the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility. The key objectives of the GAMM are focused on the link between migration and mobility by looking at the link between the given EU visas for short term stay in the EU and national migration policy for long term stay. It is also stated that the Global Approach should be defined 'in the widest possible context as the overarching framework of EU external

policy', by doing so it is complementary to other broader objectives that are served by the foreign policy of the European Union. Also an important part of the policy is the Migration and Mobility Dialogues. According to this policy dialogues should be pursued on national, regional and local level. The final key objectives of the policy are focused on contributing to the vitality and competitiveness of the EU. Primarily to maintain or create a workforce that can cope successfully with demographic changes and economical changes. As final point the education and training play a crucial role in the policy, this for successfully integrate migrants into society. Most of all these point show that there is a connection made between 'regular' policy that involves foreign policy and also national policy. By combining migration and these other policies a more effective execution of policy is being pursued (European Commission, 2011a). The connection between the migration policy of the European Union and development aid is seen under the name of 'Development and Cooperation – EuropeAid'. A connection of the migration policy and the foreign development policy is central with this policy. The Migration and Development policies of the EU shows various goals, one important key-point is the 'to address the root causes of migration, with a special focus on employment issues, governance and demographic developments' (European Commission, 2013). This point is an example of the way the foreign policy, as development aid, of the EU affects other countries and which goals are pursued. The development policy shows to be an extension of the foreign policy of the European Union.

"The European Union needs a comprehensive approach to migration addressing political, human rights and development issues in countries and regions of origin and transit. This requires combating poverty . . . preventing conflicts and consolidating democratic states and ensuring respect for human rights . . . [and] a greater coherence of internal and external policies of the Union" (Council of the European Union, 1999).

The development and cooperation policy of the European gives a broad overview of the (local and regional) impact of the policy of the European Union. To address the key-point, as mentioned above, the EU focuses on the support of third world countries:

- Creating capacities to manage legal migration, this includes facilitating the work of the national services or of autonomous centers in charge of counseling potential migrants and/or their nationals abroad,
- Initiatives focused on encouraging the positive impact of development projects financed by migrants' remittances and by reducing the cost of the transfer of remittances,
- Initiatives to enable members of Diasporas to contribute to their (home) country and the temporary return of highly qualified migrants,
- Identify and explore the relationship between climate change and migration patterns and gain a better understanding of the amount of people currently affected and in the future
- To strengthen the efforts to address the root causes of migration, this with a special focus on employment issues, demographic developments and governance (European Commission, 2013).

These policy key-points are clearly focusing on helping countries to gain control over their migratory flows and are representative for the development aid of the European Union. Especially the last key-point shows the connection of the migration policy of the European Union with development aid.

What this means for the current period is shown in the Thematic Programme "Cooperation with Third Countries in the areas of Migration and Asylum" 2011-2013 Multi-Annual Strategy Paper" (European Commission, 2011b). It aims "to support third countries in their efforts to ensure better management of migratory flows in all their dimensions" (European Commission, 2011b). More precise the goals of the thematic programme are:

- (a) Strengthening the links between migration and development,
- (b) The promoting of well-managed labor migration
- (c) Preventing and restrict irregular immigration and facilitating the readmission of illegal immigrants
- (d) The protection of migrants, those include the most vulnerable such as women and children against exclusion and exploitation
- (e) Promoting of international protection and asylum (European Commission, 2011b).

The projects that originated from this policy vary per year. But all of these projects are executed by external organizations, EU serves as a funding organization. Hence, the development aid is mainly multilateral. Examples of these external organizations are United Nations Development Programme, International Organization for Migration, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, International Labour Organization and the International Centre for Migration Policy Development. In addition also other organizations such as NGO's have various projects which are (partly) financed by the European Union.

The main recipient of aid is Turkey followed by Serbia and Tunisia. The Philippines is not on the list of top 10 countries, although as the next chapter shows, the European Union still is one of the top providing development aid countries.

The projects that the EU with all its member states provides shows that the aid given to the Philippines mainly focuses itself on the social issues, environment, migration, human rights and indigenous people. Examples of this are an agricultural school, sustainable drinking water and a pilot project in the English language (European Union, 2012).

But as stated in the beginning of this subsection the European Union makes an interesting connection. Development aid is used as a tool to reduce migration. But although it may look like it is a different way of implementing development aid compared to other countries, it is actually quite the same. Development aid has to be seen as an instrument which is heavily influenced by the

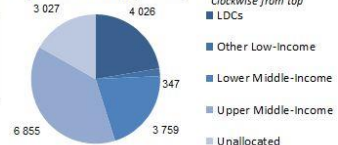
EU INSTITUTIONS

Net ODA	2011	2012	Change 2011/12
Current (USD m)	17 391	17 479	0.5%
Constant (2011 USD m)	17 391	18 681	7.4%
In Euro (million)	12 507	13 599	8.7%
Bilateral share	98%	98%	

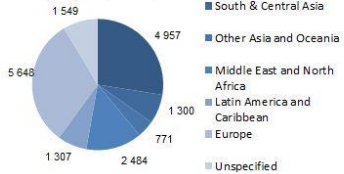
Top Ten Recipients of Gross ODA (USD million)	
1 Turkey	2 967
2 Serbia	998
3 Tunisia	541
4 Morocco	463
5 Egypt	455
6 West Bank & Gaza Strip	359
7 Bosnia and Herzegovina	317
8 Afghanistan	310
9 Congo, Dem. Rep.	303
10 South Africa	287
Memo: Share of gross bilateral ODA	
Top 5 recipients	30%
Top 10 recipients	39%
Top 20 recipients	50%

Gross Bilateral ODA, 2011-12 average, unless otherwise shown

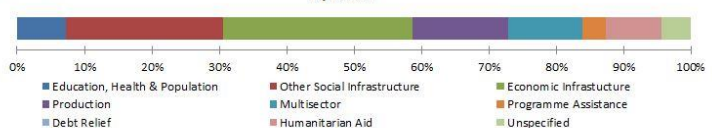
By Income Group (USD m)



By Region (USD m)



By Sector



Source: OECD - DAC ; www.oecd.org/dac/stats

Figure 15. Development aid European Union (OECD, 2014).

political and economic factors of a country, or a group of countries in this matter. Development aid can influence the development of a country as the Philippines but this aid provided is usually part of political and economic motives of the donor countries. Hence development aid can be provided as a tool to acquire certain goals.

4.5 Conclusion

The policy behind development aid shows to be implemented in several ways. The European Union has a very clear goal with which they provide development aid, one of those is to reduce the amount of migration towards the European Union. China has a mainly functional economic approach and has also an emphasis on diplomatic reasons. United States looks to approach development aid as a tool to secure the United States own security and prosperity while at the same time help developing countries in a financial and political way. The Middle East focuses more on the south-south cooperation and has invested Official Development Assistance in several countries of the Middle East itself. And Australia focuses development aid mainly to countries in the same region as the country itself.

But the most interesting part of examining the policy surrounding development aid is which factors are of main influence. As asked in the introduction of this chapter, 'With what means is development aid distributed?' this question has shown an interesting outcome. First, every country's policy looks to have a different implementation of development aid. Secondly, at the same time every donor country is providing development aid by also looking at their own believes and their own benefits. This can be to reduce the migration or to secure an economic position in the world for example. Mainly the support of the economic position of the donor country and at the same time the political and economic aspects of the recipient country are playing a major role by providing development aid. But next to the economic factor also the political, cultural and social factors show to have an influence on the policy behind development aid. Because development aid should be seen as being part and strongly intertwined with a nation's policy. Being influenced by these factors makes it that development aid can be used to aim for certain goals. Concluding, development aid should be seen as an extension of a nation's policy, a policy which is influenced by social, economic, political and cultural factors of that country.

5. The Philippines: Migration and development aid combined

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the national effect of development aid on the Philippines and the factors of influence on the migration of Filipinos are discussed. First the socio-economic situation of the Philippines is explained. Following this the total amount of development aid to the Philippines is discussed. This shows the concrete effect development aid has on the Philippines. The next section focuses on the migration of Filipinos. The effect development aid has on migration is shown, whereby a connection is made between top providing development aid countries and top Filipino destination countries. This is followed by examining the influence of economic, social, political and cultural factors. This shows the factors of the macro level that are of influence on migration (on a national scale) and what the role of development aid is in this matter.

5.2 The socio-economic context of the Philippines

The Philippines is a country which is listed as the 39th largest economy in the world. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the Philippines is 272, 018 billion dollars as of 2013 (IMF, 2013). The GDP growth rate was 6.6 % in 2012, with a year earlier a growth rate of 3.9%. The working age population consists of approximately 57 million people combined with a high unemployment rate. Aside of the high unemployment the sector that generates a large amount of employment is the growing service sector. The service sector has shown an increase from 40.1% in 1980 to 54.8% in 2010. The current employment ratio is 51.3%. The agricultural sector is the second sector of importance. It shows an employment ratio of 33%. This is followed by the manufacturing sector which makes up for 14.9% of the total employment (National Statistical Coordination Board, 2011). But as earlier mentioned, in the Philippines the unemployment rate shows to be a problem. The Philippines unemployment rate is still among the highest in the Asian region, approximately 7 per cent (IOM, 2013). The Country Migration Report, The Philippines 2013 (2013) argues that partly due this unemployment issue Filipinos are motivated to explore foreign labor markets in the years ahead. The Country Migration Report, the Philippines 2013 (2013) states that as the economy of the Philippines is unable to absorb the increase of the labor force (high unemployment), and that since the beginning of the overseas employment program the percentage of people working in the different sectors has remained practically the same, it is understandable “that the propensity of the population to seek employment abroad has been constantly on the rise”.

The report also states that the Philippines suffers from two other main problems: Stagnating investments and slow poverty reduction. For instance, Socio-economic Planning Secretary and Director-General of the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) Arsenio Balisacan states that the foreign direct investments in the Philippines are among the lowest in the region due to the inconsistency of the economic growth. The Philippines has only seen a consistent economic growth in the last three years (Santos, 2014). The slow poverty reduction is mainly due to high income differences across sectors and regions and an unmanaged population growth (National Economic and Development Authority, 2011). The Philippines shows great difficulty to attain these

problems, compared to other countries in the region (ADB, 2007). But next to the problems the country faces, the country is likely to meet several Millennium Development Goals (MDG). The Philippines is set to meet the reducing of food poverty, promoting gender equality in education, reducing child mortality, reducing incidence of malaria and other major diseases, and increasing access to sanitary toilet facilities. The targets which the Philippines has a low probability to meet are survival and completion rates, increasing access to reproductive health services, reducing HIV prevalence among 15 years old and over, increasing knowledge of AIDS and HIV, increasing elementary participation and reducing the maternal mortality rate (NEDA, 2010).

Ultimately the Philippines shows to be a country which mainly suffers of the mentioned three main problems. But it also shows decisive steps to try to counter these problems. The essential question to ask is what effect development has on these problems and the general socio-economic situation in the Philippines.

5.3 Receiving of foreign development aid

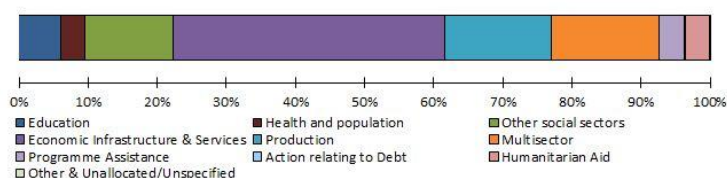
The Philippines main donors of development aid are Japan, the United States, Australia and the European Union according to the data provided by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2014). The main donors are listed when viewing the average of the period of 2011-2012. The sectors development aid is invested show a strong focus on 'Economic infrastructure & Services' followed by the sectors 'Production', 'Multisector' and 'Other social sectors'.

Philippines

Receipts	2010	2011	2012
Net ODA (USD million)	531	- 181	5
Bilateral share (gross ODA)	90%	88%	90%
Net ODA / GNI	0.3%	-0.1%	0.0%
Net Private flows (USD million)	2 296	2 343	2 705
For reference	2010	2011	2012
Population (million)	93.4	95.1	96.7
GNI per capita (Atlas USD)	2 060	2 200	2 470

Top Ten Donors of gross ODA (2011-12 average) (USD m)	
1 Japan	423
2 United States	159
3 Australia	144
4 EU Institutions	49
5 Germany	46
6 Korea	35
7 Spain	19
8 Global Fund	19
9 GEF	11
10 Canada	11

Bilateral ODA by Sector (2011-12)



Sources: OECD - DAC, World Bank; www.oecd.org/dac/stats

Figure 16. Development aid received by the Philippines 2011-12 (OECD, 2014).

The definition of economic infrastructure is quite broad: "Internal facilities of a country that make business activity possible, such as communication, transportation, and distribution networks, financial institutions and markets, and energy supply systems" (Business Dictionary, 2014). It essentially indicates that in this case development aid is mostly focused on activities that make trade and economic activity possible. It is focused on the economic development of the Philippines.

But as the development aid for a large part focuses on the economic development in the Philippines it is interesting to discuss the effect development aid has on the socio-economic situation. As previously mentioned the Philippines copes with a slow poverty reduction and high unemployment. A study on the effect aid has on the development of the Philippines shows some interesting insights on this matter. According to the study of Jones (2009) development aid has not

increased or decreased the welfare substantially in the Philippines, especially not in the rural areas. Another interesting element is that the amount of development aid looks to be tied to the economic situation of a country. When development aid would drop also the private investments to a country would reduce and vice versa. These private investments, the foreign direct investments (FDI), are good for 1.12% of the Philippines GDP. This number is substantially lower compared to countries in the same region. Cambodia for example shows a 7.03% interest and 4.17% in Malaysia (Santos, 2014).

It looks like development aid (and private investments) are more tied to performance of the economy than the poverty rate in a country (Jones, 2009). This is where the large part of development aid to the 'Economic Infrastructure and Services' becomes visible. Many of the development aid donors did not provide aid that had the primary goal to help civil society as well as economic growth. But many of the projects are focused on several economic subjects, the general condition of the economy. But aside of the economic focus of development aid the Philippines have seen a constant increase and decrease of development aid over the period of several years. The amount of aid given was affected by several factors: The economy's performance, the political situation in the Philippines, the political situation in the donor country and changes in world politics and approaches to development (Jones, 2009). For instance research by Bütte, Major and Mello e Souza (2012) shows that development aid from industrialized countries is influenced by geopolitical considerations, the guarantee of export markets and "the desire to please certain domestic political constituencies".

Development aid looks to be influenced by several factors, which the economic factor shows to be of high influence on the type and amount of development aid given. Still, the Philippines shows a high unemployment rate, slow poverty reduction and stagnating investments. Development aid looks to have little (positive) influence on this matter. Possibly due to the inconsistency of development aid provided. But also due to the matter that donor countries' aid looks to be focused on the economic factors of a country while influenced by political factors and theoretical influence. The theoretical influence meaning the view towards development and development aid and its effect in general.

But when viewing figure 16 also an interesting aspect of the provided development aid with the amount of migration is visible. The figure shows the earlier mentioned high variation of ODA provided by donor countries. The ODA starts from 531 Million dollar in 2010 to "only" 5 million dollars in 2012. When viewing data from the World Bank (2014) the ODA data of 2005 till 2012 is also visible. This shows a decline of ODA in 2008 followed by an increase in 2009 and 2010. 2011 and 2012 show again a decline. What would be interesting to see is if the migration patterns would follow this variation of development aid. Only figure 17 shows that this is not the case. From 2004 onwards the total amount of migration is on the rise. While the development aid reduced from 2008 onwards

the emigration is still growing in this and following years.

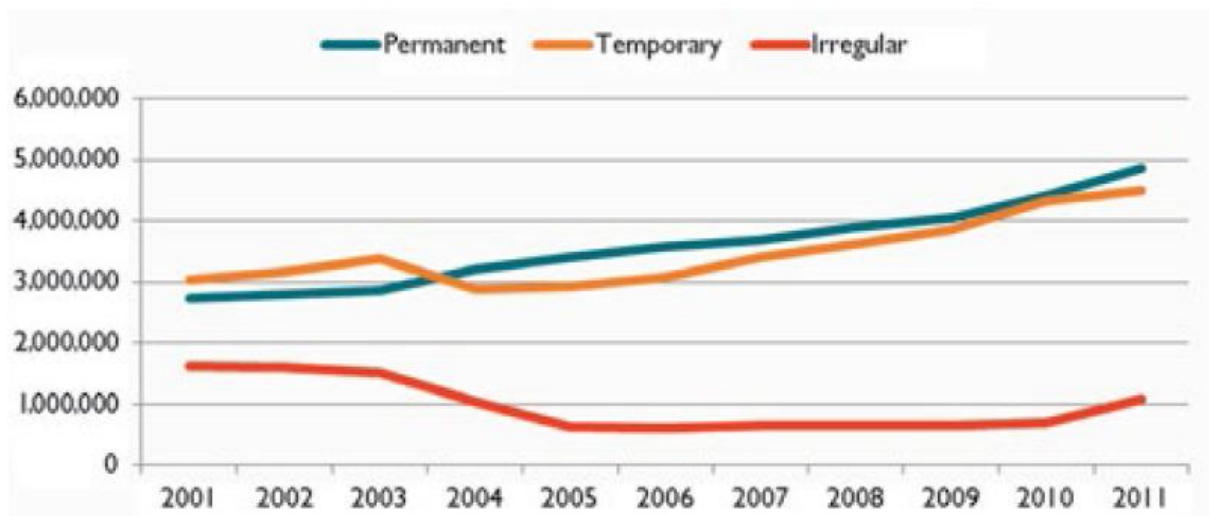


Figure 17. Emigration rate of the Philippines 2001-2011 (IOM, 2013).

But as there is no correlation of development aid and migration possibly a connection between donor countries and the Philippines is visible. Especially the development aid provided by the United States and the migration to this country shows a correlation. The United States shows to be the number one migration country of the Philippines as well as a substantial distributor of development aid to the Philippines. But when looking at Japan, a country which gives a substantial amount of development aid, the migration to this country is not substantially high. Still, it marks the third place of emigration countries. While this is only 6.5 % of the total emigration. But the fourth emigration country, Australia, also shows to distribute a substantial amount of development aid. While emigration is also only 6.12 %. But the relation that is visible is that the top providing countries are also listed as the main emigration countries. Still, at the same time the total of Filipinos overseas living in Saudi Arabia is also substantial while this country does not actively support development aid in the Philippines. This mainly indicates a possible correlation of development aid and migration but also the importance of other factors which are of influence on the migration of Filipinos.

5.4 Other factors of influence on migration

Next to the influence development aid can have on migration other factors are of influence. The social, economic, cultural and political factors show to all have a certain influence on the emigration.

5.4.1 Social factors

An important aspect of the social factors is the contact with family and friends. The contact with family and friends overseas seems to influence people's aspiration. Also the parents of children which worked abroad show to have their influence on the children's aspiration. Children which parents work abroad or have worked abroad share a stronger percentage: 60.4 per cent against 47 per cent which parents are not working abroad. In a family setting the desire to migrate looks like to

be shared from parents to children (IOM, 2013). The opportunity to reunite with families abroad, experience other cultures and encounter other people and societies are social factors that are applicable on Filipino migrants. Interesting to mention is the role Filipino women have in migration. Women in the Philippines always had the marriage as a strong aim in life (Chant & McIlwayne, 1995). In the study conducted by Hildson and Giridharan (2008) many of the women expressed a strong interest in meeting and marrying a 'foreigner'. For women this functions as a very strong social factor which influences their decisions in life. It influences the perceptions and aspirations of women. The migration of women abroad shows the effect migration can have on the social position of a person. The Country Migration Report, The Philippines 2013 argues that: "The feminization of migration has been posed as potentially transformative because of the 'transgressions' of having to leave their homes and families and taking up paid employment" (IOM, 2013). When women migrate they leave behind their role as mothers and acquire a new role which is to earn money and take care in a financial way for their children. When a man migrates women also get additional responsibilities, such as also having the role of being a father aside of being a mother, but they also discovered (new) strengths and capacities, which could enhance their self-knowledge (Go and Postrado, 1986; Arcinas, 1991; ECMI/AOS-Manila et al., 2004). Still, when a female migrant returns home to her family in most of the cases it is again "business as usual" (Asis, 2001). The gender roles most of the time go back to normal. This can pose tensions and difficulties because women have experiences a certain autonomy when they were working and living abroad (Asis, 2001; Meisner, 2002; Tharan, 2011). But this differs between migrants who return which are married or single. Maybe the most important for women who return home is the fact that they have to reintegrate economically. Research of Asis (2001) shows that most of the returned migrants had plans to return back to the country they migrated to. In the province of Maguindanao the motivation to re-migrate was especially strong among single women (Meisner, 2002).

But an interesting development is the participation of fathers as carers. Research shows that while a mother was abroad and the father took care of the children, these children do not experience any direct disadvantages as compared to other children (Champsea & SMC, 2011). Research of Pingol (2001) describes the changing position of a father as "a rethinking and refashioning of manhood". It changes from being a provider to becoming someone who is in control, a referent to someone who has discipline, has a job, can endure difficulties and who has self-control. This gives an interesting insight in the possible changing roles between mother and father and their children and it can have an influence on the position of women in a family. This also shows the changing possibilities and aspirations of people. As gender roles are changing also its aspirations to migrate can be influenced. This is also underlined by the research of the IOM (2013): Family is usually the most beneficiary of the gains of migrating abroad. This can be an extra influence for women and men to migrate as it is highly beneficial for its family.

The influence on the family is also seen when viewing the influence on children. Migration for instance does not show a direct negative influence on the development of children. When a child is left behind by its parents and the child is regularly raised by family members the development of such a child is no less compared to another child. In various cases these children tended to be more independent than others. Children of Filipino migrants also tend to be performing better in school than children of non-migrants (IOM, 2013). But the study of Edillon (2008) also shows the

disadvantages children can face when their parents are working abroad: Children of Filipino migrants have a poorer health condition due to less frequent visits to medical personnel, children are also less protected against economic shocks as their parents mostly invest in housing which makes that there are few liquid assets to use.

5.4.2 Economic factors

Migration shows to be influenced by economic factors in various ways. Mainly the economic benefits working abroad can have are very important. The economic benefits can provide money for someone's children but also provide money to take care of children's parents. The economic factors are seen by looking at the economic situation of the Philippines but also simply by looking at the lives of people. As discussed before, the Philippines is a country which is accompanied by high rates of poverty and unemployment. This influences the desire to migrate and the acquisition of skills, pursuit of a career and reach a higher living standard. The effect of family and friends living abroad is aside of the social influence also a factor of high economic influence. It has an influence on people's economic situation at home when having the knowledge money is sent from abroad. These remittances are accounting for 8.9 % of the GDP of the Philippines (Huang, Yeoh & Rahman, 2005). As it has such a substantial influence on the economy of the Philippines also its inhabitants notice the influence of the sending of financial funds from abroad. Hence the sending of remittances can be seen as one of the important influences of migration on people's lives. During the growth of emigration also the amount of remittances showed a strong increase. The growth is due to the increase of migrants and also the relatively longer years of employment, more people are working in high wage-earning seafaring sector, longer service records and a strong increase for those who receive an extended contract. What this concretely means for Filipinos at home is seen by the research of Lukasiewicz (2011). This research focuses on the impact of migration on the gender identity in rural areas in the Philippines. Of the sixteen people that were interviewed fourteen stated they could buy new parcels of land due to the receiving of remittances. Hence the sending of remittances has a considerable influence: Construction of houses, private education of children and families and saving some money are some of the benefits people experience when receiving remittances (Tabuga, 2007; Semyonov & Gorodzeisky, 2008). Important to note is that in general families which have a member of the family working abroad fare well compared to families which do not have members working abroad.

The influence of migration of Filipinos abroad means for the domestic market of the Philippines is uncertain, only the correlation is seen between the high unemployment in the domestic market and the labor emigration. Due to the high unemployment, migration has been constantly on the rise, as previously mentioned in section 5.2. The area where you see a strong linkage is with the, to be discussed, cultural factor of people choosing a type of education centered on working abroad. Many people chose to study these kind of jobs rather than looking at the opportunities at the local domestic market. If this creates a brain drain is uncertain, as no direct evidence is given of the correlation of brain drain and labor migration. Indirect there is some sort of brain waste visible by having approximately a third of overseas workers not working in the profession they initially studied for. Another important influence emigration has is when migrants reintegrate in the Philippines.

Aside of the policy that is realized to facilitate emigrants less resources are available for reintegration of Filipinos. Hence many migrants decide to stay abroad instead of returning to their home country.

5.4.3 Cultural factors

The cultural influence on migration is a factor that should not be underestimated: In the Philippines, according to the Country Migration Report, The Philippines 2013 (2013), “the many years of large-scale migration have rendered it routine, predictable and valued in Philippine society”. In the area of Ilocos for example migration is seen as the main vehicle to achieve ‘the good life’ (Tadeo, 2012). In Maguindanao, located in the far south of the Philippines, migration presents an opportunity to have a better life than the current situation of poverty and conflict (Meisner, 2002). The cultural factors also show to be slightly overlapping with the social factors, as habits and social practices can be hard to be separated. This is shown when viewing the aspirations of people. The aspirations people have in general shows that 5 out of 10 Filipinos have the aspiration to leave the Philippines and work abroad (Bagasao, 2007). Most interestingly is the outcome of several surveys, these show that even the youngest persons in the Philippines have the aspiration to migrate. A 2003 nationwide survey among 10 to 12 year-olds found that 43.7% already had plans to work abroad someday. It does seem that migration has a strong role in the culture of the Philippines as this high rate of children have the aspiration to migrate. The reason to migrate is mostly an economic reason while youngsters also mention the value of experiencing another culture as an important reason. The links with other migrants, a social factor, tends to reinforce the desire to migrate (IOM, 2013). Aside of the influence from these social networks also education can influence the desire to migrate. Because many schools in the Philippines are privately funded, these schools frequently react to popular education demands. Nursing education for example has become very popular and it is not uncommon that these schools advertise that this education can provide for a passport to another country. But the power of the ‘mental map’ is not to be underestimated. For example, little Italy, a town in Batangas has many Italian inspired homes because of the Filipino migrants which have worked in Italy. This image of Italy and the, to be considered, impressive houses fuel the desire to migrate. Another example of a ‘mental map’ is strongly seen on television and internet for example. By the popularity of these mediums people receive strong images from living and working abroad.

5.4.4 Political factors

The emigration policy of the Philippines is made out of several aspects. The government’s approach to overseas employment is focused on three main objectives: Promoting overseas labor, protecting Filipino migrants and maximizing the benefits of migration. These objectives have gained different attention over time (IOM, 2013). Important to note is that these objectives were realized by the use of various means. The Country Migration Report, The Philippines 2013 notes:

“These objectives have received different attention in different times and were attained through the following: Establishment of government agencies, regulation of private agencies involved in migration, developing norms and procedures concerning overseas employment, establishing a redress

system for victims of abuse and malpractice, strengthening welfare initiatives, ensuring civil and political rights, and through offering opportunities for reintegration”

Currently, the Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE), the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), the Department of Justice (DOJ) and the office of the president are the main government agencies that are involved with the international migration of Filipinos.

Policies that are created, regarding the migration of Filipinos, originated from 1974 onwards. The Labor Code of the Philippines created the Overseas Employment Board (OEDB) (Article 17) and the National Seamen Board (NSB) (Article 18). These were created to pursue overseas employment as a government initiative. In 1978 the situation in international migration changed because of the increasing employment opportunities in the Gulf Region. The demand for workers was so high that government agencies were unable to cope with this demand. In reaction to this several private employment agencies were allowed to participate in the facilitation and recruitment of migrants. The Bureau of Employment Services (BES) was established to regulate these private agencies.

In the years to come the migration of Filipinos was continuing to expand. This raised the question of safety of Filipinos working abroad. Between 1978 and 1982 several initiatives were realized to protect overseas migrant workers and especially to change their rights as a migrant. The Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) was realized to protect migrant workers' rights and to protect and develop the overseas development program (IOM, 2013). The POEA was realized by combining the OEDB, NSB and BES. From 1982 onwards the emphasis more and more was on the protection and reinforcing of migrants rights. In 1995 the Migrants Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act was realized, which presented regulation for protecting migrants before migrating, when migrants are abroad and the return to the Philippines (IOM, 2013). Most important to this act was the fact that it changed the definition of the Filipino migrant worker. The definition was changed from overseas contract worker to Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW). Migrant workers are to be seen as human beings instead of migrant workers (POEA, 1995).

Next to these developments also the view upon migration and its place in society started to change. More and more it was recognized by the government not as a temporary development but something that needed to be mainstreamed in the macro agenda of the Philippines (POEA, 1995). The POEA has seen a change in the years of 2007 and 2010. In 2007 the law was changed to strengthen the functions of regulation and to amend the deregulating activities. In 2010 this was supplemented with more emphasis on worker protection by the use of certification of countries where OFW's can be deployed. Also with the use of insurance on agency hires and the strengthening of the assistance to return home to the Philippines the regulation was strengthened (IOM, 2013). More and more the emphasis of governance was not on the economic benefits, but more on maintaining and strengthening the rights of Filipino migrants.

The main thought behind giving rights and the protecting overseas workers is that “the regulation of overseas employment ensures fundamental protection, in the sense that if everything is done according to norms, overseas workers should not encounter any major problems” (IOM, 2013). This does not mean there are several cases which indicate problems with Filipinos working abroad. Regulation is focused on the “information and education, selective deployment, selecting countries of destination, providing appropriate services and fighting irregularities” (IOM, 2013). The Pre-

Employment Orientation Seminar (PEOS) is created to provide people proper information when they have the aspiration to migrate. These seminars are given periodically at schools, barangays (small towns), central and regional offices and radio stations. Aside of these seminars several other seminars are present that supplement these seminars.

Another important political factor is policy concerned remittances. As remittances are an important economic influence in the Philippines the government, private sector and civil society are currently focusing to promote financial literacy among migrants and their families. This is to use savings constructively, and to use remittances as investment and use it in a productive way. Also several policies are created to reduce the costs of sending remittances. Although currently the costs of sending remittances from Europe and the United States keeps to be relatively high compared to regions as Hong Kong and China for example (IOM, 2013). Another political support is initiated by The Commission on Filipinos Overseas. CFO supports initiatives of diaspora which want to use remittances to transfer knowledge, ideas and other resources (Asis & Roma, 2010). Many Filipinos overseas are interested in the supporting of development initiatives. Some examples which are partly realized by the assistance of CFO are Diaspora for Development and Youth Leaders in the Diaspora.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter shows that partly a correlation is visible between migration and development aid with the fact that the top providing development aid countries are also the main recipients of Filipino migrants. But aside of this relationship the economic and social factors of the macro level especially show to be of importance of influencing the aspiration to migrate. Filipinos are influenced by family or friends abroad which tell stories or send remittances. This process is then only stimulated by the government which actively supports migration of people partly because of the considerable economic benefits. It looks like development aid is of an indirect influence on these factors as it is visible there is a correlation between development aid and migration and that development aid affects several economic and social sectors. For instance development aid shows to be intertwined with the economy and it already influences people's lives when being part of a development aid project. Hence it has become part of the economic, social, cultural and possibly political factors all together which provide a certain way of life of Filipinos. This is an interesting notion to see as it shows that development aid's influence is broader than the influence an aid project tends to meet. And as development aid has influence on these different factors it can also have an indirect effect on migration.

6. The diversity in influence: Development aid in Baler

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the conducted case study in Baler, Aurora. At first the observation of people's lives in Baler are discussed. This is followed by viewing the results of the individual and the group interviews which are divided in three sections. Each section representing one sub-question. The first section looks at the perception of countries. What kind of image do people have of other countries and what are the main factors of influence? As this perception is essential to create an aspiration for people. And what is the influence of the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project'? This project's influence on people's perception and aspiration is discussed in the second section. The last section combines the perceptions and the influence development aid has on these perceptions. The perception and ultimately the aspiration of people to migrate becomes clear.

6.2 The people of Baler

When conducting my research I have acquired a substantial amount of information concerning the way of living in Baler. By using the 'A data collectors field-guide' (2005) I have made several observations. These observations are listed in this section whereby the most important data is explained.

The way of living in Baler could best be described as living with a calm pace. The time I stayed here showed me that Baler, although it is the capital of the Aurora province, is a place that feels like a small town and which has gained popularity over the years in the tourism sector due to the possibility to surf. Although this changes the way of living in Baler, by having an important tourism sector and a substantial amount of tourists every year, the general type of living still exists. People are centered on their daily needs and family and religion play a vital role in the way of living. But at the same time people come in contact with tourists, mainly from the main capital Manila. Because, although Baler is a place located in a remote area, the influence from tourists and their way of living can have effect on people's perceptions and aspirations.



Figure 18. Children in Baler.

The people I have interviewed were mostly middle aged woman. When I interviewed them at their houses and in some cases in the municipality of Baler my perception of the way of living was that people are poor but not directly unable to access their daily needs. Houses were overall maintained properly ranging from (cheaper) wooden houses to stone houses. Generally speaking, someone with a higher income would live in a stone house as compared to people with a lower income which would live in a wooden house. But apart from the variety in houses, in many houses there was a television present and furniture was centred around it. Also people usually had access to mobile phones. The women also looked healthy, well clothed and several had finished their high school. People's access to daily needs was overall good as I recall, although people are still poor and some experienced more negative living conditions than others. But my overall perception was not negative, it showed that people have little money to spend but seem to be contented with the things they have. Family and the support of their religion looks to be very important for this matter.

As the two factors of family and religion are very important for the lives of the people in Baler, this was seen when looking at the family situation. The interviewed women usually had many children and these children's pictures or graduation papers were important attributes to the decoration of the house. In various cases also many children were present in the houses I visited. Children looked to be an important part of the life of the women I interviewed. The relationship between men and women was usually hard to see because the husband in many cases was not present at the house when I interviewed a person. But my perception showed me that women in many ways were considered equal, although many household tasks were still the task of women. But looking at the municipality of Baler many of the employees were women, this showed to me that women at least get the opportunity to be active in certain professions. This perception is also in a way supported by the Global Gender Gap Report 2014 (World Economic Forum, 2014) where the Philippines is listed 9th in the Gender Gap index. But further research is needed to fully describe the gender equality situation in Baler.

Elderly people in Baler are people which received a lot of respect. In the time I stayed in Baler I saw that young children were very respectful to elderly people. The common practice was that a child took the hand of an elderly and place it against his or her head as a sign of respect. Also how elderly were perceived and treated by family showed a great deal of respect. From informal conversations I heard that people find it very important for their children to take care



Figure 19. Elder sewing Sabutan.



Figure 20. Children at their parent's home.

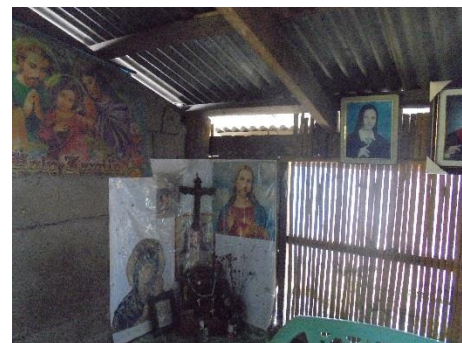


Figure 21. Catholic images at a local home.

of their parents at a later age. Having a large family was also seen as a kind of investment, where children could take care of their parents at a later age.

The Catholic religion is of high importance for people's lives. Many houses had Christian images or other Christian like decoration. Also churches and chapels were frequently visible in Baler. From conversations with people I noticed that people find it important which religion you have as they see their religion as a very important factor in their life. Several interviews also showed that people considered the things that happened and will happen as the way god would intend it.

The culture of the Philippines and especially the social behaviour of people is interesting to elaborate on. The first thing I noticed was the hospitality of the Filipino people. People welcome you into their houses and I was always welcome to interview people and everything would be arranged to make me feel comfortable. Also the way people perceive 'Western' people (Developed countries with mainly Caucasian ethnicity) is important to mention, because many times I noticed people perceived me as an important person and were very positive about 'Western' countries. Several products in the Philippines are sold to change the colour of the skin, to whiten the colour, as a white skin colour is equal to 'rich' and 'successful'. My perception was that people really looked up against a 'Western' person and people would like to look like this person. The perception of 'Western' people is then again influenced by the view on the United States of America as people usually tend to think a 'Western' person would be automatically an American rather than someone with origins in another 'Western' country. As experienced myself during my research people spoke to me as 'Joe' (a typical American name) and when talking they already assumed I was from the United States. It looked like the United States was representative for the culture of 'Western' countries for the people in Baler.

The things I did not had the chance to observe was if people had access to (affordable) healthcare, education and social support from the government for example.

6.3 The perception of countries

How a perception of a country is constructed and what influence this has on the aspiration to migrate is discussed in this section.

The individual interviews have showed that the perception of countries is very widely based. For instance, in most of the cases people have a rather positive view of the United States of America and Europe. This view is often stimulated or created by relatives or friends living abroad. The view of the Middle East however, and in particular Saudi Arabia, is less positive. People often told me that Filipinos weren't treated well by their employees in Saudi Arabia. But this would not mean people automatically perceived the country very negatively. When people were asked if they still had an aspiration to migrate to those countries people could reply 'yes'. The reason people still wanted to go was often pragmatic, because there were many jobs in those countries. While people often replied to me that there were negative stories about working abroad an interest of migrating was always present.

Jobelyn, aged twenty-six, shows how pragmatic migration can be perceived by Filipinos:

“Interviewer: And did she at any time had the aspiration to migrate?”

Respondent: She is from Abu Dhabi, Middle East.

Interviewer: Okay, and how long did she stay there?

Respondent: Two years

Interviewer: Two years, okay. And what made her decide to go to Abu Dhabi?

Respondent: She goes for the money there, she is going to earn money.

Interviewer: And was it a good experience, Abu Dhabi, or? Yes?

Respondent: Yes

Interviewer: And why did she come back to the Philippines?

Respondent: Finished contract.”

When asked if she would like to go back to a certain country the importance of place does not seem to influence her aspiration very strongly:

“Interviewer: And when she gets the opportunity to migrate would she then go back to Abu Dhabi or other country?”

Respondent: In any place

Interviewer: Any place, okay. And why does she so desperately want to migrate? Why wouldn't she want to stay in the Philippines?

Respondent: The lifestyle here was very hard

Interviewer: Okay. Because she thinks that all countries abroad give more possibilities, there are more jobs or?

Respondent: Many jobs.”

Many respondents underlined this quote by telling they had a positive perception of other countries, mainly because countries ‘abroad’ in general were perceived very positive. Still, the feeling remained that if people had the ability to migrate and could chose a country, they would migrate to the United States. This was mainly due to the fact that the perception of the world was based on the United States of America. With a background of former colonizer and the media influenced by various American channels and centered its news on the United States, this looked to be of important influence on the Filipinos worldview.

The perception of other continents of the world showed some interesting things. The American continent was mostly considered as a ‘beautiful place’ and often seen as a continent with a good economy. Oceania was also viewed positive, a ‘beautiful place’, but also various people didn’t have a good view of the continent. Europe was considered a ‘beautiful place’, ‘rich country’ and a place ‘rich in culture’. Middle East was in several cases viewed upon negatively. People found it hard to give a perception of the continent Africa, while some described the continent as poor. The Asian continent was primarily described as ‘beautiful’ and also many times as a rich continent. When asked what people precisely meant when speaking of ‘beautiful’ people usually thought the way of living was good or the country had a good economy. Ultimately the overall perception of countries abroad was that they were considered as a good place to stay. Underlining the positive perception of countries ‘abroad’. This positive view on countries abroad is described in this respondent’s interview: Arlini, aged thirty-three, is a woman which had an aspiration to migrate but because of economic reasons and her parents influence not to go, because of the negative news abroad, she still lives in

the Philippines. But her overall perception of the world was positive, she saw possibilities for her life in those countries.

“Interviewer: And what was her main reason she wanted to go abroad?”

Respondent: To help her family

Interviewer: Help her family, okay. Because when she thinks about countries abroad what picture does she have, does she think there are more possibilities over there?

Respondent: She think that in other country the lifestyle of a person will change so her opportunities grow.”

This quote also shows the importance of family for someone’s aspiration and perception: Family was one of the themes that was visible in almost every person’s answer.

Erlinda, a woman aged fifty-five, showed me the importance of family for people. A woman which told me that life in abroad was considered better as she heard several positive stories from family living abroad. Still, she decided not to migrate abroad as family has a considerable influence on her choices. For her, her family was a very important social factor.

“Interviewer: And when she looks at the culture of the Philippines did it have a big influence on her to stay in the Philippines? Family and religion.

Respondent: Family

Interviewer: Family is very important for you.

Respondent: Yes.”

This shows that the perception and aspiration are influenced on a social level. Family can be of influence on the perception of a country and a reason for people to decide to migrate or to stay in the Philippines. Throughout all the interviews the family was a central subject of people’s decisions, aspirations and of their perception of countries. People often had a perception of a country which was (partly) based upon the stories family told them. Many of the family members or friends which were living abroad were living in Saudi-Arabia, United States of America or Canada. Also some people lived in Europe and Asia. When asked, people mainly experienced Canada as very positive. Saudi Arabia’s image was again seen as somewhat more negative, when talking to relatives living abroad. A place where many jobs were to be found, but in some cases the working conditions were not good. People looked to be aware of these bad working conditions for instance but this mainly showed the pragmatic view of Filipinos. People had a rather realistic view of working abroad, they know the consequences but above all see the possibilities.

Emily, aged fifty, had a positive view of working abroad although she acknowledged the hardships working abroad can have. But nonetheless she thought countries abroad were a good place to live. Especially “London, America and Norway”.



Figure 22. Pictures of parents’ children.

“Interviewer: And does she also have family or friends living abroad?”

Respondent: Yes she has relatives in abroad. Norway. She has relatives in Norway and they are communicating by Facebook.

Interviewer: And when they talked about their lives, are they mainly positive or negative?”

Respondent: In Norway they earn a lot of money but they have to work hard. It is not easy. She is just telling that in Norway are high wages

Interviewer: High wages, yes.

Respondent: Yes, but they have to work hard.”

So what would, aside of the social factor family, influence these positive perceptions of countries? The media showed to be of a big influence on people. As previously stated in many homes a television set was visible and people were regularly watching various shows. By watching television this also provided stories about Filipinos abroad. The news stories of people abroad were several times negative. These stories told about the abuse of Filipinos, bad working conditions and the hard life abroad. These stories were mostly applicant to the Middle East, in particular Saudi-Arabia. The stories told almost the same as the negative stories that were told by relatives and friends living abroad. The more positive perceptions people received were from Filipino shows and shows that were filmed abroad. The Filipino shows showed a certain way of life people were attracted to, a way of life that would be described as a ‘Western’ type of life. The films or shows that were shot abroad primarily gave a positive perception of countries such as The United States of America and Europe for example. But one respondent’s answer shows how people’s perception by the use of media is influenced: The perception of someone is influenced by its own interest.



Figure 23. Decoration centered around television.

Ivanez, aged fifty-nine, showed that her own interest in a certain television show created a picture of the life abroad. She had an interest to migrate to another country, especially the United States, but due to the lack of money she was never able to realize this aspiration.

“Interviewer: Okay, and when she watches television, look at the internet or read a local newspaper do those stories tell a lot about Filipinos overseas?”

Respondent: She heard about the news of the Filipino workers in a positive way.

Interviewer: In Israel?

Respondent: Do you know ... X-factor winner of Israel?

Interviewer: X-factor, yes.

Respondent: She heard about Rosanna and Filipino workers in Israel. One won the X-factor of Israel.

Interviewer: And there are also a lot of, X-factor for example, but also other Western tv-shows, does that influence the image of Western countries?

Respondent: Yes, when she is watching television of other country, she looks more positive because of the well organized and more disciplined people over there then here. So it influences her to migrate.

Interviewer: Yes, it gives a positive picture of ..

Respondent: Yes it gives a positive picture.”

The story of this respondent shows how the interest of this person, in this case in music and entertainment, can be of influence on the perception someone has of a place. When I asked her what her perception of a place was she specifically said it was “more developed”. In this case also her family abroad had an influence on this perception of countries, her family lived in Texas, United States. But her perception and eventually her aspiration looked to be influenced by a television show, which only presents a select view of a country. Still, it does show the media can have a considerable influence on the perception of people in several ways. Where the media’s positive influence is mainly due to Filipino drama shows and ‘Western’ type television shows. The more negative stories people received from watching the news.

The perception of a country looks to be mainly influenced by family and the media. But as the perception of the world looks to be heavily influenced by focusing on the United States, it is interesting to know what the perception of another ‘Western’ country would be:

“Interviewer: And when she thinks about Europe, does she think it is an interesting place to migrate to compared to other countries?”

Respondent: She thinks

Interviewer: She thinks, and why does she think that?

Respondent: Because she has also relatives there, she gets that idea from their relatives

Interviewer: And they are very positive about Europe?

Respondent: Yes”

Flora, aged sixty-two, has had a positive perception of Europe. But when asked she still preferred “America”, also in this case this country looked to be a place where people in the Philippines are focused upon. Although positive stories of family, the countries people are interested in usually are focused around the United States of America. It tends to look like the perception and centered view on “America” is already a part of the culture of the Philippines. Although this can be due to the high amount of migrants in this country which makes that in many cases people have contacts in this country. Or possibly due to the amount development aid distributed by this country. But as other countries are also distributors of development aid I asked people what perception people had of other countries abroad.

Figure 24 shows a world map drawn during the group interviews. It shows a perception of the world where several countries are part of. Most interestingly is that the continent of Africa and South America are completely missing in people's perception. Also countries as Russia and China are not mentioned that many times. Another interesting notion is that in several cases the Philippines was drawn at the centre of people's world view. England was frequently compared with London, which shows that these two places are overlapping each other in their meaning: London is often experienced as the same place as the country England. Also the countries that were drawn on the map didn't show a realistic position of where a country would be. Sometimes the sphere was split in several parts which consisted several countries. The various countries that were drawn were mainly countries in the same region as the Philippines and several countries popular of Filipinos migrating towards. Hence Europe (as a country) was drawn and several European countries as Germany, Italy and London were drawn frequently. London was interesting because only a few of the respondents did mention England, while London was mentioned more frequently. The Netherlands was also mentioned, although I think the fact that I was from the Netherlands would have had an influence on drawing this country onto the world map. Also Norway and Switzerland were mentioned a couple of times. Interesting to note is that Spain, part of Europe and former colonizer of the Philippines, was not drawn once on the world map. Also when asked to people if Spain was part of Europe people often replied that this was definitely not the case.

The countries that were mentioned that were in the same region as the Philippines were primarily Singapore, Bangkok, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Japan. Other countries as Vietnam, China and Malaysia were also mentioned but in fewer extent. Especially Singapore was mentioned many times. Countries in the Middle East were also drawn onto the world map. But it is very clear to see that Saudi Arabia is the most well-known countries of the respondents. Next to Saudi Arabia, Dubai was mentioned a couple of times. Australia and New Zealand were also mentioned. Where New Zealand was mentioned a few times, Australia was drawn multiple times.

But overall the country that was mentioned the most was the United States of America and next to this was Canada. It showed that people have a perception of the world where the United States of America and Canada had to be part of. At the same time these two countries are countries with the

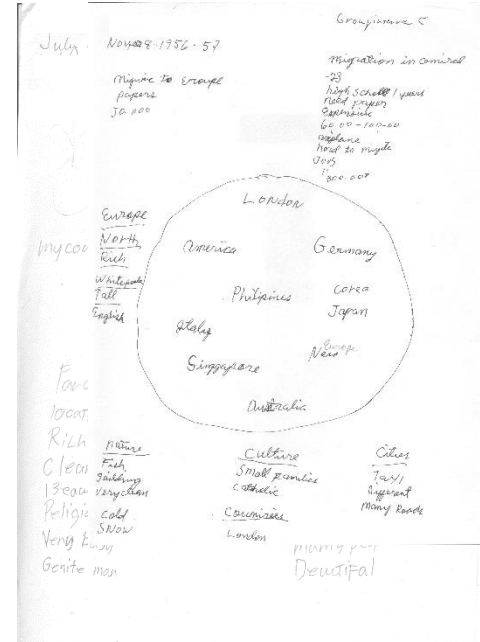
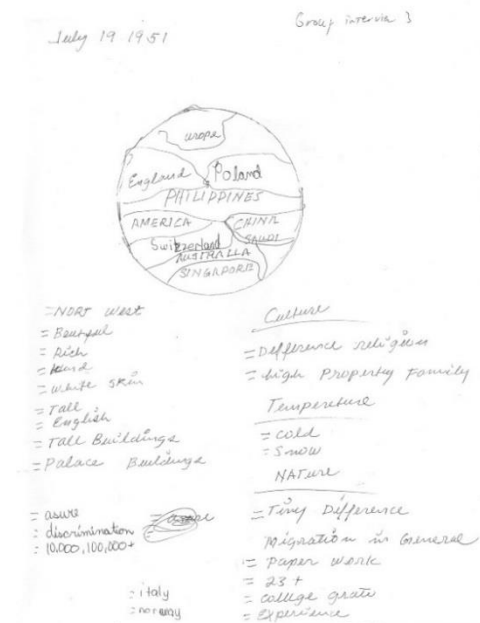


Figure 24. Drawn world maps.



highest rate of Filipinos migrating towards. And the United States is also the largest distributor of development aid in the Philippines.

When people were drawing the world map people sometimes showed to have difficulty drawing it. Next to this the countries that were drawn were primarily countries suitable for migration. Mostly the countries were drawn which people considered to be a better place to live. Important to note is that these countries drawn were also mentioned in the individual interviews. Linking the group interviews with the individual interviews showed that mainly countries were drawn or talked about that were popular to migrate to or had a positive image because of family and/or media. Although in the case of Saudi Arabia mostly the stories of jobs abroad would be the reason to draw this country.

But to really see what aspects and details people know of a certain continent I asked people several questions about Europe, to see what kind of perception people have of a 'Western' country. The general idea about Europe was positive and people think it is a rich continent and a place where "tall" people reside. The general notion about the European families was

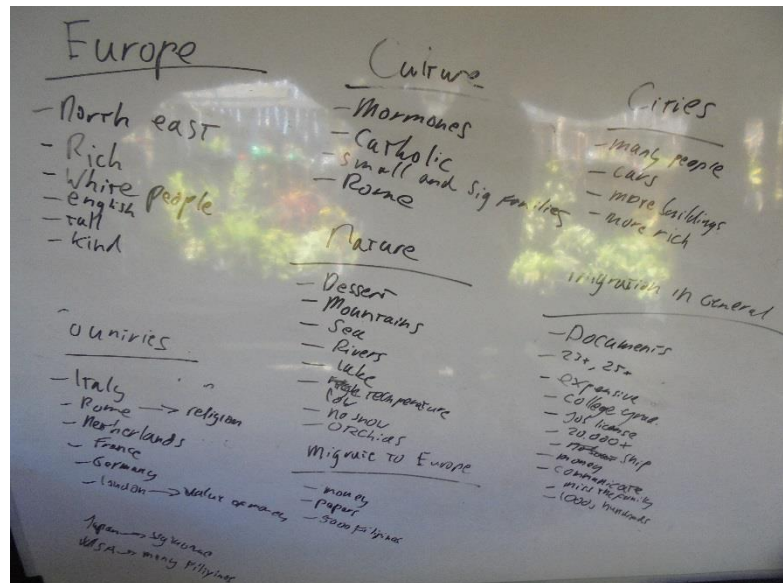


Figure 25. Notations on chalkboard.

that this is an important aspect of life in Europe although the families are smaller of size according to the respondents.

The main religion of Europe was considered to be the Catholic religion. Most of the respondents think the location would be North or North East from the Philippines. The countries that were seen as being part of Europe were mainly Italy and Germany. Italy was also many times mentioned when mentioning the Christian believe, as the place "where the pope resides". Religion showed to be one of the factors that influenced the perception of Europe. As the current center of the Catholic religion lies in Rome people had a general positive view about Italy and Europe. When people wanted to migrate to Europe Italy was a country that was frequently mentioned by people. Religion showed to be of influence on the perception and aspiration of people.

Also the Netherlands was mentioned several times as well as London and England as being part of Europe. Spain was mentioned twice, while this country was not drawn on people's world map. But it was clear that Italy was the most popular country to migrate to. The general idea of cities in Europe were the notion of tall and many buildings, many people and very clean. The temperature In Europe was seen as cold and the word 'snow' was mentioned many times, something that was also considered extraordinary for people. People considered this as a very special happening.

When asked what perception people had of migrating to Europe people mostly agreed that it was difficult to do so. People would need papers and people thought it would be very expensive. When asked what amount of money people would have to spend, people thought of 100.000 pesos, approximately 1.762 euros. Migrating in general is also seen as a difficult and expensive process. Mainly the need of papers and to be above twenty-three years of age and have a college graduate are requirements people thought were needed. The social factors that would make it hard to migrate would primarily be missing their family. The main economic factor of living abroad was the expensive life. People looked to be aware of the possible difficult financial situation when working abroad.



Figure 26. People making notations during a group interview.

6.4 Development Aid: The 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project'

In general the development aid project, the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project', was seen as a positive influence on people's lives. People often told me that it didn't create that much possibilities for them, to build a new house for instance, but it provided them in their (economic) basic needs. Also people frequently replied that the Sabutan project helped them to socialize with others. Hence the development aid project mainly functioned as a social and economic factor. When asked if the Sabutan project would encourage them to stay in the Philippines rather than to migrate peoples answers were somewhat divided.

Lidia, aged sixty-seven, showed that the development aid project can function as an economic and a social factor for people.

"Interviewer: And has the Sabutan project helped her to stay in the Philippines?"

Respondent: Yes, yes.

Interviewer: And in an economic way or social way?"

Respondent: It helps them to support their needs and also they socialize with other people. They bond with each other also."

But although people would stay in the Philippines because of the Sabutan project there was a far more important reason for them next to this: Family. Family showed to be again of high importance. Family was in most cases the vital thread that influenced all the main decisions of people.

Adelina, aged forty-four, looked positively towards countries abroad as she received many positive stories of family living in Canada and Japan. Still, she wants to stay in the Philippines because of her family and the Sabutan project although she also had the dream to migrate to London. Adelina showed to have dreams to migrate but due to practical reasons, being a mother for instance, she did not take the step to migrate. But when looking at her own children, she would support when they would migrate.

“Interviewer: And when she now looks back at her whole life did she at any time had the aspiration to migrate?”

Respondent: Yes

Interviewer: Yes, she had the aspiration?

Respondent: But she don’t want to go in abroad

Interviewer: No, I understand. Because the main reason for her was to her stay here because of the family and the Sabutan project. Can you ask?

Respondent: She understand (yes).”

The general idea about development aid and from which countries it was distributed mainly consisted of The United States of America, Japan and Korea. Also other countries were mentioned but in fewer extent: China, Australia, Europe, Dubai and Hawaii. Hawaii, a state of the United States from which the development aid project is partly funded, was sometimes mentioned as the place which indeed supported the development aid project. When people were aware of this they generally would be positive about Hawaii. This showed that a possible relationship was visible between a positive perception of a place and the development aid distributed.

When asked if the development aid providing countries would be a better place to stay compared to the Philippines people usually answered “yes” and underlined the positive perception people have of countries abroad. But this was not necessarily a reason for them to have an aspiration to migrate, in several cases they chose to stay in the Philippines. In this situation development aid showed to be a part of people’s lives. It had an influence on the social and economic factors in life and it influenced the possibilities of people. As it supports the people in their daily needs also the (to be expected) future was influenced. People generally wanted a better life for their children and mostly had the dream that their children could finish their studies and possibly migrate. The people themselves were in some cases not able to finish their studies due to lack of money. This then was also a reason for many people to participate with the development aid project. This development aid project supported the people but the support for their children’s education looked to be, again, a point of discussion due to the low amount of income.

Ima, aged forty-one, showed the influence of development aid and in her case the economic influence.

“Interviewer: And when she looks at the Sabutan project, she already said that it primarily had an economic reason, did it also give her social possibilities or other benefits?”

Respondent: To earn money. They tried to earn money.

Interviewer: Earn money, okay. And did the project also create, because she earned money, did she also brought possibilities to buy new things or?

Respondent: Maybe

Interviewer: Okay, maybe. But

Respondent: But not too few because she has another job like I told you she is washing clothes.

Interviewer: So the Sabutan project is giving her some money, but it isn’t enough to create big possibilities?

Respondent: Yes

Interviewer: Okay, yes. And has the project also encouraged her to stay in the Philippines?

Respondent: Yes.”

This showed the Sabutan project is part of people's lives and helps them economically, still in several cases it is economically not sufficient enough. When asked from which countries development aid comes from another type of influence of the project showed.

"Interviewer: And when she thinks about development aid in general, does she know where it comes from?"

Respondent: There is nothing, just Hawaii.

Interviewer: Just Hawaii."

Hence the Sabutan project created a perception of development aid for her. The project was representative for development aid in general.

The story of Toresita, age fifty-six, showed that her life was influenced by the Sabutan project which gave her the opportunity to let her children finish their studies. Still, the income of the project was not sufficient enough to be able to migrate and again family shows to be of importance.

"Interviewer: And did the Sabutan project helped her also to stay here in the Philippines?"

Respondent: Yes

Interviewer: Yes, okay. So it was also a big influence for her to stay in the Philippines, because of the Sabutan project.

Respondent: ..

Interviewer: Okay. So when I understand correctly, the main influences to stay here in the Philippines were the Sabutan project but also her family but also the situation she didn't have enough money to migrate. Is that correct? Like other influences

Respondent: Because of their family.

Interviewer: Family is the most important?

Respondent: Yes."

But, although she was not able to migrate, the development aid project showed to be of influence on the perception of Hawaii and her possible aspiration.

"Interviewer: But did you also at any time had the aspiration to migrate to Hawaii because you knew it was a rich country because a lot of money was coming from that?"

Respondent: If she wanted to go to Hawaii it is because of Sabutan.

Interviewer: Okay. Sabutan, okay. And when she thinks about development aid in general, does she know where it comes from, from what countries?

Respondent: Nothing

Interviewer: No, nothing?

Respondent: Just Hawaii."

In this case the Sabutan project enhances the perception of people and looks to influence their possible aspiration. Although social and economic factors remained to be of a boundary to overcome.

The story of Ligaya, aged sixty-five, also showed that development aid can influence an aspiration in a positive and negative way at the same time.

"Interviewer: And when she thinks about the Sabutan project, she already told it was an economic benefit. Does it also have another benefits? Social or?"

Respondent: They want to do more in design, arts in Sabutan. To improve their products.

Interviewer: To improve their products, okay. And has the project also created possibilities for her, possibilities to send kids to school or buy a new house or?

Respondent: Yes, she have. Like this.

Interviewer: So she could buy some small modifications. But has it also created some possibilities for her to migrate or for her children to migrate? Has the project influenced the possibilities?

Respondent: Yes."

Hence development aid shows to be of influence on an economic scale by improving people's lives in the Philippines. Although at the same time an aspiration is generated.

"Interviewer: Okay, so at the same time it had an influence on the aspiration to migrate but at the same time also on staying. And the development aid project is funded by Filipinos overseas in Hawaii, has that changed her view on Hawaii?

Respondent: Very improvement

Interviewer: Improvement, okay

Respondent: Successful

.....

Interviewer: Okay, but she never got the idea to migrate to Hawaii for instance? Or for her children maybe?

Respondent: If

Interviewer: But not compared to the other countries, California, London?

Respondent: Yes

Interviewer: Yes what?

Respondent: In Hawaii

Interviewer: They would like to go to Hawaii more than California, London?

Respondent: Yes, because our family is business minded

Interviewer: Okay, yes. But in Hawaii do you also have the IT-sector the computer sector there? Because I think the children want to go into the computer sector, but that is in California?

Respondent: Their children are also designing in computer, designing Sabutan in computer.

Interviewer: Designing Sabutan, okay. And they think, because in Hawaii there is also Sabutan they can do it there?

Respondent: Yes."

This person saw possibilities for her children created by the Sabutan project. When there would be an (economic) possibility the Sabutan project would provide the first information about possibilities in countries abroad. People are familiar with making Sabutan that they want to use those skills abroad and search a place where this is possible. The development aid project influenced their perception and enhances their aspiration.

To conclude, people perceived the development aid project as a positive influence. Mainly an economic support and for several persons also a place to socialize with people. Also the perception of countries which provide development aid showed to be a positive influence on the perception of that country. Both in the case of the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' and the donor-countries the 'economic factor' showed to be of importance on the perception of countries and the possible aspiration. The social factor the Sabutan project influences was mainly a reason to stay in the Philippines as the development aid project was an important part of their life.

6.5 The aspiration to migrate

The main question of my research is if people's aspirations is influenced by the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project'. To answer this question this section connects the themes 'perception', 'aspiration to migrate' and 'development'.

Margaret, aged fifty-five, told a story of the influence on her aspiration to migrate. The interview showed that Margaret was a person that experienced many hardships in life and did not want to migrate abroad as she was afraid for this new experience. She also stayed in the Philippines to take care of her family. But if her sons would want to migrate she replied that she then would like to go with them. It made it a safer and less scary experience when she would go abroad with her sons. Especially the social influence on her live became very clear during this interview.

"Interviewer: And the Sabutan project is funded by Filipinos overseas in Hawaii. Has that influenced her view on Hawaii?"

Respondent: She said that the image of Hawaii changes when they start funding the project because it was a big help for the project of Sabutan.

Interviewer: And what changed of the view of Hawaii?"

Respondent: The image of Hawaii became for her 'good', 'beautiful'."

Hence this is another example of the change of perception of a country but the aspiration to migrate was in many cases not at hand due to the economic and social factors. But when people were asked if their children had an aspiration to migrate they showed an important effect of the development aid project. As many people wanted their children to have a good education and to possibly migrate, in several cases the respondent hoped that their child or children would chose for Hawaii because of the positive perception she had of that country. As people had a good perception of a place this perception would also influence their children as parents hoped they would chose for Hawaii. But also in this case family in the Philippines and family abroad are essential factors: Violetta, aged forty-nine, argues that Hawaii is a good place to migrate to.

"Respondent: She wants her daughter to migrate to Hawaii if they have a chance

Interviewer: If they have a chance, but is Hawaii compared to other countries more .. Would she advice Hawaii compared to other countries?"

Respondent: Yes, because she has also relatives there.

Interviewer: Okay, and they are very positive?"

Respondent: Yes, because she never heard the news of bad image of Hawaii."

This quote shows that development aid can provide additional information to a perception of a place although the main factor of influence look to be the social contacts from family and relatives.

But next to the relatives living abroad other social factors' influence had to be taken into account. One of the social factors is the influence from the respondent's parents. This influence was important to ask to see what influence these family members have on the aspiration to migrate. In many cases a correlation was seen between parents who encouraged their children to migrate or parents which encouraged their children to stay in the Philippines. Usually when parents stimulated their children to migrate, people had an aspiration to migrate. Although when parents did not

influence their children this would not necessarily mean their children did not have an aspiration to migrate. Other factors decided if they would actively migrate to another country. These factors would include their family situation, if they are married and have children for instance. But most importantly their financial situation. When asked why they didn't migrate people frequently replied that they did not have enough money.

The political factor, the facilitation of migration by the government, showed a diversity of answers. Several people thought the government was actively helping people to migrate, and in some occasions help them find a job, but other people thought that the government mainly helped with arranging documents. Gulieta, aged forty-nine, told that the government also arranged scholars for people.

"Interviewer: Family, okay. And when she thinks about the government, does she think the government helps people to migrate, facilitate migration?"

Respondent: Yes

Interviewer: And in what way?

Respondent: By giving scholar.

Interviewer: Scholar, okay.

Respondent: By giving a programme."

Although the government helped this was not seen as an important factor that influenced people to migrate or not, it was an additional support.

When viewing the culture of the Philippines many people started talking about the way of life and the importance of family and religion in their culture. When asked if the culture had an influence on the aspiration to migrate people usually replied by saying that family was one of the main reasons they would stay, religion was also important but slightly less than family.

Ima, forty-one of age, underlined this:

"Interviewer: And does she also, is culture also very important to her to stay in the Philippines, such as family and religion?"

Respondent: Yes

Interviewer: Yes? And what aspects?"

Respondent: ..

Interviewer: Family, okay."

Many people wanted to finish their studies or try to save enough money so that their children could finish their studies. Because many of the respondents were older women that were (former) Sabutan workers many of them already had several children. This was also the reason I asked people the perception of their children and the possible aspiration of them. Hence to see how the respondents would view the future of their children and if they would stimulate them to migrate. When asked this mainly showed the influence of the media. The perception of countries abroad was already influenced by the media, but it also influenced their aspiration.

Jovie, aged twenty-eight, told me a story of her life and that she would like to open a new store but due to the lack of money she was not able. She also, when she would have the economic possibility,

wanted to go to the Middle East to earn more money. And especially the image of “a life with more money” showed to be of importance for her and her children.

“Interviewer: And does she think that her children, I don’t know the age of her children, but when they watch television that they get influenced to, because of the pictures of Western countries, to migrate?”

Respondent: Yes

Interviewer: Yes, because of the television shows? The western television shows or the Filipino television shows?

Respondent: Filipino. It is more about Filipino shows.

Interviewer: And what do those Filipino shows tell?

Respondent: She said that in the tv the things they need to have they can easily have their own.

Interviewer: The Filipino shows represent a material life, with a lot of money, so the children also think we want that.

Respondent: Yes.”

People in Baler connected to the Sabutan project showed to be pragmatic. They had to take care of their family and in many times did not have the financial tools to migrate when they had an aspiration. Development aid could enhance their image of a country and in some cases could influence the aspiration to migrate to Hawaii for instance. But possibly the most important aspect that was shown was the fact that people experienced countries that provided development aid as good places to migrate to. Mainly due to the economic situation and family living abroad this picture was further positively influenced. As my final question of the interview asked how people would describe ‘migration’ this confirmed the influence of social and economic factors.

Ima, forty-one of age, showed me in the interview that people are mostly focused on two factors in life. And at the same time these two factors of life embody people’s perception of migration as well as their lives in the Philippines.

“Interviewer: And as final question when she thinks about migration what does this word mean to her?”

Respondent: Good lifestyle and big salary

Interviewer: Sorry?

Respondent: Big salary.”

Ultimately the same factors that influence people’s aspiration are also the factors that define the term migration. People’s perception of migration shows to underline the positive view of countries abroad and the life of living abroad.

6.6 Conclusion

People in Baler generally live a life which involves living with a calm pace and the feeling of living in a small town. At the same time Baler is the capital of Aurora province where it experiences strong interest from the touristic sector due to the possibilities to surf. This has made Baler a place which already influences people’s social contacts, economic situation, etc. Especially the economic and social factors are of importance: It is a support to their current way of living and an important part of their life. When viewing the ‘Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project’, this project shows to influence these factors as the project has become an important part of people’s lives. Meanwhile

the perception of countries abroad is rather positive. The influence of the development aid project shows that it mainly enhances someone's perception of a country. In the case of Hawaii, the perception of Hawaii became more positive when people were aware of the development aid being distributed from this part of the United States. This shows that development aid has a substantial effect on the social and economic perspectives of people, it is part of their perspective of the world. The same as that development aid influences the image of a country, I think it also enhances the social, economic, cultural and political factors. These factors are next to the macro level also visible on the micro level, the individual characteristics of a person. Mainly the social factor, the family situation shows to be of importance here. The positive perception of places and factors are passed on to people's children. The children of the respondents are in most cases raised in this situation of being influenced by the development aid project which generates income but is unable to provide a clear future. At the same time these children are influenced by family and friends abroad as well as being influenced by the media. Hence the indirect effect of development aid can be that due to the economic situation with no clear future children's aspiration to migrate is influenced. The interviews showed in several cases that indeed, the children have an aspiration to migrate. While the direct effect of the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' influences people's lives positively and does not directly give people the ability to migrate, although people have an aspiration, the indirect effect on people's children shows the opposite. Children's aspiration to migrate is influenced by development aid.

7. Connecting the knots: Development, Perception and Aspiration to migrate

7.1 Conclusion

The previous chapters have shown the means with which development aid is provided and which effect the influence development aid has on the perception and aspiration to migrate on a local and a national scale. These chapters have provided the essential data to answer my main research question: 'To what extent does development aid contribute to the Philippine's people aspiration to migrate to a country?'

To answer this question it is essential to look at the themes 'perception', 'development' and 'aspiration to migrate'.

The perception of countries is mostly influenced on a macro level. The social and economic factors show to be the most important factors of influence. The cultural factor mostly supports these two factors by distributing a culture where migration is an important part of. This culture also shows to be very positive of countries abroad in general. People usually have a positive view of countries abroad. This view is then enhanced by the political factor which facilitates migration. Development aid also shows to enhance this 'mental map'. The way perception is influenced by development aid shows that development aid has taken a place in the lives of people hence in the perception of other countries. This perception of other places is then distributed into people's families.

The theme 'aspiration to migrate' is strongly connected to the theme 'perception' and 'development'. The step from 'perception' to 'aspiration to migrate' shows that several people due to practical reasons are not able to practice their aspiration. Mainly economic reasons show to be a barrier for people's aspiration to migrate. The Philippines high unemployment rate and low income is visible in the economic situation of the people interviewed. Still the aspiration to migrate endures as a type of dream of people. People want to migrate especially for the future of their children. Parents want a better future for their children and their perception and aspiration is projected on them. And as my literature research and my case study shows, the encouragement by parents has a substantial effect on the aspiration of children. People tend to form an aspiration to migrate when positively influenced by their parents.

To answer the main question of my research, 'To what extent does development aid contribute to the Philippine's people aspiration to migrate to a country?', the literature and the case study are combined. The literature study has shown the effect of development aid on the Philippines and also the policy regarding development aid has been analysed. Development aid of countries is heavily influenced by several factors of the macro level and is part of the (foreign) policy of a country. By being connected with the policy of a country also goals as to reduce migration are combined with the distribution of development aid. Development aid's distribution also shows to be dependent on the stability and particularly the economic situation of a country. Hence development aid is distributed while being influenced by economic, social, political factors and cultural factors. Meanwhile the

Philippines can be characterised as a country with a high rate of emigration stimulated by the same cultural, political, economic and social factors. The receiving of development aid of countries does show some correlation, as the top donor countries are also the top receiving Filipino migrant countries. Although this relation is also heavily influenced by economic, social, cultural and political factors. Especially the social connection between family and friends abroad show to be a strong factor for people when having an aspiration to migrate.

But, when looking at the indirect and direct effect development aid has on the members of the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project', a contradiction becomes visible. By looking at the policy behind development aid and the factors of influence on a national and local scale a difference is visible in the expected and the real effect. Development aid is generally created to bring development in an economic or a social way. Development aid is also created to address the goals a 'donor country' has created by its economic, social, political and cultural factors. Those goals a project tends to meet can be met but the indirect effect the policy behind development aid has can have an even greater effect. Development aid does not show to negatively influence the aspiration to migrate and the aspiration to migrate is passed on to people's children because of development aid not providing a clear and better future in the Philippines.

Hence the members of the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project's' aspiration to migrate is directly positively influenced by not providing an income which can provide a better future. Indirectly development aid shows that the places development aid is distributed from are perceived more positively. This perception and aspiration people have acquired of the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' is passed on to their children by the economic and social situation the children grow up. Aside of the direct and indirect influence of the development aid project on the aspiration to migrate especially the social factor and also the economic factor play a major role in the perception of countries and the aspiration to migrate. Still, the assumption stated in the introduction of my research shows to be applicable: Development aid contributes to the perception of certain countries as a place to migrate to, which stimulates the aspiration to migrate to these countries.

7.2 Scientific contribution

This research has contributed to the continuing discussion of the relationship between development and migration, and the focus solely on economic motives rather than the socio-cultural motives. The research show the importance of the three central themes of this research: 'Development', 'perception' and 'aspiration to migrate'. Development shows to contribute to the neo-classical model which has a main focus on the economic importance of development and migration. At the same time development shows to have far more influences than on only that area of research. As Massey (1998) already stated that research traditionally has been focused on this neo-classical type of thinking, this can be questioned as other factors shows to be of high importance. Hence to solely focus on this small part of the impact of development can become problematic (de Haas, 2008; Carling, 2002). Because development and development aid shows to reach far more factors of influence than only the economic factor. People's aspiration to migrate is indeed influenced by economic factors but at the same time the social factor shows to be of the same, maybe higher

importance. With every aspiration to migrate in my research the social factor was visible, the factor which could also enhance the economic factor. As relatives or friends were positive about work in a certain area, the perception of this economic factor was enhanced. The 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' underlines this by showing the importance of the social factor. People's perception and aspiration is not only rational, but above all the social influence should not be underestimated.

Considering the 'aspiration to migrate' theme of my research this shows that again the social factor is essential for understanding migration aspiration as it is the main factor that creates an aspiration. As people's perceptions are driven by a 'social mental map' the importance of the rational way of the neo-classical way of thinking should be viewed differently. The Neo-classical model shows good elements of how the relationship between migration and development could work. But as rationality plays a major role in this theory it is mostly applicable on how policy is created and migration is being influenced. As policy wants to meet several goals it tends to look at processes in a quite rational way. But the way perception and aspiration are created, which generate migration, are from the start already social processes. Hence the neo-classical can never be used solely to explain the relationship between migration and development as the social process is too much involved.

The works of Carling (2002) focuses on the importance of the social factor. One of the strengths of this model was the capacity to explain the phenomenon of involuntary immobility: Having an aspiration to migrate but not being able to do so (Carling, 2002). Instead of focusing on the ability to migrate the aspiration model I have created enhances this model of Carling by having a sole focus on the perception and aspiration to migrate. The power of the 'mental map' is highlighted with my research, it has shown 'why' a person creates an aspiration partly based on his perceptions. Also, while not having a strong emphasis on the ability to migrate by focusing on the perception and aspiration theme, the theme ability to migrate automatically becomes visible. By looking at people's perception and aspiration already the reasons why someone is able or unable to migrate becomes visible.

7.3 Discussion

This research has shown an interesting view on the influence development aid can have on the perception of people in the Philippines. But to critically view the conclusions of my research it is necessary to show where the true value of this research lies and which parts of the research are still open for discussion. The real value of my research lies in the use of an existing theory to primarily focus on a subject that influences people's behavior: Perception. To link this theme with 'development' and 'aspiration to migrate' is, in the ongoing discussion of the impact of development (aid) on people's lives, a welcome new view. Research has been made on the impact of development on migration, with some concluding that development has a positive impact on migration while others are questioning this. This research supports this discussion by looking at development aid as a process that is part of a policy of countries and that these policies are based upon several factors. It shows that development aid distributed by governments has clear goals and usually economic goals. The same factors that are of influence on the policy of development aid are also visible on the perception and aspiration of people which receive the development aid. The second valuable aspect

of my research is the changed look upon development aid. My research shows the influence development aid has on perception and aspiration instead of only focusing on the economic influence. The research does not necessarily look to which (economic) value it can have for people but more on in what way the development aid project influences people's perception and possible aspiration. As previous research has mostly been inspired by the neo-classical approach, this research primarily shows the social-cultural influence by looking at the perception and aspiration of people.

But next to the highlighting of the social side of migration and development the research has a qualitative research approach. Hence the representativeness of the research is automatically influenced. Although there has been made use of method triangulation, which is of positive influence on the reliability of the research, validity of the research is different compared to a quantitative research for example. The external validity is one of the disadvantages of a qualitative research. As the research is focused on the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' the representativeness for other development organizations in the Philippines is small. Still, the representativeness for the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood' can be considered as positive as forty-six people are interviewed and an observation and a literature study has been made. Compared to a quantitative research the depth of a qualitative research shows great advantages. Because of the semi structured interviews a total image of people's lives are created and the perception and aspiration of a person have become clear. The depth of the interviews was essential for this research as the question 'why' was primary to understand and to be able to examine the different factors.

Aside of the type of research also the influence of interviewing with a 'Western' background should not be underestimated. As the interviews were conducted by me and not by a Filipino there could be a chance that the questions are answered differently. For instance with the group interviews people frequently talked about the Netherlands because people knew I live in that country. Also the questions considering their perception of Dutch people and possibly European people is influenced by my appearance. Although by having native Filipinos as translators the difference in answering questions could be minimized as the questions were answered in people's native language and by native Filipinos.

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Appendices

A. Individual interview outline

Interview outline

The individual interviews are focused on creating a picture of someone's life. To get a view of his or hers daily practices. The focus of the interview remains that a mental picture is created which shows the several influences on the life of someone. The political, social, economic and cultural factors need to become visible by using the individual interviews.

You have to pinpoint what influence development aid has on someone's perception of Europe or other developed countries and how this influences the aspiration to migrate.

5 steps:

- *What is the perception of other countries?*
- *Does the respondent have/had an aspiration to migrate?*
- *Yes or no? And what are the main factors that influence this decision?*
- *If "yes", what destination countries do people have in mind to migrate to?*
- *What influence does the Sabutan project have on the aspiration to migrate?*

General (Get a view of someone's life)

Individual Characteristics (Micro level)

- Name
- Gender
- Age
- Education
- Profession
- Family (Married, number of children)

Sabutan project

- How has this influenced your life?
 - Economic
 - Social

Perceptions

Education/Profession

- Did you have any future ideas about job or study?
 - o Aspirations to migrate?
 - o And why have you chosen for this kind of education/profession?
- Do you think there are more possibilities abroad?
 - o Why?
 - Economic?
 - Or general idea about Europe?
- How do you see the future of your children?
 - o Education?
 - o Migrate?

Collective Influences (Macro level)

Family (Social Network)

- Family influence from parents, regarding migration?
- How much contact do you have with your family?
 - o Do you see your family as an important factor in your life?
 - Influence on your choices?
 - Education
 - Profession
 - Migrating
- Do you have family/friends living abroad? (diaspora)
 - o What do they say about their lives?
 - Positive (economic, educational benefits)
 - Negative (away from family, economic situation)

Cultural

- What are the main traditions in the Philippines? Do they have an influence on the aspiration to migrate?
- In what way has this had influence on your aspiration to migrate?
 - o Family importance?
 - o Religion?

Political

- Do you think the government facilitates migration?
 - o Are there certain arrangements?
 - Influence on you?

Media

- When you watch TV, look the internet or read the newspaper, are these images that encourage migrating?
 - o There are many Western tv-shows, how has this changed your view on these countries?
 - o Has this influenced your aspiration to migrate? Or maybe your children?

Development Aid / Sabutan Project

- Does development aid help you with (influence) your life?
 - o In what way? Economic?
 - o Seeing possibilities? Aspirations to migrate?
- Does development aid encourage you to stay in the Philippines?
- Has development aid help change the picture of living abroad? (Europe)
 - o Changed your view on Europe / Hawaii (Sabutan project)?
- Do you know where development aid comes from?
 - o Do you think countries that give development aid are a better place to stay than the Philippines?

What is your view on countries other than the Philippines?

- Asian continent
- American continent
- Oceania
- Europe
- Africa

Your view on Europe.

- Do you think Europe is an interesting place to migrate to (compared to other countries)?
 - o Why?

Aspirations

All these aspects of your life and your future plans considered, have you had any aspiration to migrate (to Europe)?

What does migration mean for you? (Individual characteristic) (Carling, 2002)

- Why do you want to migrate?

B. Group interview outline

Group interviews

Primary goal: Get a view of people's perception of the subjects 'World' and 'Migration'

The individual interviews have shown their aspiration to migrate and the factors that influence this migration. **The group interviews focuses more on the perception of the world and especially Europe and how they look upon migration.** Hence when you combine the outcome of the individual and group interviews connections between those can be made. People's perception of the world and migration becomes very clear due to the group interviews and the accompanied discussion, the individual interviews outline the factors that influence the aspiration to migrate and the perception of the world.

The main idea of the group interviews is to see what perceptions people have of the subjects important for my research: 'Perception of countries abroad' and 'Migration'.

Perceptions

Everyone has a piece of paper. On this paper they have to visualize their perception of the world. By doing so it becomes visual what aspects of the world they remember / can visualize the best. After this, questions are asked regarding Europe and their perception of this part of the world.

Worldview

- Draw the world map
 - Compare people's views on the world **[Discussion]**
 - Location of Europe?
- What do people know about Europe? **[Discussion]**
 - Keywords
 - Landmarks
 - Kind of people (Friendly/Tall/Busy working?)
 - What language do they speak?
 - Culture (Religion, Family)
- Draw how Europe looks
 - Countries
 - Cities
 - Buildings

Aspirations

The Migration part focuses on the practical side of migration. Do people think it is expensive or very hard to migrate?

Migration

- Practical questions about migration
 - What are the requirements to migrate? (Age, College Graduate, Job certainty)
- How expensive is it to migrate?
 - How expensive is an airplane ticket?
 - Or migrate per boat?
 - Is it hard or easy to migrate?
 - What are the pros and cons of migrating?

Perception knowledge

- How many Filipinos migrate per year?

Perception of Europe

- Is it easy to migrate to Europe?
- Do there live a lot of Filipinos in Europe?
- Which country would they choose to migrate when going to Europe?

C. Observation notes

Observation of the interviews

With the interviews I primarily paid attention to the surroundings of people. In what type of house they lived in and in what way the house was decorated. Special attention was paid to 'Western' pictures or western 'stuff'. Also people's appearance and the appearance of surrounding people is taken into account. The notations are made in a manner of writing down the information pointwise.

Monday: Interview 1, 2, 3, 4. I met several members of the Sabutan weaving project in the Sabutan production centre on Monday. I have interviewed four members at this production centre. The production centre was old and messy, and people told me it was not used anymore. People now make the Sabutan at their homes. The room was now used by someone from the municipality.

People were very noisy and I got the idea that people like to talk a lot and socialize. I also got the idea they found it interesting that I was a 'Western' person. Some of the interviewees spoke good English, some not. I also visited the shop where they sold the Sabutan products. It was tiny but it looked nice and it was popular by the tourists because it was located near the central bus terminal.

I also visited someone at her home and saw the Sabutan materials and how they make the products. The place was very messy with a lot of stuff. I also saw the Sabutan plant.

Tuesday: Interview 5. Met someone in a wooden house. I was interviewing her between the animals. A lot of chickens. Very fun to do! I primarily got the impression that she was living a simple life. But nonetheless she looked content and upbeat.

Interview 6. After this I interviewed her mother. The place also looked tidy and clean although it was outside. No direct pictures of 'Western' things were seen.

Wednesday: Interview 7. On this day I visited an old lady on the municipal square. She had a shop there. It was very hot inside the tent but the woman was kind to let me interview her. It was an old lady.

Interview 8. Later on I visited a woman with her children. One of her children was making homework for school I think. The house looked clean, but small. There was a big mattress laying on the floor where children were playing. Also a man was coming by to see what I was doing, why I was interviewing. Also a Sabutan hat was hanging in the house. The house looked nice and clean and not really poor or anything.

Interview 9. After this I visited an old lady in also a stone house. However, this house was located more in the back of other buildings and looked less clean. When I would like to interview her she cleaned the table for my stuff. She was preparing food, chicken I suppose. Mainly clothes were drying and a lot of small children were walking around. In a way this woman looked tired, tired of working and her age was shown.

Thursday: Interview 10. I visited a woman's house. Very simple again but more decorations than the previous. The decorations were mostly Asian inspired and I saw no direct pictures of western countries.

Interview 11. After this I visited a woman and her husband/friend. In the beginning it was not very clear if she was from Sabutan or not, eventually she was. The place looked nice. A stone house with decorations on the walls. Also in this situation no western pictures. The man/friend of her was very noisy and was constantly chatting through the interview. My translator reacted that 'Filipinos like to talk'. The woman looked a bit disinterested, something that is a bit seen on the picture. I think she was too busy.

Tuesday 29-4: Interview 12. This house looked very nice. A flat screen was visible in the room and the room had nice furniture. Everything looked very clean, one of the nicest houses I have seen. Also in this place some people were watching why I was interviewing. The woman was very kind and could speak some English.

Interview 13. The next woman I interviewed outside in front of her house. Outside it looked a bit messy and we had to get there by small paths. A very kind woman. She had a lot of pictures of her family and I think she also had family living abroad. It was the house she lived in her whole life. It looked more like a big hall and it was very basic. But with the decorations the place still looked nice. A man was living with her and was very quiet. Also here no western images only some pictures of western looking persons (family I think).

Interview 14. The next person I also interviewed outside, as many persons. They were preparing basketball t-shirts for a basketball game. People were looking and watching me when I was interviewing the woman. She was nice and was fond of laughing. Inside the place were medals from won games of basketball I think, picture of her son and several other pictures of family members. No 'Western' pictures.

Interview 15. The last interviewee of that day was an old lady. Friendly and also friendly people surrounding her. I interviewed her alongside the street so the recording of the interview may be a bit bad quality. This house was from stone and it looked like she was content. When I left and took a picture the man was very happy and was smiling. He thought it was nice that I (Western) interviewed them I think.

Wednesday: Interview 16. This day I interviewed a younger woman. She looked modern to me. The place was filled with stuff and mainly stuff for the children. Many books for the children.

Interview 17. The next woman was a woman that was living in a wooden house. Very open from all sides and many people were surrounding her. They were cooking rice and washing clothes when I was interviewing the woman. The place looked small and not very constructed well. Many wooden plates put together.

Interview 18. This woman was living in a pretty house. Painted yellow and with a lot of plants outside. It looked very nice. Looked maybe a bit simple but it was very well maintained. The story of this woman was extraordinary, the interview shows this. Inside it looked even better. And when I heard her story I received a lot of respect for her. A lot of things for her children were in the house and also religious figures. But it looked modern, no direct 'Western' images but many family pictures. She was very proud on her son that was in the navy as was shown on the pictures.

Interview 19. This woman I met in front of her house and was living in an old/broken stone house. Outside it looked a bit messy. Inside family/friends were residing and watching television. Her daughter was sitting next to her. The television was in the centre of the room as in many houses. Also a lot of pictures from family on the walls.

Interview 20. This woman lived in a wooden house.

Interview 20. The last interviewee of this day was an old woman at her shop. My general impression was that she looked sad and a bit cranky. Interview was not going very well. Shop looked nice (for Filipino standards). Her husband was also a bit cranky when he saw us having an interview.

Friday 2-05:

Interview 21 and 22. This day started with interviewing a daughter and her mother. This interview was taking long and I got the idea they did not understand my questions. Inside there were many religious symbols and pictures of family visible. The house was a mix of wood and stone.

Interview 23. The next house was with a woman living along a river. She had a simple wooden house and was sitting outside when I arrived. There were several chickens visible which they used for eggs and or meat I think. The interview took place outside and I was sitting on a simple wooden thing when I was interviewing. Her husband and her son were surrounding me during the interview. Inside it looked simple but clean. A lot of clothes were kept to dry and there were pictures of family visible. Simple house but nice.

Interview 24. The last interview of that day was special. I came into an area with a lot of small wooden houses and I was able to interview a woman in her house. She was very kind and while I was interviewing a lot of children were surrounding me. They looked in awe when they saw me. Like I were a very special person and a person to look up to. The interior of the house was simple. A bed was visible and a small kitchen in the back. The house was made of wood and it looked not very strongly build. The woman looked contented though, she was content with her quiet life here. Also a lot of pictures of family were visible. No direct pictures of western countries.

Monday 5-05: Interview 25. This day I interviewed a woman in the same part of Baler I was with the last interview. Again a lot of children were surrounding me and were attending the interview. The woman was very kind and was also watching the children when I was interviewing. Again this was a very simple wooden house, but the place looked cleaned and looked nice for the standards here. I

think she lived there with her husband and preferred a quiet life. Some pictures of family were visible and there was a television.

Interview 26. The next house was in the same part of Baler. Also a very simple wooden house. Nothing special with this house actually, looked like a lot of other simple houses.

Interview 27. The last house of that day was with a woman that was sitting in a house that was partly broken down. She told that she was moving out, when though was not certain. It was very messy because they were moving I think. The woman looked smart and also fortunate in wealth although the state of her house. Her son was also partly accompanying the interview, he migrated in the past.

Tuesday 6-5: Interview 28. This day I had new translators which made the interview a bit hard to for the translator to translate. The woman looked a bit stubborn and did not understand all of the questions. She worked in a Sari-Sari store.

Interview 29. The next interview was with a woman and her family. They were making several Sabutan products. This interview went somewhat better and got information about her children's aspiration to migrate. Also nice to see that they were making Sabutan products. The children were also busy making the products. The woman was friendly and the house was made of wood.

Wednesday 7-05: Interview 30. This interview was with a woman that had the aspiration to migrate but never got the chance. Still she is dreaming of migrating. I could not observe her home because I interviewed her at the office. But she looked smart and standing full in life. It was a good interview. Her clothes were normal, not overly western or something. But she looked smart and had set her own goals.

Friday 9-05: Interview 31. The first interview was with two women of the Sabutan project which came by at the office. I decided to do the interview with the two women at the same time. However, their appearance was mainly very quiet and at some times it was hard to get a clear answer on my question. Also due to a new translator. But it was very clear why they want to stay in the Philippines. Their way of living was very valuable for them. Their clothes were not very special as compared to other people I have interviewed. Also their way of doing was a bit shy.

Interview 32: This interview was very fun to do. People were very enthusiastic when interviewed. I interviewed an elder woman and her husband which were both very interested in countries abroad. After the interview they showed me the house and they poured Coca Cola in a glass. During this also a picture of me was taken, which showed they thought it was very special I interviewed them. When talking with the man and woman I found out they were particularly interested in the United States. They seemed well informed and would like to send their children abroad in the future. The house they lived in was crammed full with several things. Especially the big posters with pictures of family were visible. Still no 'Western' images seen.

Interview 33: This interview was with a woman that was living with her family in a solid build house. Also inside it looked nice and a flat screen television was visible. It looked they had a good income.

Not very high but still good compared to others. Also here children were looking at me and found it interesting I was interviewing. The woman was around 50, I think and was kind. Inside nice pictures of family were seen and the place was painted in a bright colour. It looked nice.

Interview 34: This interview took place in the office. A somewhat older woman I had to interview. She was very nice and also interested in the subject migration. She could speak English a bit and could understand some things I said. Also with the translation it went well and the interview was fun to do. I made a picture of her in the office. Her appearance looked a bit poor.

Interview 35: This interview was the last one of the day. It was an interesting interview because the woman showed interest in migrating and especially migrating for her children. Her appearance also looked poor, with teeth missing. She was very kind.

Monday 12-05: Interview 36: This interview was at the office with a young lady. Her age was twenty-eight and she had an aspiration to migrate. But as many other people because of the lack of money she was not able to migrate. She was a bit shy in answering questions and sometimes it would take a long time before she would answer a question. Her clothes were simple but it looked clean and had a well-groomed look.

Interview 37: This interview was also at the office. This lady was about thirty-five years and had some same characteristics as the previous interviewee. She was a bit shy and some questions were hard for her to understand and answer. But she made some interesting statements, according to the statements on migration. Her clothes were nothing special, but she had a well-groomed look.

Interview 38: This lady was missing some teeth. Was clothed pretty simple but she had a well-groomed look. Nothing special.

Interview 39: This lady was very kind and had an interest in migrating. She had her daughter with her that already had the aspiration to migrate. They looked like 'normal' people, not poor or something. More like the middle class of the Philippines.

Tuesday 13-05:

This day was very special. I expected to do about 4, maybe 5 interviews. Ultimately I did 12! So after this day I have met my goal of 50 interviews.

Interview 40: This interview was with a very old lady. About many things she did not know a lot about and the conversation was sometimes hard to resume. Her house looked nice and clean, and they had two televisions. Also a lot of pictures from family. Also many religious symbols, that was very clear.

Interview 41: The next woman I interviewed was a lot younger and nice to talk to. Her house had many pictures of her two children and also one big poster of her children. The house was actually one room, because the other part was from someone else.

Interview 42: This interview was with an also young lady, very nice and well clothed. She looked good educated and maybe somewhat different than the other interviewees. Her house was a bit of a mess though.

Interview 43: This woman looked very kind but she also looked a bit poor. Also her house was very small and not very well build. Several pictures were seen of Filipino actors or music stars. Also a certificate of one of her children. A basket for the baby was also hanging in the room.

Interview 44: This interview was very special. The woman, twenty-six years of age, had an aspiration to migrate and when you walked into her room you directly see the pictures of a certain movie star. The connection of migration and these pictures were directly made by myself. Because in other houses I have not seen those pictures before. Also a lot of pink in the house.

Interview 45: Very kind woman, also could understand some English. Looked a bit like the 'middle class' and was very nice to speak to.

Interview 46: Very kind woman.

Interview 47: This woman was very kind and at one time asked a question to me if I knew when her son could migrate. It looked like she was very interested in western persons and also had a great respect for them. Also this woman did not looked poor or something.

Interview 48: This woman talked very quiet. I could barely hear her. But she looked very interested because I was a western person. I got the idea that she had great respect for me. Also was missing some teeth.

Interview 49: Very kind, and also had a great respect for me it looked like.

Interview 50: Looks like a very old woman, while she was still in the fifties. But she looked very poor. I think she had a rough life.

General observation notes

All the notes of the general observation are written down in this section. The parts which are added at 10-6 and later are written *cursive*.

The general picture you get when visiting the several different people is that the people that I interview are generally poor. People live in simple houses, some in wooden while others in stone houses. It looks like people in stone houses have a slightly better income than people who live in the wooden houses. *Also by talks with people of the municipal and local people this is confirmed.*

From the interviews you frequently hear that family is very important for the people and that this is several times one of the reasons to stay in the Philippines. That and economic reasons let people decide not to migrate. *A very strong and important factor.*

When you look at the interior of people's places you see that many people have pictures of their children and also religious symbols are frequently visible. *Especially almost always there are pictures seen of the children's graduation pictures and/or their graduation framed.*

The people perceive me usually very kind and very modest. Some are almost shy.

I also get the idea that people look up to a 'Western' person. This goes accompanied by being modest and I have not felt frightened in a way that I would get robbed for instance.

When you drive through Baler you also notice the English/western music that is playing. People tend to use the same type of music as is heard on the radio in the Netherlands. Maybe a bit more outdated, more older songs.

Television looks to be more oriented on the Philippines. People are mainly watching Philippines television shows. This can also be the case because when people want to receive more channels they have to have a certain amount of income which several persons don't have. The 'paid-channels', such as 'HBO' and 'Star Movies', generally show 'Western' movies.

In Baler there is less fast food compared to Manila. The fast food in Baler consists of the companies Jollibee and Chowking. Both fast food and mostly oriented on a combination of fast food with rice. Mostly chicken.

The general transportation is the motorcycle (tricycle) with for 12 or 15 pesos brings you from one place to another.

Baler is the capital city of the province Aurora but this does not mean it is a big city. It is more like a town and has approximately 30,000 inhabitants. It is difficult to compare to a city in the Netherlands because the people's density is much higher in Baler than a comparable city in the Netherlands.

When people speak of the Philippines they show that religion and family are very important. Also the way of living in the Philippines is something that is appreciated. Although we, from a western

perspective, would consider many people in Baler as poor I think many people are contented with their life in the Philippines. People are generally kind and open and I think they enjoy the life in Baler.

Still, the 'Western' person is a very important figure for Filipinos. It looks like people think 'Western' people are better than them. They are taller, more white and 'look better'. There are many skin products that make the skin more white, and having a very dark skin is considered not as beautiful. People who are more white are also considered to be more rich. I have not asked this in the interviews but by casual talks with people, especially also with the talks in Manila, I got the idea that people think 'Western' people are more fortunate.

People in Baler also do not speak English very well compared to people in Manila. Important to note is that in Manila I stayed in an office with many young people and an organization that was focused on the international migration of people. But the difference is very clear, in Manila I could have good conversations with people while here in Baler this is harder to do so.

People in Baler tend to know each other. It looks like a big village.

Some people live very primitive and wash themselves outside for instance. Seeing the setting where people live in this is not weird or appalling to me. But compared with our 'Western' values it looks not very clean and fresh. But this is because of our values and not the situation here in the Philippines. *For instance it is very common to wash yourself with a bucket of water and pouring this over your head.*

The clothing of people is mostly simple. Shorts with slippers and a well-worn t-shirt is very common to see. Young people usually wear sunglasses and a baseball like cap.

People are very religious in the Philippines. Baler is no exception, the city has approximately three churches which have frequent meetings for people. Did not attend one though.

Also in the many motorcycles usually a religious symbol is seen, a cross or a picture of Holy Maria for instance.

On May 6 I have visited a meeting of the church at the municipal office. There was singing and a pastor (I think) that was reading several passages of the Bible. People were actively interested while I did not have that feeling. A lot of singing and people were very interested in what the pastor had to say.

The pace of living in Baler is calm. People are not stressed and it is not strange if you see a colleague of work taking a nap in the office. People in Baler are also sitting in front of their houses or in their houses watching television. When people sit outside they usually sit in groups.

Maybe there should be paid attention to the children's aspiration to migrate. I get the idea that several children have the aspiration and that the way their parents live (with the Sabutan project) maybe can inspire them to migrate.

It looks like people who are more fortunate economical wise are also more interested in migrating.

General:

- People live in simple houses in a rural area. Meaning wooden or stone houses.
- Wooden houses are very basic and people live a 'simple' life.
- Stone houses are also simple but have some more utilities regarding furniture, kitchen etc.
- People seem content with their way of living
- People are very polite and want to cooperate with me.
- The people that I interview are general women, mostly around 50-60 years old. Hence my interviews are more focused on the aspirations to migrate in the past.

Interesting:

- No images seen of 'Western' posters or photo's.
- When there is a television mainly Filipino channels are on.
- Television takes a central place in the living room

Special:

- No particular aspects

Summary

Migration and development have always been two processes interlinked with each other. Development in a certain area could provide migration towards that area for instance. But this connection has also always been a point of discussion. My research focused on this relationship and contributed to the ongoing scientific discussion of the relationship between development and migration. By doing so, the theme 'aspiration to migrate', 'perception' and 'development' have been connected.

The theme 'aspiration to migrate' functioned as the central subject of my research. The 'aspiration to migrate' meaning lied in the interest someone had to migrate. This interest to migrate could be influenced by several factors according to the work of Jørgen Carling. These included the social, economic, political and cultural factors.

The aspiration to migrate was influenced by the 'perception' a person had of a place. This 'mental map' could create a perception of countries abroad for instance. Also the perception of places was influenced by the social, economic, political and cultural factors that are also of influence on the aspiration to migrate.

With the third theme 'development' I focused on the influence development aid could have on the lives of people. As development aid was one of the tools of foreign policy that influenced the perception and aspiration to migrate my research focused on this type of development.

These three themes were connected by choosing a research area where all these three themes were visible and where its inhabitants were influenced by these factors. Hence the research area was located in the Philippines. A country with a high rate of emigration and a country which received development aid from a variety of countries. With the Commission on Filipinos Overseas as place of internship this place of research has been made possible.

My research focused on a literature study and a case study of a local development aid project. The literature study examined the development aid policy of various popular Filipino receiving countries. Following this the development aid's influence on the migration of Filipinos was discussed. Next to the influence development aid had also the influence of the social, economic, political and cultural factors were examined. The research part of the literature study focused on the national effect development aid can have on migration. The case-study focused on the local scale. The case-study was conducted at the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' located in Baler, Aurora. The project was partly funded by Filipinos overseas living in Hawaii and involved the sewing of Sabutan into several products as bags and hats for example. From its starting date in 2005 the project influenced approximately 50 people and their families. The case-study focused on the direct effect it had on people's lives and the indirect effect by examining how the project can contribute to a 'mental map' of a 'development aid providing country' which can influence the aspiration to migrate. To practice the case study forty-six semi-structured interviews were conducted as well as six group interviews and an observation.

The objective of my research was to 'gain knowledge about the relationship between development aid and the aspiration to migrate to a country in order to contribute to conceptual and policy debates on the relation between migration and development'. Hence the main question of my

research was: 'To what extent does development aid contribute to the Philippine's people aspiration to migrate to a country?'

With the use of an existing theory, the 'Aspiration and Ability model' by Jørgen Carling, the conceptual model was created. With this model the influence of development aid on the perception and aspiration was examined next to the influence the social, economic, political and cultural factors had.

The policy of development aid was influenced by several factors. Mainly the economic and political influence on the means which development was distributed were visible. The development aid provided to the Philippines was mainly focused on the economic development of the country.

The socio-economic situation of the Philippines showed the country had three main problems. A high unemployment-rate, stagnating investments and a slow poverty reduction. It was argued due to the high unemployment-rate in the Philippines people are motivated to explore foreign labor markets. Also a correlation of development aid and migration was visible. The main contributors of development aid to the Philippines also showed to be popular destination countries of Filipinos. Also the economic, social, political and cultural factors were an influence on the emigration of Filipinos. Most interesting aspect discovered was that development aid is intertwined in the economy of the Philippines and the lives of people. The social, economic, political and cultural factors were all influenced. Hence the direct effect of development aid on a national scale is visible, as well as the indirect effect.

The 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' was also of influence on people's perception of countries and aspiration to migrate. The perception of countries was mainly enhanced by the development aid project located in Baler. People perceived a country more positively when aware of development aid was distributed from that country. In case of the 'Sabutan Production Center Livelihood Project' the perception of Hawaii, the place of where the project was partly funded from, became more positive. The project also influenced the social, economic, political and cultural factors.

The aspiration to migrate was influenced by the direct effect the development aid project had. Due to the low income the project generated people did not have a clear and better picture of the future. This influenced the aspiration to migrate as people were searching for better opportunities for them and their children. This combined with the positive perception of places where development aid was distributed from influenced the aspiration to migrate. But this aspiration to migrate was also influenced by other factors. Mainly the social factor showed to be of importance, as stories of family and friends abroad influenced their perception and aspiration. Also the economic factor was of importance as it showed the possibilities when working abroad. The cultural and political factors were of influence but of less importance. This positive perception people have was also passed on to their children. Due to the same economic and social situation they grew up in and being encouraged by their parents to migrate, the aspiration to migrate was strongly visible by the children of the respondents.

In the scientific debate surrounding the connection of development and migration my research showed important findings. Unlike the neo-classical theory the relationship between the two themes is not solely based on economic factors but especially the social factors played an important role. The creating of a perception and the aspiration to migrate are not only created by economic factors but especially the social factors show to be of importance.