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**THE DIASPORA AS KNOWLEDGE CARRIER:
Exploring Knowledge Transfer through the Highly
Skilled Filipino Migrants in New Zealand and Australia**

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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Development Studies**

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For My Ate Monina

For showing me the meaning of hope, courage and love

Abstract

This is a study of knowledge transfer as a development strategy for countries to capitalise on the knowledge of their skilled diaspora and to mitigate the negative impacts of skilled outmigration. It carefully interrogates the concept's viability through a critical analysis of the knowledge transfers undertaken by highly skilled Filipino migrants in New Zealand and Australia. A unique feature of this study is that it includes cultural and social knowledge transfer in the analysis to underscore the fact that knowledge comes in different types—scientific, technological, business, economic, cultural and social, to name a few—and they all contribute to development in different ways.

The study used a qualitative research design through a case study approach. Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were conducted with highly skilled Filipino migrants who had knowledge transfers to the Philippines. Interviews with their Philippine 'collaborators', or the recipients of the knowledge they shared, their co-facilitators in these transfers, or their co-resource persons, were also conducted. This part of the study was aimed at more fully investigating the effects of the reported knowledge transfers from the perspective of those in the home country who were involved in these transfers.

The findings suggest that knowledge transfer is a viable development strategy for the Philippines, but a complex process whose successful application depends on certain conditions that work in a complex, intertwined manner. Engaging in knowledge transfer requires not just intellectual capital but also social and economic capital, therefore it is facilitated when the skilled diaspora achieves professional and economic stability soon after settlement through the host country's acceptance of its skills and educational qualifications. On the motivation to transfer knowledge, the study finds it is partly driven by the diaspora's cultural and emotional attachment to the home country, but may also be hampered by unfavourable home country conditions such as poor governance. The viability of knowledge transfer is also influenced by a profession's training or orientation; there are certain skilled professions in which knowledge exchange and collaboration is valued and embedded in their professional training. Moreover, the different types of knowledge that migrants carry and transfer to others have particular characteristics and these have a bearing on their transfer. On the usefulness of knowledge transfers to the home country, the research finds it is affected by the willingness of the receivers in the home country to receive, value and use the knowledge transferred by the diaspora.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Background and rationale

The advent of the focus on the knowledge economy in the late 1980s highlighted knowledge as an important resource in development. Knowledge came to be seen as a key driver for new ideas and innovation, for raising productivity and for increasing competitiveness (Foray 2006; Huggins and Izushi 2007). More than a decade later, one of the key development agencies, the World Bank, in its *World Development Report 1998/99*, also emphasized the importance of knowledge in advancing economic and social well-being:

“Knowledge is like light. Weightless and intangible, it can easily travel the world, enlightening the lives of people everywhere. Yet billions of people still live in the darkness of poverty—unnecessarily... Poor countries—and poor people—differ from rich ones not only because they have less capital but because they have less knowledge.” (World Bank 1999:1)

The growing recognition of knowledge as a critical resource resulted in an increased and continuous global demand for highly skilled¹ people, many of whom lived in developing countries. As a result, these people moved into jobs outside their countries, causing serious concerns about the apparent loss of valuable knowledge from developing countries, or what became known as ‘brain drain’. A development issue first raised in the 1950s, this concept certainly preceded the knowledge economy [for the origin of the term ‘brain drain’, see Giannoccolo (2006)]. However, it again gained attention in the knowledge economy with the increasing movement of highly skilled people from developing to developed countries.

¹ The concept and definition of highly skilled in the context of this study is discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

Concerns on the brain drain issue in the 1950s and 1960s were, however, tempered by general optimistic views of migration, which were rooted in neo-liberal theories that suggested net positive effects of outmigration for countries of origin (Kindleberger 1965). They posited the beneficial impacts of migration in particular through financial or economic remittances.

From 1970s to the early 1990s, however, migration was seen as causing underdevelopment for countries of origin. It came to be viewed as a detrimental process depleting sending countries, particularly developing ones, of their valuable skilled human resources (Papademetriou 1985). As noted, the issue of brain drain continues to be raised to the present. Docquier and Marfouk (2004) noted the large numbers of their educated people leaving the Philippines, India, China, Mexico and Vietnam. In the case of the Philippines, which is the focus of this study, Alburo and Abella (2002) confirmed that between 1990 and 1999, the number of professionals who went abroad exceeded the number of professionals added to the workforce.

While it is well documented that developing countries like the Philippines benefit from international migration through financial remittances, this does not seem to be the case for the mobility of highly skilled people because they have a tendency to remit less (Faini 2007; Niimi et al. 2008). Alayon (2009) finds that Filipinos in New Zealand, most of whom are highly skilled, remit irregularly either as gifts to family members, mainly their parents, or as support for the education of nephews and nieces. This behaviour is attributed to the fact that highly skilled Filipino migrants in places like New Zealand settle more permanently in the host country, are able to bring their families with them, and are more likely to come from wealthier families (Lucas 2004).

In the late 1990s, amid issues of the continuing depletion of skilled workers from many developing countries, a more optimistic view of international migration emerged which proposed that it can enhance development not just through economic remittances but through the knowledge and skills that migrants can transfer to their home countries.² This paradigm shift from brain drain to brain gain appeared in various terms such as

² de Haas (2008:1) noted that this “shows how the scholarly and policy debates on migration and development have tended to swing back and forth like a pendulum from sheer optimism to sheer pessimism, and back again to optimistic views in recent years.”

‘knowledge transfer’, ‘knowledge exchange’ and ‘knowledge circulation’. I refer to the concept as ‘knowledge transfer and circulation’ in the succeeding sections to combine the two terms.

Proponents of this concept argue that the outflow of knowledge and skills resulting from the migration and mobility of highly skilled people may not necessarily mean a loss for their home countries because their skills and knowledge can be channelled back through a variety of processes (Meyer et al. 1997; Meyer and Brown 1999; Saxenian 2002a, 2002b; Hunger 2004). These processes refer to activities that fall under the concept’s two models. The first model is the return option or the repatriation of the highly skilled diaspora to its home country. The other is the diaspora model which does not require any physical or permanent return of the diaspora. Rather, it promotes tapping the diaspora’s embodied knowledge through social and professional networks and linking the diaspora to its home country through these networks (Meyer and Brown 1999).

A clearer and more straightforward description of knowledge transfer and circulation is offered by Castles and Miller (2009:65-66) in their book, the *Age of Migration*:

“The brain circulation argument goes as follows. If highly skilled people cannot be employed at home, they are not damaging the economy by leaving. Qualified personnel emigrate not only because salaries are higher in the North, but also because working and living conditions in the South are poor and opportunities for professional development are lacking. Indeed, training people to work abroad may be seen as a rational strategy, because in the short run, it will increase remittance flows, and in the long run, it may lead to return of experienced personnel and transfer of technology.”

Based on this concept, two things are suggested. First, the migration of skilled professionals may not be detrimental to home countries as their skills can be put to good use overseas. Developing countries, therefore, should not be alarmed if they continue to leave. This is because, second, they are resources for development through the monies and ideas that they can transfer to home countries (Castles and Miller 2009). The acknowledgement of knowledge as a type of remittance was first suggested by Peggy Levitt in her term “social remittance” which she coined to refer to the “ideas,

behaviours, identities and social capital that flow from receiving to sending countries” (Levitt 1998:927).

Several theoretical propositions support the concept of knowledge transfer and circulation: transnationalism, diaspora, network or circulationist approach and knowledge spillovers. Theories of transnationalism suggest that migrants maintain linkages and interactions that span national borders (Basch et al. 1994; Wong and Satzewich 2006). Theories of diaspora emphasize that migrants can remain deeply committed to their country of birth, maintaining “strong sentimental and materials links” as well as defending its interest (Sheffer 1986). A closely related framework is the network or circulationist approach which advances the idea that migrants are connected to one another and with their home country through a web of networks that propel the diffusion of new technologies, management and trade (Ouaked 2002). Any apparent loss of skills can therefore be restored through the exchange or circulation of knowledge between migrants and their home country (Meyer 2001). Finally, theories of knowledge spillovers and exchanges asserts that knowledge can spill over or flow across people and entities (e.g., firms, regions) contributing to productivity and innovation (Feldman 2000). The mobility of individual workers is considered an important mechanism for transmitting knowledge and ideas, enhancing knowledge exchange and learning (Vinodrai and Gertler 2006). Each of these theoretical arguments seeks to argue that skilled mobility is not totally detrimental to countries of origin. In this thesis, I carefully examine these arguments, discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, and develop a conceptual framework that allows for a robust analysis of knowledge transfer.

Mixed views of knowledge transfer and circulation

In recent years, the knowledge transfer and circulation concept has increasingly been criticised for being too optimistic with little evidence of its viability and actual benefits (Lowell and Gerova 2004; Lucas 2004; Parthasarathi 2006). Parthasarathi (2006) claimed that brain circulation remains asymmetric as the reverse flows are actually less than the outward flows. Mouton et al. (2007) questioned the evidence of knowledge transfer and circulation shown in the literature, as these have mostly been experiences of OECD or developed countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada which have succeeded in replenishing their skilled workers by attracting their skilled

counterparts from developing countries. South Korea, another OECD country, also had success in luring its expatriate professionals to return. However, only a few examples can be found among non-OECD countries. Taiwan is one. The others are India and China whose successful experiences have received much attention both in the academic and policy spheres (Hunger 2004; Saxenian 2005; Zweig et al. 2008).

Meyer and Brown (1999) argued that while the return option was effectively realised in Singapore and Korea, and India and China, this can be attributed not to the initiatives of their diasporas. Rather, they pointed to the structural and institutional readiness of their countries to absorb and utilise their diasporas' skills through the research, technical and industrial networks that their governments have gradually built (Meyer and Brown 1999). Parthasarathi (2006:1) calls such readiness 'absorptive capacity' which he regards as a 'necessary condition for significant reverse migration'. This view is shared by Dawson (2008) who argued that if South Korea and Taiwan had been successful in their efforts, this is because they were already well advanced when it was implemented and thus have the capacity to absorb the high-level skills of their expatriate scientists.

The diaspora model of Meyer and Brown also came under attack in recent years notably by Lowell and Gerova (2004) who validated the existence of the scientific diaspora networks that Meyer and Brown reported in their 1999 seminal study. Lowell and Gerona argued that very few new networks had been established while the existing ones were either underutilised or inactive. Meyer and Brown countered these claims in their 2006 paper by providing new evidence of the growth of new scientific diasporas. Still, Mouton et al. (2007) criticised these scientific diasporas for the lack of evidence that they really have a positive effect of stimulating knowledge transfer and circulation for development.

These accounts clearly show the lack of agreement among migration and development scholars on the viability of knowledge transfer and circulation as a strategy for tapping the knowledge and skills of the skilled diaspora. I attribute these mixed perceptions to the minimal documentation of successful cases, to a lack of clarity of how knowledge transfer and circulation works, and to scanty reports of any benefits, particularly of Meyer and Brown's diasporal model. The critical issue of absorptive capacity adds further doubt to arguments that successful cases cannot be replicated in other developing countries with less developed research and development (R&D)

infrastructure and poor governance systems. Lucas (2004) expressed apprehension on the feasibility of the return option for countries such as the Philippines, Vietnam and Albania due to their unattractive pay structures for local workers. Hunger (2004) mentioned the Philippines and Mexico, countries with high levels of outmigration, as having the potential to achieve brain gain but this prospect is challenged by their low levels of attractiveness to investments due to their volatile economic and political climate.

Additionally, I argue that the literature contains too few cases that have become less useful over time since there is a lack of comparison with other cases. Hence it is very difficult to identify appropriate policy lessons and tools. Success stories always show the beneficial impacts of the knowledge and skills of the diaspora—assets that also include the skills, ideas, behaviour and practices they acquired from the host country. However, not all transfers to home country are useful or beneficial. I agree with Levitt (1998:944) that that “the impact of social remittances is both positive and negative” and “there is nothing to guarantee that what is learned in the host society is constructive or that it will have a positive effect on communities of origin.” Moreover, as Castles and Miller (2009) have emphasised, these success cases which are all located in developing countries, magnify the superiority of Western knowledge as the ‘right’ ideas, attitudes and behaviour to follow to achieve economic success—an idea that is the nexus of the policies that followed Rostow’s long discredited modernisation theory.

Additionally, the weight given to scientific and technological (S&T) knowledge and business and trade knowledge by proponents of knowledge transfer and circulation studies, limits the understanding of the role that knowledge plays in development as well as the understanding of development itself. As evident in the literature, the discourse on knowledge transfer and circulation remains focused mainly on economic growth and therefore particular kinds of knowledge, primarily S&T and business knowledge. Williams (2006) correctly attributes this to the strong emphasis on scientific and technological jobs under the new knowledge economy which in turn devalues other kinds of knowledge and skills. This is an incomplete/impoverished view of the relationship between knowledge and development. Although the importance of cultural knowledge is occasionally mentioned in the case of India, its was also described in the context of S&T and business knowledge transfers in the way that the cultural know-

how of the diaspora helped to link host-country resources to India. The extent to which the transfer of cultural knowledge and other types of non-economic or non-scientific knowledge stimulates development is not well studied in the literature, and this study seeks to address this failing.

Exploring these issues in this research

More research on knowledge transfer and circulation is needed. In particular, it is important to understand other migrant diaspora groups and their relationship to their home and host countries as a way to understand this concept's application to development in other migration settings—for example, in other countries with high levels of outmigration similar to China and India but less developed than Taiwan and South Korea. Research on host countries other than common destinations such as United States, Canada and the United Kingdom can also provide a more nuanced view of migration processes and development outcomes. I chose the highly skilled Filipino diaspora in New Zealand and Australia as a relevant case to investigate the concept. My choice was driven not only by my personal connection to the Philippines as my home country, and my desire to help address the development issue of the increasing outmigration of its highly skilled people. I believe it is an appropriate home/origin/sending country to study knowledge transfer and circulation for several reasons.

The Philippines is recognised as one of the major sources of skilled and unskilled labour. Based on data from the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), there are more than eight million Philippine-born migrants in different parts of the world as of 2008 (Commission on Filipinos Overseas 2009). As a country perennially beset with high poverty levels and high unemployment rates, labour migration is openly supported by the government as a stop-gap measure to alleviate the country's socioeconomic problems. Over the years, the government has proactively deregularised labour policies to facilitate the movement of people overseas (Alcid 2003). The majority of recent permanent migrants can be found in the United States, Canada and Australia. Given that the immigration policies of these countries give premium to skills and level of education, the movement of Filipino professionals to these countries constitute the larger social losses to the Philippines as these highly skilled people are unlikely to return in their productive years (Alburo and Abella 2002).

Australia is increasingly attracting highly skilled Filipinos and nearby New Zealand also shares this trend.³ Although the numbers of Filipino migrants in both countries are small, particularly for New Zealand which was only 25,200 as of 2008 (Commission on Filipinos Overseas 2009), the processes and implications of migration into these countries are instructive and fill an important gap in understanding the way the Filipino diaspora operates in relation to their homeland. The number of highly skilled people going to these countries is also likely to increase further in the coming years, particularly to New Zealand, due to chain migration arising from increased social networks, the tighter immigration policies and visa retrogression in the United States and the saturation of more traditional migration markets. This will have serious implications for the Philippines as far as the debate on knowledge loss is concerned.

In *Our Future with Asia*, the New Zealand Government reports that as of 2006, Filipinos are the fourth largest Asian ethnic group in New Zealand (New Zealand Government 2007). In 2001, 30 percent of New Zealand's university-qualified people were born overseas and of this, 20 percent of the total is of Asian descent. In particular, the Philippines is ranked as the third largest Asian source of skilled migrants in science and technology. Meanwhile, in Australia, those arriving under its skilled category comprise the largest group of settlers for 2002 to 2009. In 2008-2009, around 158,000 new settlers came (Australian Government 2009). The Philippines was the sixth largest source of these settlers behind the UK, New Zealand, India, China and South Africa. Clearly, as compared to Australia, New Zealand does not figure yet as a preferred destination as evidenced by the small size of its Filipino diaspora. Yet 89 percent of its Filipino migrants in 2008 are permanent migrants (Commission on Filipinos Overseas data), suggesting that the probability of return migration is very slim. In terms of policy, this is a serious issue for the Philippines as far as the debate on knowledge loss is concerned.

Conceptually, the choice of New Zealand and Australia as host countries in this study is relevant. First, both share parallel immigration histories. Both initially adopted discriminatory immigration policies but replaced these later on by comparable

³ A brief analysis of the nature of Filipino migration to Australia and New Zealand is given in Chapter 2. A more thorough analysis of this kind of data, however, was outside the scope of this study due to cost consideration in acquiring customised data on Filipino migrants in these host countries. But clearly, this work is important and urgently needed, and something that future studies should address.

nondiscriminatory selection procedures that gave emphasis to economic and occupational criteria, family links, and humanitarian considerations, which gave rise to new immigration minorities and more diverse populations (Ongley and Pearson 1995). Second, both countries embarked on neoliberal approaches in their economic and social policies around the same time. Between the two, New Zealand was ahead of Australia and is the first in the world to have pursued explicit neoliberal economic development policies (Kelsey 1995). Between 1984 and the early 1990s, reforms were made in the welfare system and in the financial and labour markets, along with the privatisation of many functions performed by the government that allowed for the opening up of the local industry to competition. At the same time, realising the many economic opportunities and the geo-political significance for New Zealand that relations with Asia could bring, New Zealand's economic priorities have also started to focus on Asia. Its neoliberal reforms included changes in its immigration policies that took a more liberal stance to attract Asian capital and skills. By accepting immigrants from nontraditional source countries such as the Asian region, New Zealand not only found a source of capital and skilled labour, it also "consolidated (its) regional connections with Asia" (Spoonley 2006:20).

For Australia, the deployment of neoliberal policies started in the early 1980s during the liberal Hawke government and reached a tipping point in 1996 with the assumption of the conservative Howard government (Stratton 2009). A major transformation in its migration policy, similar to New Zealand, was the greater intake of specialised, skilled workers from non-traditional source countries such as Asia.

As Asia's global representation strengthens and deepens, particularly through East Asia (China, South Korea, Japan and Taiwan) and South Asia (India), New Zealand and Australia will continue to look at the Asian region as a significant site in terms of their economic future. This suggests continuous and increased flows of capital, ideas, technology and people (both high skilled and low skilled) between New Zealand and Australia and the countries of Asia, including the Philippines, and thus the relevance of investigating the concept of knowledge transfer and circulation with these host and home countries.

The research questions

The overall research question that I have endeavoured to answer is: How viable is knowledge transfer and circulation as a development strategy for capitalising on the relevant knowledge and skills of the highly skilled Filipino diaspora in New Zealand and Australia and for facilitating its participation in the development of the home country? It is answered in this research through the following questions:

- (1) Does the highly skilled Filipino diaspora in New Zealand and Australia transfer knowledge to the Philippines? If the diaspora does, how do these knowledge transfers develop and how are they carried out? What types of knowledge are flowing from the diaspora to the home country?
- (2) What motivates the highly skilled Filipino diaspora to transfer knowledge to the home country?
- (3) What factors affect the viability of knowledge transfer and circulation as a development strategy?
- (4) How useful or beneficial are knowledge transfers to the home country?

The research involved two sets of participants. The first set comprised the main participants—the highly skilled migrants in New Zealand and Australia who transferred knowledge and skills to the Philippines. They were my main data sources in answering questions 1 to 3. The second set of participants consisted of the migrants' collaborators in the knowledge transfer who lived in the Philippines. They were the people who received the knowledge and skills shared by the migrants or who acted as facilitators of the knowledge transfers or their co-resource persons. Their involvement in the research was intended to ascertain the usefulness to the home country of the knowledge transfers (Question 4).

The specific locations in the host countries covered by the study were Auckland and Wellington for New Zealand and Sydney and Melbourne for Australia. They were chosen because more Filipino migrants resided in these areas. For Australia, given its bigger size and population compared to New Zealand, I also included highly skilled

Filipino migrants who qualified in the study but lived outside the main cities of Sydney or Melbourne (for example, areas within the states of New South Wales and Victoria).

Operationalising key terms

For the purpose of this research, I defined a ‘highly skilled migrant’ as having at least a tertiary degree and a current job that belongs to the three highest occupational major groups (Table 1.1) in the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) of the International Labor Organisation (ILO), namely: (1) Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers, (2) Professionals, and (3) Technicians and Associate Professionals.⁴ They also had to be born in the Philippines and may or may not be a permanent migrant in New Zealand or Australia. My point of reference in terms of occupation is the migrant’s current job. This ameliorates issues of incomparability of qualification levels across international labour markets and, at times, the lack of recognition of national qualifications by foreign employers.

Developed by the ILO, the International Standard Classification of Occupation (ISCO) is an international classification structure of occupations. It has 10 major occupational groups and a number of major sub-groups, minor and unit groups in each and four skill levels with four as the highest.⁵ Apart from its comprehensiveness and applicability for

⁴ This study acknowledges the lack of a generic definition of ‘highly skilled’ in the literature. As Mahroum (2000:24) noted, “there is no agreed definition across countries and across scholars of what characterises a highly skilled person.” Other definitions available in the literature as discussed by Iguchi (2003) include those by the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The ILO one considers as highly skilled tertiary educated persons with at least four years of education after primary and secondary school. Meanwhile, the OECD definition refers to highly skilled people as ‘human resources devoted to science and technology (HRST)’ or those who fulfil one or other of the following conditions: (1) successfully completed education at the third level in an S&T field and study; and (2) not qualified as above, but employed in an HRST occupation where the above qualifications are normally required. These definitions, however, are clearly inadequate indicators. The OECD one, for instance, does not reflect the wide range of highly skilled occupations. This is not to mean that the ISCO system and the use of its three highest occupational levels as categories of highly skilled is the most accurate indicator, but it is undoubtedly a good one. As with other indicators, it may still seem to be inadequate, and this evidently points to the urgent need to develop a commonly agreed definition.

⁵ The 10 major groups and their corresponding skill levels are (1) Legislators, senior officials and managers (skill level 4); (2) Professionals (skill level 4); (3) Technicians and associate professionals (skills level 3); (4) Clerks (skills level 2); (5) Service workers and shop and market sales workers (skill level 2); (6) Skilled agricultural and fishery workers (skill level 2); (7) Craft and related workers (skill level 2); (8) Plant and machine operators and assemblers (skill level 2); (9) Elementary occupations (skill level 1); and (10) Armed forces occupations (skill level 0) (Hoffmann and Scott 1992, p. 7-8).

international comparison of occupations across national labour markets, its use in the research is guided by the fact that both New Zealand and Australia, along with many other OECD countries, have developed or revised their national classifications using ISCO as their model (Hoffmann and Scott 1992). In 2006, Australia and New Zealand released a unified system of standard classification of occupations which is compatible with ISCO-88 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2009). Jointly developed by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), Statistics New Zealand (Statistics NZ) and the Australian Government Department of Employment and Workplace Relations (DEWR), the system is called the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO).

Table 1.1. The three highest occupational subgroups under ISCO considered in the research as ‘highly skilled’

Major Group	Subgroups
1 - Legislators, senior officials and managers	Chief executives, senior officials and legislators, Administrative and commercial managers, Production and specialized services managers, Hospitality, retail and other services managers
2 – Professionals	Science and engineering professionals, Health professionals, Teaching professionals, Business and administration professionals, Information and communications technology professionals, Legal, social and cultural professionals
3 - Technicians and associated professionals	Science and engineering associate professionals, Health associate professionals, Business and administration associate professionals, Legal, social, cultural and related associate professionals, Information and communications technician

Source: ILO (2009)

Meanwhile, I arrived at the operational definition of knowledge transfer by considering several theoretical and practical arguments and building a definition based on these.

Due to its clear focus on migration, initially I referred to Jean Baptiste Meyer and his studies on scientific diasporas and diaspora knowledge networks (Meyer and Brown 1999; Meyer 2001; Meyer et al. 2001). Meyer’s works initially influenced me to investigate the concept of knowledge transfer because he studied it in the context of high-skilled mobility.

Meyer and Brown's seminal paper on scientific diasporas gave examples of possible knowledge transfer activities that could take place between expatriate scientists and professionals and their home country (or what they called "national community" in their paper), such as "scientific meetings, email information/data exchanges, training sessions, informal advisory opinion", as well as cooperative undertakings in the form of "research projects, technology transfer and expert consulting" (Meyer and Brown 1999:14-15).

These examples of knowledge transfer and circulation served as my initial basis for developing my own definition of the concept. I also patterned my own examples of activities after these and, at the same time, searched the literature for different kinds of knowledge that have figured in the discourse of knowledge flows and exchanges in the context of the increasing mobility of highly skilled people.

The merit of Meyer and Brown's examples of knowledge transfer activities is that they can be adopted for other types of knowledge. Meetings, email information/data exchanges, training, informal advisory, research project and expert consulting—whether conducted informally or formally—are activities that do not only apply to scientists. Taken in their generic sense, they can be used to describe knowledge transfers that involve other kinds of knowledge such as business and trade knowledge and even cultural knowledge and creative skills, all of which are as important as those in the scientific and technological fields.

The intrinsic worth of knowledge flows of information technology, in tandem with business, trade and economic knowledge, has been extensively documented in the contribution of Indian IT diaporas in the US toward the development of the IT sector in India (Saxenian 2002a, 2002b; Hunger 2004; Saxenian 2004, 2005) and how this process is facilitating knowledge circulation. Meanwhile, several studies on the Chinese highly skilled diaspora have shown the growing flows of business and trade knowledge and skills along with financial investments by the diaspora into China as exhibited by the increasing number of businesses and companies set up or financed by overseas Chinese businessmen (Zweig 2006; Zweig et al. 2008). Not to be missed is the technology that is transferred in the process, either in terms of new methods and procedures or more technologically advanced equipment, which could benefit home countries in many positive ways by promoting innovation. Hu and Jaffe (2003) note

how industrialising economies of Korea and Taiwan benefited from the more advanced economies of the US and Japan by means of technology diffusion either through the capital goods they import, embodying new technology and consequently encouraging the development of new local technologies, or through the direct and indirect exchange of ideas among their researchers.

However, I also believe that knowledge flows and transfers involving other types of knowledge such as cultural knowledge, creative arts and others—or what I call ‘soft knowledge’—should not be dismissed. A discussion of knowledge transfer and circulation in the context of development would be incomplete if we neglect soft knowledge because scientific, technological and economic knowledge are not the only types of knowledge that drive development. Innovation has conventionally been conceived to occur in the scientific, technology and economic fields but increasingly there has been a growing recognition of images, symbols and messages as sites and drivers of innovation (Vinodrai and Gertler 2006). Cultural and creative workers encompassing designers, performing artists and writers are not only a source of creative ideas and inputs. Their products and services such as those rendered by designers also contribute to the creation of a unique image and identity in form and function making a particular brand to stand out in the local and global markets (Vinodrai and Gertler 2006). Addison (2008) also notes how the experience of artists living in another culture and interacting with it allows them to write and interpret the experience of their fellow immigrants, giving those in the home country an informed panorama of what it is really like to be there. In the same vein, artists who continue to write about their home country contribute toward a more educated perception of its people and culture which helps to break down negative stereotypes that often arise from cultural ignorance. In short, other types of knowledge such as those of the cultural or social types—or soft knowledge—may not bring about tangible outcomes compared to scientific, technological and economic knowledge that may result in a new product, a scientific discovery that may help in treating people or a business venture that will provide incomes and jobs. However, soft knowledge has valuable intangible outcomes that likewise promote economic and social being.

With these conceptual perspectives as bases, I operationally defined ‘knowledge transfer’ as the flows of knowledge or skills on, but not limited to, science and

technology, business and trade, economics, culture and the arts, and others, through informal or formal activities that may include, but are not limited to, meetings, email information/data exchanges, training, informal advice, research projects, and expert consulting (Meyer and Brown 1999), setting up business ventures or investing in the home country (Hunger 2004; Zweig 2006; Zweig et al. 2008), and creative works and performances about culture and life in the home and host countries (Addison 2008).

Significance of the research

As earlier noted, this research seeks to provide a deeper understanding of the concept of knowledge transfer and circulation among the highly skilled migrant communities, which is less researched compared to economic remittances and diaspora philanthropy. This is particularly true for Australia and New Zealand, where there has been no in-depth study to date. There has been a study on the phenomenon of diaspora philanthropy in New Zealand conducted by Alayon (2009), but none so far to my knowledge, based on available literature, of any research that dealt with the knowledge transfer of Filipino diaspora in New Zealand. For Australia as well as the United States and Canada, Opiniano and Castro (2006) conducted a study of Filipino diaspora organisations through a mail survey to explore their commitment and activities in knowledge transfer. However, their study only gained a few responses (28 out of 150), a limitation that the authors themselves recognized. This study is based on the rich and detailed data from face-to-face, semi-structured interviews, an important first step before possibly larger scale studies.

Existing studies on knowledge transfer and circulation which mostly tackle the Indian and Chinese diasporas (Saxenian 2004, 2005; Xiang 2005; Zweig et al. 2008) and, to some extent, the South African diaspora (Crush 2000; Brown 2003) do not fully investigate the process as well as the factors that affect its feasibility and success as a development strategy for tapping the diaspora's knowledge and skills. These studies also lack an understanding of the diasporic ties and sentiments of the highly skilled and the multiple lives they lead and how these connect to their motivations for engaging in practices such as knowledge transfer. They also treat the highly skilled as a homogenous group with a common set of behaviours. The point of Iredale (2001:15) that there is a "unique situation that pertains in each professional arena and therefore the need to differentiate by profession when examining skilled migration" is highly relevant

in studying the knowledge transfer activities of skilled migrants. My study goes some way to fill these knowledge gaps.

While the motivations of migrants for sending financial remittances are well studied (for example, see Menjivar et al. 1998; Poirine 2006; Rapoport and Docquier 2006; Alba and Suguí 2009; Lindley 2009), this is not the case for migrants involved in knowledge transfer. Do they have the same motivations? What role do altruism, exchange or reciprocity, insurance and investment play among these migrants? Do the major reasons for personal remittance flows to individuals and households apply to social remittances such as knowledge transfer? The answers to these questions can also guide the development of more appropriate policy strategies by the Philippine government as they work toward stimulating knowledge transfers and keeping the skilled Filipino diaspora involved in the development of the home country. These policy guidelines may be useful for other developing countries.

As early as 1975, the Philippine government implemented some programmes to tap the skills of its expatriate professionals. These programmes are the Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Professionals (TOKTEN), *Balik* (Return) Scientist Program (BSP) and Science and Technology Advisory Council (STAC).⁶ These programmes were mostly geared toward science and technology (S&T) expatriate professionals which clearly was a shortsighted approach to promoting diaspora participation in development because they ignore the potential contribution of other skilled members of the diaspora. Through this research, I wish to correct that perception by acknowledging that skilled migrants are involved in various occupations encompassing S&T, business and trade,

⁶ The TOKTEN was a programme initiated and funded by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and now managed by the United Nations Volunteers. It ran from 1988 to 1999 under the auspices of the UNDP and the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA). The BSP programme was implemented even earlier than the TOKTEN. It ran from 1975 to 1986 and was revived in 1983 and is still operational until now with Philippine Department of Science and Technology as the main agency responsible for its implementation. The TOKTEN and BSP programme are similar in focus. They encourage scientific professionals and engineers to volunteer their expertise in the Philippines. As volunteers, they receive incentives such as daily allowance, medical insurance, roundtrip ticket from and to their country of origin, and funding to carry out their research or project in the Philippines. The STAC was a project of the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs which was implemented in 1987 and ran for a few years. Its aim was to encourage overseas Filipino scientists and engineers to form their own associations and initiate knowledge transfer.

cultural and creative arts and others, and as such, their knowledge transfers to the home country also go beyond the scientific or economic types. Programmes to promote diaspora participation should therefore endeavour to reach all types of expatriate professionals and not just the mainstream groups.

The knowledge transfer argument clearly advocates for the mobility of the highly skilled to better their lives and put their talents to good use overseas, with their home countries also benefiting through increased remittance flows and transfer of knowledge and skills. However, the neoliberal globalisation framework of which the increased movement of people across borders through more liberal policies (especially for the highly skilled) is one of the pillars, has not succeeded in creating sustainable development, what with unemployment, underemployment, poor social services and low incomes still besetting many poor and underdeveloped countries (Green 1996; Cam 2002; Huber and Solt 2004; Homedes and Ugalde 2005; Bagchi 2008).

Nevertheless, I believe it is still a rational strategy to let people emigrate when they cannot find satisfying economic and professional opportunities at home. But I also acknowledge the negative impacts of this outward flow. A growing number of studies have recognised the gains from economic remittances for home countries and how these have helped improved the well-being of migrant households and even reduced poverty (for example, see Adams and Page 2005; Bracking and Sachikonye 2006; Yang and Martinez 2006; Acosta et al. 2008). Yet international labour migration, which has facilitated these remittances, has also resulted in the loss of skilled professionals such as health workers that has negatively impacted on social services provision (for example, see Chikanda 2006; Connell et al. 2007; Lorenzo et al. 2007). It has also contributed to social problems such as those emanating from the growing feminisation of migration (for example, its effects on the children left behind as discussed by Smith et al. 2004; Lee 2010). Similar to financial remittances, not all knowledge transfers are valuable. Again, as Levitt (1998:941) noted, “the impacts of social remittances are both positive and negative. The ideas and practices of migrants assimilated in the United States prompted constructive change in some arenas and heightened problems in others.”

It is important to improve the socioeconomic and political conditions at home to prevent people from leaving. But as migration will remain a continuing phenomenon, I believe it is important to harness its benefits. Knowledge transfer and circulation can

capitalise on the knowledge and skills of the skilled diaspora and contribute to alleviating the negative impacts of skilled migration. Through the indepth interviews of a range of migrants, this study provides a greater understanding of what promotes and what hinders knowledge transfer. Knowledge of these conditions is valuable for future policy initiatives to increase the likelihood of success.

Organisation of the thesis

In Chapter 2, I provide a closer look at the highly skilled Filipino diaspora, the main actors of this study. To get a better understanding of this group of migrants, I describe the pattern of their mobility over time and augment this by doing a periodisation of their mobility and identifying the different factors that have contributed to their growth and to the mobility of various skilled occupations. I also look at the motivation of the highly skilled for leaving the home country and the difficulties they face in the host country which affects their ability to engage in knowledge transfer as will be seen in the empirical chapters.

In Chapter 3, I review the theory of knowledge transfer and circulation and locate it within general theories or viewpoints of skills migration to show how it connects to wider migration debates. I end the chapter by presenting my analytical framework for studying the viability of knowledge transfer as a development strategy for capitalising on the relevant knowledge and skills of the skilled diaspora and for facilitating its participation in the development of the home country.

In Chapter 4, I discuss in detail my methodology for conducting the research. Starting with the research design, I give an account of the processes undertaken for deciding on the sample size, developing the research tools, recruiting participants, carrying out the data collection procedures, and processing and analysing the data.

In Chapter 5, I begin the presentation of the study results beginning with a profile of the participants and describe the dual lives they lead. I analyse their life in the host countries such as their integration in the labour market which gives an indication of how receptive it is to their knowledge and skills, a factor which, as shown in the discussion of the research results, affects their involvement in knowledge transfer. I also discuss their continued ties with the home country to give a sense of their level of

attachment to it and initially explore how it might be driving their motivation to engage in knowledge transfer.

In Chapters 6 to 8, I analyse the participants' involvement in knowledge transfer which I categorise into three types. In Chapter 6, I deal with mainstream examples such as science and technology (S&T) transfers, in Chapter 7 with business and trade (B&T) transfers and in Chapter 8 with cultural and social (C&S) knowledge transfers. In all three chapters, I study the role of the participants in the knowledge transfers and provide an indepth analysis of the effects of host country, home country, diaspora and support factors on the formation of these transfers. I also analyse the motivations of the diaspora for engaging in these transfers as well as assess their usefulness to the home country from the point of view of the participants' collaborators in the Philippines.

In Chapter 9, I discuss the conclusion and main findings of the research. I also provide some implications for policy and some thoughts on the research process and future research directions.

Chapter 2

The Highly Skilled Filipino Diaspora:

A Closer Look

Introduction

We often hear about the bad luck of Filipina maids, mail-order brides, wives of foreigners, and Filipino seafarers or construction workers who had tragic accidents while at work. News of this sort not only highlights the misfortunes of Filipino migrants who, in their desire to provide a better life for their families, have chosen risky paths but they also deepen the stereotyping of the Filipino diaspora who are often thought of as solely comprising maids, wives, brides, seafarers and construction workers.⁷ This stereotype conceals the real composition of the diaspora and, more importantly, the diversity of resources in terms of knowledge and skills that the Filipino people possess. Other groups of Filipino migrants—such as the highly skilled—who are scattered in large numbers across the globe, have made significant contributions both to their home and host countries.

In this chapter, I provide a background of the highly skilled Filipino diaspora, the focus of this study, to give a better understanding of this group of migrants. I discuss their mobility patterns by looking at the factors that stimulated their movement and contributed to their growth in different part of the world and their destination countries. I also look at the difficulties they face in the host countries, particularly the phenomenon of deskilling, which affects the knowledge and skills they bring into the host countries. Because research on the highly skilled from the Philippines is limited, I draw from published studies of other nationalities and ethnic groups. I discuss the history and pattern of high-skilled Filipino migration into New Zealand and Australia,

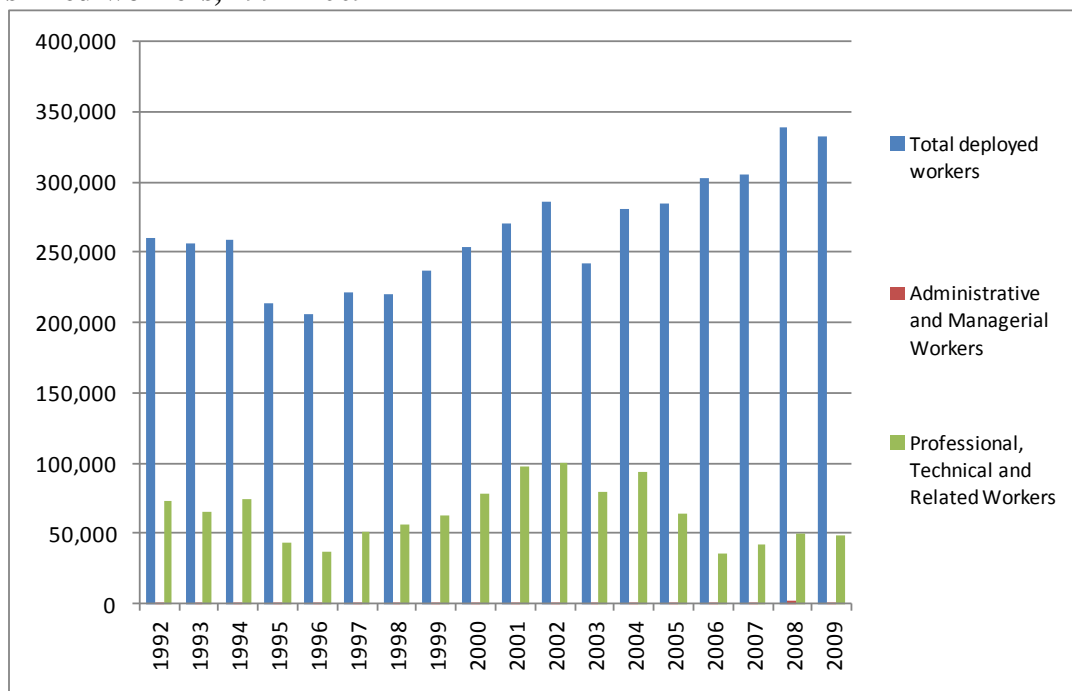
⁷ Filipino migration has also become highly gendered over the years as analysed in the works of Tyner (1999), Yamanaka and Piper (2005), Browne and Braun (2008) and Piper (2008), among others. Although this research is aware of the different gender impacts on the development of sending countries, particularly developing ones, this issue is not the focus of this study.

the host countries of the research participants, alongside other countries of destination, particularly the United States which has the largest Filipino diaspora, and in the context of the general landscape of Filipino migration in different parts of the world.

General pattern of high-skilled migration

The Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) reported the continuous expansion of the highly skilled diaspora between 1992 and 2009 (Figure 2.1). These highly skilled people/migrants may be categorised into either administrative and managerial workers or professional, technical and related workers. Between these groups, there are clearly far more professional, technical and related workers, although the number of these workers has been fluctuating through the years, with a markedly decreasing trend since 2004 (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1. Total deployment of Filipino contract workers and number of highly skilled workers, 1992-2009



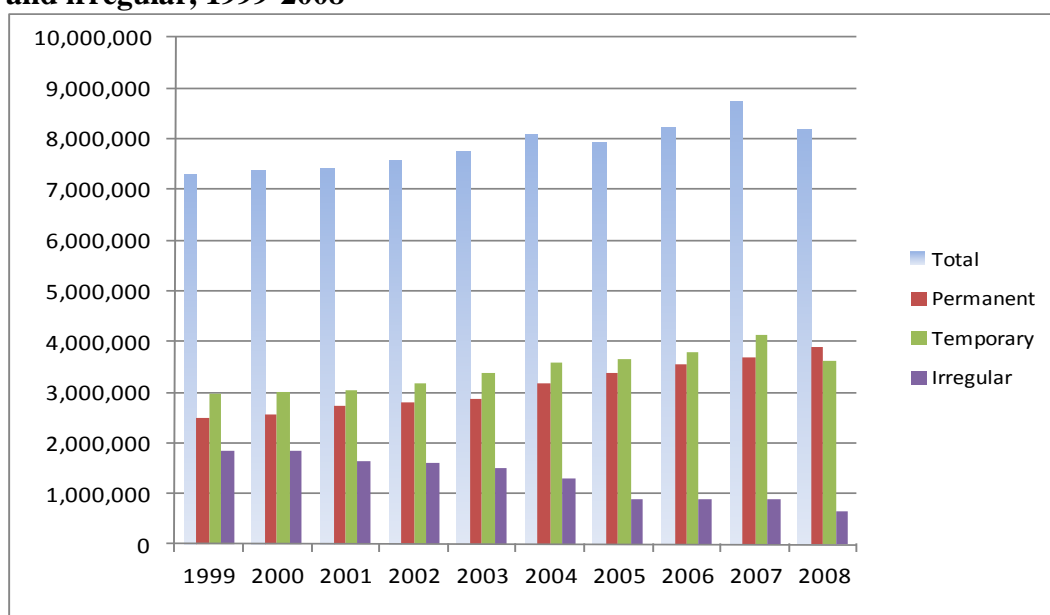
Source: Philippine Overseas Employment Administration

Note: This graph contains only the types of workers in highly skilled occupations: the administrative and managerial workers and the professional, technical and related workers. These categories basically correspond to the three highest occupational groups in the ISCO which the study considered as highly skilled occupations (refer to Chapter 1). The proportion of administrative and managerial workers is very small so it is not easily visible in the graph. The other types of workers who are not reflected in the graph are service workers; agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters; clerical and related workers; and production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers.

It is important to note that the POEA statistics only include Filipinos deployed on temporary labour contracts. Nevertheless, a temporary worker may become a permanent resident after being sponsored by his or her company to become an immigrant. For example, a Filipino contract worker may have left for the United States on a professional non-immigrant (H-1B) visa but through visa sponsorship, he or she can be granted a skilled worker and professional immigrant (E-B3) visa and become an immigrant.

The size of the permanent highly skilled Filipino diaspora and the extent of permanent high-skilled migration can be gleaned from the data of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO). CFO is a government body established in 1980, whose primary concern is the well-being of Filipinos who are leaving or have left the country on immigrant visas. In 2008, there were around eight million Philippine-born migrants worldwide. As Figure 2.2 shows, the number of temporary and permanent migrants is almost equal, but the number of permanent migrants had been steadily increasing through the years. In 2008, there were more permanent than temporary migrants.

Figure 2.2. Estimated total number of Filipino migrants: permanent, temporary and irregular, 1999-2008

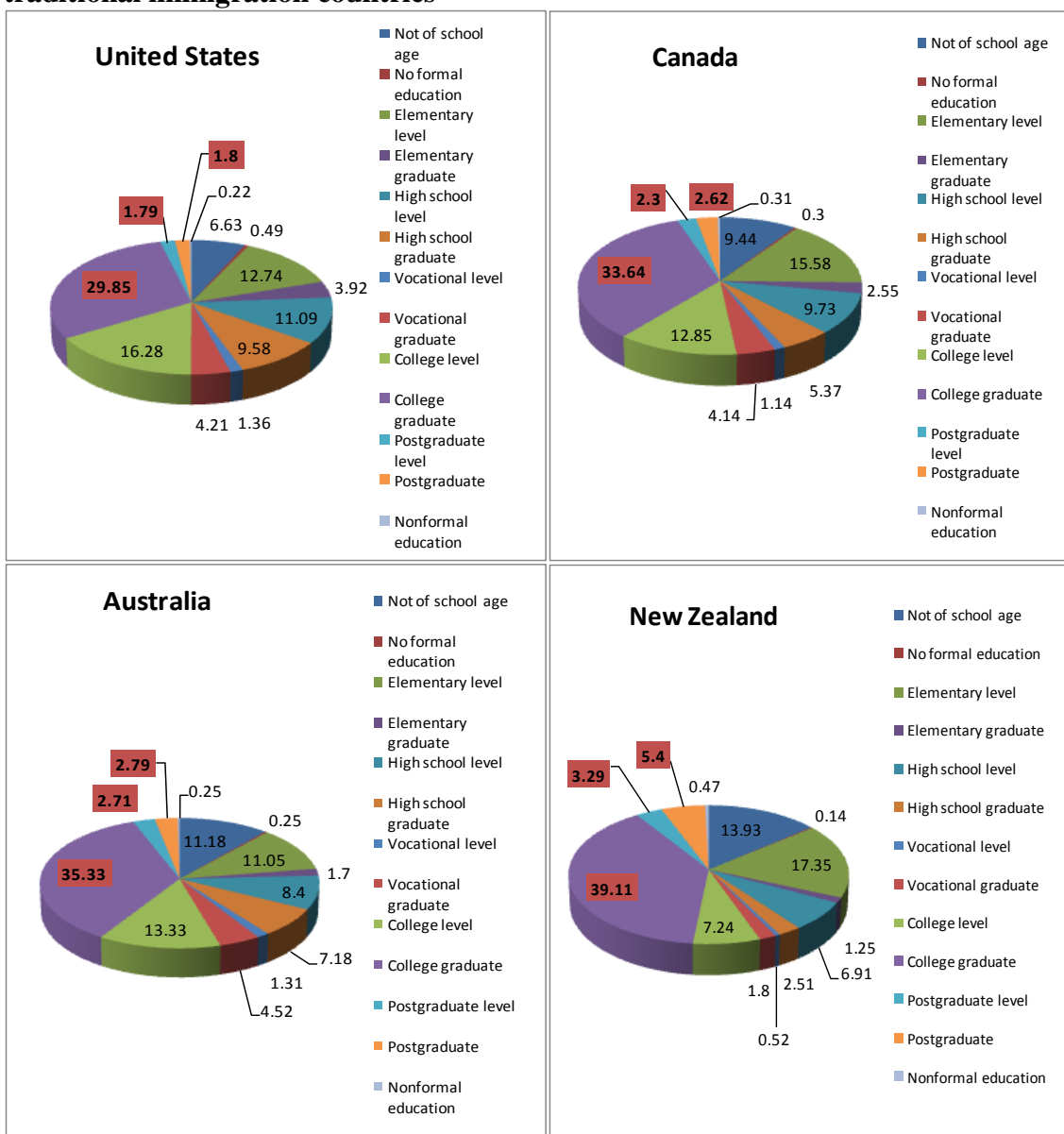


Source: Commission on Filipinos Overseas

Note: Permanent refers to immigrants or legal permanent residents abroad whose stay does not depend on work contracts; temporary refers to persons who stay overseas in employment related, and who are expected to return at the end of their work contracts; irregular refers to those not properly documented or without valid residence or work permits, or who are overstaying in a foreign country.

Admittedly not all of these permanent migrants are highly skilled but pre-departure data from the CFO show that a significant number of these migrants are tertiary educated before they left the Philippines. More than a third of emigrants leaving for the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand—the four traditional immigration countries—have college degrees, reached postgraduate level or have postgraduate degrees (Figure 2.3). As mentioned in Chapter 1, their movement to other countries constitute large social losses to the Philippine as they are unlikely to return in their productive years (Alburo and Abella 2002).

Figure 2.3. Educational level of Filipino emigrants prior to migration to the four traditional immigration countries



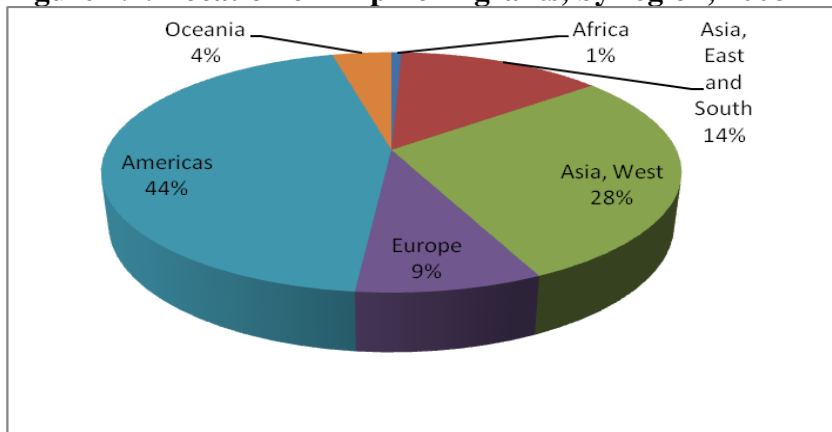
Source: Commission on Filipinos Overseas

Note: Highlighted figures are percentages of tertiary educated.

As of 2008, the majority of the Filipino diaspora (the high and low skilled combined) were living in the Americas (United States, Canada), West Asia (Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates among others) and East and South Asia (Malaysia and Japan among others) (Figure 2.4).

In terms of permanent migrants, the majority of them are residing in the United States, Canada and Australia (Table 2.1). Since these countries give premium to skills and levels of education and most of Filipino emigrants to these countries are tertiary educated, they are clearly the foremost recipients of the knowledge and skills from the Philippines.

Figure 2.4. Location of Filipino migrants, by region, 2008



Source: Commission on Filipinos Overseas

Although West Asia has the most robust increase of Filipino migrants between 1999 and 2008, this phenomenon is strongly characterized by temporary migration. This trend is consistent with other countries in the region as well as those in East and South Asia with the exception of Japan where in 2008, about 60 percent of all Filipino migrants in Japan are living permanently. This is primarily due to the large number of women who are working in Japan as choreographers and dancers on labour contracts. Although these occupations belong to the professional category in the international classification of occupations (the ISCO by the ILO), the real nature of these jobs in the professional sense appears to be contentious as they encompass a variety of functions from the professional to the nonprofessional. As Go (2002:354) succinctly puts: “this category of professionals, however, is a catchall for all types of entertainers working most in Japan, from the professional singers and dancers to the commercial sex workers. Consequently, the professional skills of many of these workers have been

questioned.” This indicates the need to be cautious with published data and point to the need for more qualitative forms of data collection based on face-to-face interviews like what this research has done.

Table 2.1. Top 15 countries of destination of Filipino migrants, 2008

		Permanent	Temporary	Irregular	Total
World total stock estimates	Region	3,907,842	3,626,259	653,609	8,187,710
Top 15 destinations					
United States	Americas	2,552,034	128,616	155,843	2,836,493
Saudi Arabia	West Asia	351	1,072,458	20,000	1,092,809
Canada	Americas	533,826	73,632	6,135	613,593
United Arab Emirates	West Asia	713	541,666	32,000	574,379
Australia	Oceania	233,943	23,926	7,975	265,844
Malaysia	East and South Asia	26,002	89,681	128,000	243,683
Japan	East and South Asia	141,210	60,020	30,700	231,930
Qatar	West Asia	15	224,027	5,600	229,642
United Kingdom	Europe	91,206	102,291	10,000	203,497
Singapore	East and South Asia	35,820	66,411	56,000	158,231
Hong Kong	East and South Asia	23,507	125,810	6,000	155,317
Kuwait	West Asia	500	136,018	10,000	146,518
Italy	Europe	27,003	77,087	13,000	117,090
Taiwan	East and South Asia	8,100	83,070	2,885	94,055
Germany	Europe	44,619	8,075	2,100	54,794

Source: Commission on Filipinos Overseas (2009)

Note: Permanent refers to immigrants or legal permanent residents abroad whose stay does not depend on work contracts.

Temporary refers to persons who stay overseas is employment related, and who are expected to return at the end of their work contracts.

Irregular refers to those not properly documented or without valid residence or work permits, or who are overstaying in a foreign country.

Note: New Zealand does not appear in the list due to its small number of Filipino migrants (25,200).

While there are no available data on the specific occupation of permanent migrants in the destination countries, the occupation of the highly skilled contract workers gives a sense of the type of skills that leave the country when they move abroad. Based on POEA data, administrative and managerial workers are only a meager portion of the total deployment each year. The professional and technical workers, which comprised more than 80 percent of the highly skilled contract workers, are the more important category. The majority of them work as engineers, doctors, nurses, and information technology professionals. These are critical occupations for a developing country to achieve sustained levels of socio-economic development and promote the well-being of the population given that these occupations, particularly those in the health sector, are involved in the provision of much-needed basic social services.

History of Philippine high-skilled migration

The cross-border movement of highly skilled Filipinos occurred in successive streams of varied nature over time. As the following account shows, it was stimulated mainly by colonial ties, labour shortages, globalising economies particularly the adoption of more liberal economic development models, and increasing concerns over universal principles of racial equality. All of these have influenced the nature of immigration policies in the destination countries.

As can be gleaned in Table 2.1, the largest Filipino diaspora can be found in the United States which has more than 2.8 million Filipinos as of 2008 (Commission on Filipinos Overseas 2009). The actual formation of the Filipino diaspora can be said to have taken place in the United States. As Asis (2006:2) noted, “For much of the 20th century, “international migration” for Filipinos meant going to the United States and its Pacific territories.”

Specifically, the onset of the skilled diasporic development can be traced back to the immigration of students to the mainland who, according to Melendy (1974:521), “though few in number pioneered the Pacific crossing”.

“For two decades following the annexation in 1898 of the Philippine Islands by the United States, those Filipinos migrating to the mainland came primarily as college and university students. United States citizens

welcomed them as trainees in democracy who would eventually return to their islands, carrying the message of democracy to their own people.”

In a related article, Asis (2006) wrote that these students were sponsored by the US government or by missionary-related programmes or individuals who had used their own means to study abroad.

Prior to this, however, many Filipinos had left for the United States in the early 1900s to engage in low-skilled work in the sugarcane plantations in Hawaii (Boyd 1971). They numbered approximately 120,000 between 1906 and 1934 (Asis 2006). The presence of low-skilled workers from the Philippines was also recorded in the history of Australia. As early as the 1870s, there were Filipinos employed as “swimming divers” in the pearl fishing industry on the north coast (Marginson 2001).

Many of the first settlers in Hawaii did not return to the Philippines and stayed there or moved to the mainland. The mobility of Filipinos between the Philippines and the United States was easier at that time because they were considered US nationals and as such, they were not placed under legal or quota restrictions (Wong 1986). However, with the granting of Philippine independence in 1934 through the Tydings-McDuffie Act, Filipinos were declared aliens and an immigration quota of 50 persons a year was set which tempered migration. Consequently, between 1935 and the end of World War II, Filipino immigration into the United States was very small (Liu et al. 1991).

In the 1950s, with the growing advocacy in the international community against racial inequality, many of the traditional immigration countries such as United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand gradually implemented immigration reforms (Brawley 1993). This paved the way for the entry of many professionals from non-traditional source countries and the beginning of large outflows of highly skilled Filipinos moving overseas. In the United States, the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965 placed countries like the Philippines on equal footing with immigrants from northwest Europe who were earlier favoured as sources of workers and immigrants. Under this Act, the admission of immigrants became reliant on occupational skills needed by the destination country and on the principle of family reunification (Wong 1986). In high demand at that time due to their short supply in the domestic labour force, large streams of medical professionals left for the United States in the 1960s as immigrants (Go

2002). More than 250,000 Filipino professionals, composed mostly of doctors and nurses, had migrated to the United States by 1975 (Alcid 2003).

In the late 1960s, Canada also provided an alternative destination for doctors, nurses and engineers. Filipino professionals, including some 300 nurses, also gained from ease of entry into Australia as the government began to liberalise its immigration rules to alleviate skills shortages (Miller 2008). Students from the Philippines and other countries in South and Southeast Asia also began arriving in Australia and New Zealand in the 1960s as scholars under the Colombo Plan (Miller 2008; Te Ara: The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand n.d.). The Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic and Social Development in Asia and the Pacific was conceived in January 1950 initially by seven Commonwealth countries which included Australia and New Zealand as a cooperative venture for mutual economic and social advancement of countries in the Asia-Pacific. (<http://www.colombo-plan.org/history.php>). Temporary labour migration of lower skilled and unskilled workers from the Philippines was also apparent in the 1960s. In areas where war reconstruction was ongoing, skilled production workers, craftsmen and unskilled labourers were hired by the American military and by independent contractors to work in Guam, Okinawa, and Wake Island (Go 2002).

This temporary labour migration persisted in the 1970s and even overshadowed permanent migration. Large numbers of Filipino contract workers left the country for overseas employment particularly to the Middle East, which was undergoing a construction boom due to the oil industry surge which particularly attracted engineers to work in the oilfields (Go 2002).

By the 1980s, demand for construction workers in the Middle East declined due the decrease in the price of oil and the decline in the number of construction projects in Saudi Arabia (Go 1998). This, however, was replaced by the increased demand for professional workers, particularly nurses. The demand for service workers for temporary work in Hong Kong, Canada, Singapore and European countries also became pronounced in this period (Alcid 2003).

Alongside the growth of temporary labour migration, the immigration policies of traditional immigration countries like Australia and New Zealand have continued to become liberalised thereby increasing the flow of immigrants from non-European

countries. Both countries had actively promoted the recruitment of Europeans in the past consistent with keeping their countries 'white'. In Australia, the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, more popularly known as the White Australia Policy, was finally lifted in 1973 (Harris 1993). In New Zealand, until the 1990s, most of the immigrants were young women who came as spouses or fiancés of NZ men they met through friends or by answering personal advertisements in newspapers (Te Ara: The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand n.d.). The series of reforms in its immigration policies that began in the 1960s led to the passage of the 1987 Immigration Act that highly favoured skilled migration. This Act paved the way for the entry of highly skilled migrants from non-traditional source countries like the Philippines. Persons seeking admittance are evaluated not on the basis of their race or nationality, but whether or not they meet the specified requirements in terms of age, education, profession or business interest, or had assets they could transfer to New Zealand.

Highly skilled people continued to leave the Philippines for overseas employment in the 1990s. Based on POEA data for this period, thousands of engineers, nurses and medical technicians left to work in Saudi Arabia. Nurses were specifically in large demand in Kuwait and Libya. The 1990s also saw the departure of many nurses and occupational therapists to the United States. With the year 2000 (Y2K) problem, the Internet-telecom boom and the dot.com boom, the migration of information technology (IT) professionals also peaked during this period (Pandey et al. 2006). Large numbers of computer programmers left to work for companies in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. Due to the shortage of programmers in the United States, the government increased its non-immigrant professional (H-1B) quota from 65,000 in 1998 to 130,000 in 1999 and to 195,000 soon after (Pandey et al. 2006).

Temporary labour migration further continued through to the 1990s. The feminisation of the labour force and the domination by women in the service sector (specifically domestic work and caregiving) started in this period (Alcid 2003). The newly industrialising economies of East Asia such as Taiwan and South Korea and of Southeast Asia such as Malaysia and Singapore were the main destinations of low skilled workers for the so-called 3D (dirty, dangerous and demanding) jobs shunned by the domestic workers (Go 1998).

In the 2000s, the same occupational skills in both the high and low skilled groups in the previous period figured in large demand. In the high-skilled category, computer programmers, physiotherapists and occupational therapists continued to leave for employment in the United States as well as special education teachers and primary and high school teachers. China has also begun accepting teachers from the Philippines to teach English. The visa retrogression in the United States or the heavy backlog in the processing of immigrant and employment visas slowed down the deployment of Filipino nurses and prompted them to look for alternative destinations (Indino 2010). New destinations emerged such as the United Kingdom and became more favoured due to ease of entry. Through the work-and-study programme introduced in mid-2000s, nurses could easily enter the United Kingdom and upgrade their skills to British standards by taking academic units while working for up to 20 hours a week (Aning 2010). Similar programmes are also offered for other health professionals such as physical therapists, medical technologists, public health workers and even social workers wishing to enter the British healthcare industry. Aside from the United Kingdom and Canada, Ireland also emerged as a significant destination of Filipino nurses in recent years. Singapore also began accepting nurses and engineers from the Philippines while Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates continued to absorb workers from these occupations.

Reasons for going abroad from the perspective of health professionals in the Philippines and other countries

The decision to leave one's country is regarded in the international migration literature as both an individual and a family/household decision arising from the interplay of push and pull factors (Massey et al. 1993). Push factors have conventionally been regarded to constitute aspects such as low income and unemployment in the sending countries while pull factors are their opposite such as higher income and better socioeconomic stability in the receiving countries. However, various studies that investigated why highly skilled people, particularly health professionals, move overseas show a myriad of other factors that form part of their motivation to leave the home country. This section discusses those reasons. Although the studies are on health professionals, their application extends to other professional groups.

At the outset, the motives for migration of highly skilled and low skilled migrants appear to be similar. They are both economic migrants that are induced by better remuneration and improved economic benefits in the receiving countries. Several studies on the migration of health professionals particularly physicians and nurses have shown this (Dovlo and Nyonator 1999; Kingma 2001; Vujicic et al. 2004; Astor et al. 2005; Lorenzo et al. 2007). Apart from the lure of a better income, however, other conditions are desired by the highly skilled, such as professional development and more advanced technology through which they can use their skills and learn new ones. This is what makes them different from the lower skilled migrants whose motivation is primarily better income. For the highly skilled, the acquisition of new knowledge and skills enhancement are all part of the incentives. Quoting Van Lerberghe et al. (2002:3), Mireille Kingma notes that “the more skilled professionals migrate in the explicit expectation of a better and more rewarding professional career” (Kingma 2001:206). However, Kingma also made a distinction between the motivations of professionals in the less-developed countries and those in the high-income countries in the context of nurse migration based on the results of a survey conducted by the International Council of Nurses, Switzerland. According to her, pay and learning opportunities were the main incentives reported by nurses from less developed countries while those from high-income countries regarded career opportunities as their key consideration.

The study of Lorenzo et al. (2007) on nurse migration from the Philippines provides a good picture of the reasons why highly skilled Filipinos move abroad (Table 2.2). Their data were obtained from 48 focus groups of Filipino health workers, mostly women, some of whom also wish to leave the Philippines. Although the survey is focused on nurses’ reasons, they are applicable to other occupations.

Almost the same set of push and pull factors were given by health professionals in other countries. In a survey conducted by Ghana’s Ministry of Health to establish trends and reasons for the loss of their doctors between 1969 and 1999, the most common reasons obtained include the search for better remuneration and conditions of service, better postgraduate training opportunities and the desire to afford basic life amenities (Dovlo and Nyonator 1999). There was also expressed frustration over delayed promotion and the rigid system of seniority.

Table 2.2. Reasons for Filipino nurses going abroad

Push factors	Pull factors
Economic: low salary at home; no overtime or hazard pay; poor health insurance coverage	Economic: higher income; better benefits and compensation package
Job related: work overload or stressful working environment; slow promotion	Job related: lower nurse-to-patient ratio; chance to upgrade nursing skills
Sociopolitical and economic environment: limited opportunities; decreased health budget; sociopolitical and economic instability in the Philippines	Personal/family related: opportunity for family to migrate; opportunity to travel and learn other cultures; influence from peers and relatives
	Sociopolitical and economic environment: advanced technology; better sociopolitical and economic stability

Source: Lorenzo et al. (2007:1412)

The same views were expressed in a study by Astor et al. (2005) on the perceptions of different professionals in Colombia, Nigeria, India, Pakistan and the Philippines regarding the reasons for physicians from developing countries migrating to developed countries. Because the professionals who participated in the study were also working in the health field (as academics, policymakers or physicians), their responses are reflective of the actual motivations of the physicians who migrated abroad. The majority of the 644 respondents, a mix of men and women, expressed the belief that developed countries could better provide physicians a more suitable environment to utilise their highly specialised skills (Astor et al. 2005). The specific reasons gathered from the survey are given in Table 2.3.

As can be gleaned from the table, while the majority of the respondents perceived that higher income is highly valued by physicians, a substantial percentage of them believe that physicians are also concerned with factors related to the practice and development of their profession and the opportunity to network with fellow professionals in their field.⁸ This is evident in the desire for “increased access to enhanced technology,

⁸ Even professionals engaged in other occupations such as IT consider skills enhancement as an important motivation. In a survey of 45 skilled return IT professionals in Bangalore who worked on project assignments in the United States for a period of time, the majority said they availed of the opportunity to gain professional experience that they could later on use in India (Kadria 2004). For them, the technological edge of the United States in IT and the better professional experiences they could get there were important motivations for crossing the border.

equipment and health facilities” and “to work in an academic environment with more colleagues in one’s field of interest” (Astor et al. 2005:2494).

Table 2.3. Reasons for physician migration based on the views of professionals in Colombia, Nigeria, India, Pakistan and the Philippines (n=644)

Item	High significance (%)	Medium significance (%)	Low significance (%)	No response (%)
Desire for a higher income/more buying power	90.8	7.0	2.2	
Desire for a higher income relative to the incomes of other professionals	58.4	24.7	16.6	0.3
Desire for increased access to enhanced technology, equipment and health facilities for medical practice	74.1	18.3	7.6	
Desire to travel to a country with a higher number of medical jobs available	50.2	29.2	20.5	0.2
Desire to work in an academic environment with more colleagues in one’s field of interest	48.3	27.6	24.1	
Desire for increased prestige associated with being a physician abroad	40.5	29.5	30.0	
Desire to live in a country with a higher level of general safety	51.9	22.7	25.5	
Desire to live in a country with increased economic stability	72.5	15.8	11.5	0.2
Desire for better prospect for one’s children	78.0	14.0	7.8	0.3

Source: Astor et al. (2005:2494)

Apart from economic and professional factors, general safety and better prospects for one’s children are highly desired factors by respondents in the same study. This may be linked to the fact that highly skilled migrants often bring their families with them when they move overseas so the welfare of their children, including their education, is a primary consideration.

The desire for stability and general safety was also expressed by the majority of skilled South Africans (engineers, accountants, medical doctors) who were interviewed in a telephone survey about their perception on why their fellow skilled South Africans left the country (Crush 2000). Dissatisfaction with the ‘quality of life’ in South Africa due

to the worsening political turmoil and instability was for them the foremost reason that drive South Africans to move overseas.

These studies show that while wages are an important factor affecting the decision of the highly skilled to move abroad, it is not always the most important factor. Evidence of this is also shown in a study of Vujcic et al. (2004) on the effect of wage differentials between a source country and a receiving country on the migration decisions of health professionals. Data were obtained from a synthesis report on the migration of health professionals in six African countries (Cameroon, Ghana, Senegal, South Africa, Uganda, Zimbabwe) published in 2003 by the World Health Organization Regional Office for Africa. A striking result is that while South Africa is much better off than the other African countries in the sample in terms of wages relative to the destination countries (United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Australia), the percentage of health professionals in South Africa who still wish to migrate is close to that of Ghana where the wage differential is much higher. The reason has not been well explored by the authors but I consider it to be connected to safety and security issues in South Africa particularly for the White South Africans after the end of the apartheid in the 1990s. The study also shows violence and crime to be the second most-cited reason of South African health professionals for wanting to leave their home country, and this may be related to South Africa's social and political climate in the post-apartheid years and how it has impacted White South Africans. A closer look on the ethnicity of the sample participants may be useful to verify this assertion.

Additionally, comparing the wages of nurses in the source countries with those in the receiving countries, the same study by Vujcic and colleagues found the disparity to be highest in the United States, followed by Australia and Canada and then the United Kingdom. For doctors' wages, the highest variation is in the United States, followed by Canada and the United Kingdom. One would expect that health professionals intending to migrate would choose the destination countries where the wage differential is highest and thus in the case of Ghana, these would be the United States and Canada. However, their most frequent destination, based on the WHO report, is the United Kingdom, followed by the United States. Canada is not even mentioned. This shows that the highly skilled do not just respond to wage differentials. As the authors note, there are

also other factors at work such as network effects and nonwage benefits such as opportunities for advancement (Vujicic et al. 2004).

A more diverse study of professionals working in various sectors such as finance, health, biotechnology and information technology conducted by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) in the UK confirm the fact that highly skilled migrants are drawn to work overseas for reasons other than better pay. The participants originated from a mix of source countries or regions that were classified into seven groups (USA, Australia/Canada, New Zealand, Far East [Japan, Malaysia, China, Singapore, Korea], India/Pakistan, Eastern Europe, and South Africa. Asked why they decided to work in another country, the majority of the professionals in the sample gave as reasons their desire to gain experience/knowledge/exposure, develop their careers and take advantage of better opportunities (DTI-UK 2002). Financial reason was also mentioned but was only the fourth most commonly mentioned. Asked to rate a set of factors that motivated them to work in the UK, the five factors that got the highest ratings were the personal challenge of working and living in another culture, gaining of additional knowledge in another country, the opportunity to work at the “leading edge of your specialisation or profession”, learning of other cultures, and more challenging work.

It is important to note, however, that migration decisions are constrained by the migration laws and policies of both the sending countries and destination countries. Between the two, it is the countries of destination that really set the “pattern and pace of migration” , (Go 2002:356). The mobility of people depends highly on the destination countries’ willingness to open their borders to foreigners which, as the foregoing section on the history of Filipino high-skilled migration shows, is influenced by their labour market needs, the nature of their economic and social policies, and historical ties. It is also affected by other factors such as ethical and border security issues.

This does not mean that sending countries are performing a reactive role of supplier of labour, talents and skills. As the discussion above shows, the motivation of the highly skilled people to leave their home country is precipitated by the socioeconomic and political conditions at home. Depending on how favourable the conditions are to their economic survival, professional advancement and personal safety, they may be enticed to stay or be motivated to leave. In the case of the Philippines, however, its government has actively been promoting labour migration (Alcid 2003; O'Neil 2004; Asis 2006). As

a country perennially beset with high poverty levels and high unemployment rates, labour migration is openly supported by the government as a stop-gap measure to alleviate the country's socioeconomic problems (Alcid 2003). Over the years, the government has proactively facilitated the movement of people overseas. It created the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) in 1982 to streamline the bureaucratic process in the provision of contract labour to foreign employers, which in effect degularised the labour export industry. This, according to Alcid (2003:111), is intended to make the Philippines, through the POEA, a "better marketer, promoter and exporter of Filipino workers".

Facilitated by the government as well as aided by the media through its depictions of positive images associated with migration, a 'culture of emigration' permeates Philippine society (Asis 2006). Working and living abroad has become a dream for many Filipinos despite the risks and uncertainties and the social costs it bears. Even the choice of degree to pursue is motivated by a desire for a better chance of going abroad with ease. Thus, most young people—and with the influence of their parents—would often choose courses like nursing, information technology, and seafaring, as these are occupational fields that are in high demand abroad. In a nationwide survey of 1,200 adult respondents in 2002, one in five Filipinos was found to have a desire to migrate (Asis 2006). Even children at a young age have a conscious desire to leave the country. A 2003 survey among children aged 10 to 12 indicates that nearly 50 percent of them wish to work abroad someday (Asis 2006).

Integration in the receiving countries: the issue of deskilling

Highly skilled migrants enter destination countries with the expectation that they will be able to use their education and training as well as gain new skills for their professional development. Traditional immigration countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand give preference to people with higher education and relevant work experience. Although their skills are recognised at the time of entry and are, in fact, one of the major reasons why they are admitted, it is not uncommon for them to end up being de-skilled. Salt (1997) calls this phenomenon 'brain waste' and explains it as the deployment of professionals into positions much lower than their education, training or experience. Though admitted as professionals based on the immigration policies of the destination countries, many of the highly skilled who

migrated from less developed countries are initially relegated to lower status and lower paying jobs owing to the nonrecognition of their foreign credentials and the bias for local experience, cultural know-how and English proficiency. There are two theories in the literature explaining this phenomenon.

The dual labour market theory proposed by American economist Michael Piore in his 1979 publication *Birds of Passage* explains how and why deskilling occurs. In Piore's view, the economy is composed of a capital-intensive primary market—which is reserved for natives—and a labour-intensive secondary market. High-skilled and thus higher paying and higher status jobs characterise the primary market while lower skilled and lower paying jobs, which native workers avoid due to lower wages and lower status, make up the secondary market (Piore 1979). Economic expansion results in the demand for more labour, which is initially satisfied by the native labour force. Labour shortages occur in the secondary market because they prefer to work in the primary market. Firms therefore rely on migrant labour to fill the secondary market.

As implied in this model, deskilling happens because there is a secondary market of lower paying and lower status jobs which migrants are willing to accept. Alternatively, the situation may be viewed the other way around. Migrants feed this secondary market and this market persists because of the presence of cheap migrant labour. The model also treats deskilling as a rational and conscious decision taken by migrants to enter the overseas labour market. In the same vein, the model sees employing cheap migrants as a rational decision taken by firms to minimise their production costs. Rather than raising wages in the secondary market to entice native workers to take these jobs, firms keep wages low given a steady supply of migrant workers that are willing to fill the labour scarcities in the secondary market.

An alternative explanation is offered by Harald Bauder. Looking beyond economics and binaries (primary market versus secondary market), Bauder puts forward the theory that deskilling—which he termed as job devaluation—is a strategy of host countries to preserve the social order (Bauder 2006). He perceives the labour market as a site of class reproduction, with the host country doing its best to maintain the superiority of the native population by reserving the best jobs to them. He regards deskilling as an institutionalised form of marginalisation of migrants intended to maintain the existing power structure.

In framing his insights of immigrant labour segmentation, Bauder takes on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of capital and the idea of equating capital to all forms of power, from which individuals and groups draw upon a variety of resources to maintain or enhance their position in the social order (Swartz 1997). In particular, Bauder applies Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital by focusing on how it works in the social reproduction within a society composed of native and migrant workers. Cultural capital encompasses resources including such things as verbal facility, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences, information about the school system and educational credentials (Swartz 1997). Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu, exists in three different states: embodied (such as music and works of arts, which can be 'consumed' only by apprehending their meaning), objectified (or symbols of material status such as fashion and art) and institutionalised (such as diplomas, certificates and degrees or those that are acquired through the institutional credential system) (Swartz 1997).

In the case of highly skilled migrants, their institutionalised cultural capital (educational degree and training) is a source of power for entering an immigration country like New Zealand which has a preference for highly skilled. The human capital theory has emphasised how investments in education could lead to increased personal well-being (Becker 1993), hence ideally, a highly skilled migrant's educational qualification and training should be able to place him in equal footing with others, including native workers, who possess similar qualities in terms of education and work experience, regardless of other factors such as gender, race and ethnicity. The deskilling phenomenon negates this human capital assumption with the devaluation of a skilled migrant's cultural capital in the host country. Bourdieu explained this capital devaluation through his concept of 'habitus' which can be understood as a "structured framework of evaluations and expectations which lead to the conscious or intuitive prioritising of certain dispositions and practices" and which "provides the context in which capitals of various forms (economic, social, cultural) are valued and given meaning" (Kelly and Lusic 2006:833). The concept of habitus indicates that the valorisation of capital is socially created and not determined by objective structures. Taking this concept further to expound on his idea of the labour market as a site of class reproduction, Bauder (2006:38) explains that "the valorization, devaluation or creation of forms of capital is a place-particular process controlled by social groups, institutions and individual pursuing the aim of distinguishing themselves from others."

According to Bauder, the nonrecognition of foreign credentials and requiring migrants to undergo training or to pass an examination before they can apply for a job are forms of devaluing the cultural capital (educational degree and training) of migrants. The medical profession has one of the toughest standards. Other highly restricted occupations include law and teaching. In New Zealand, overseas-trained nurses are normally required by the Nursing Council of New Zealand to undertake a sixth- to eight-month competency assessment programme (better known as ‘bridging’ programme) (Nursing Council of New Zealand n.d.). They must successfully pass this programme (which costs around NZ\$4,000) to be registered with the Nursing Council and be given a practicing certificate which is their passport to finding work in New Zealand. In the United Kingdom, overseas-trained teachers need to gain a qualified teacher status (QTS) to teach in state-maintained schools (<http://www.tda.gov.uk>). This can be obtained by undergoing initial teacher training to enable them to meet the professional standards for QTS. However, access to a programme for QTS is not automatic as their degree qualifications must be considered comparable by UK Naric, the government agency which provides advice on the comparability between international qualifications and UK qualifications (Miller 2008).

Another form of devaluation is putting a premium on local experience over the migrant worker’s skills and competencies. In many ways, local experience does not equate to the person’s skill set but his or her knowledge of the local setting, including its culture, as well as the system of the host country, which the person could gain by being employed locally.

Deskilling experiences: some examples

There is a broad literature on immigrant economic integration and many of these studies have analysed the employment outcomes and labour participation of overseas-educated and trained migrants in the traditional immigration countries. As can be gleaned in some deskilling examples below, the deskilling phenomenon is a complex process that demonstrates the interplay of race, ethnicity and gender on the labour market participation of skilled migrants.

For example, a study by Boyd and Thomas (2002) looked at the employment outcomes of male engineer migrants in Canada. The results show that they are less likely to be

employed in engineering occupations except for those born in the United Kingdom, Western Europe and the Oceanic countries. The Canadian born and the foreign born arriving in Canada as children and therefore educated or trained in Canadian institutions are most likely to be employed in engineering and/or managerial occupations. Migrant engineers who migrated after age 27 and those who are born in the Philippines or Eastern Europe have the lowest probability of holding a managerial or engineering occupation. The authors attribute these outcomes to human capital differences arising from perceived differences in educational systems and language skills. Employment disparities tend to diminish as length of stay in Canada increases (15 years or more) and for those who have master's or PhD degrees.

Also conducted in Canada, Man (2004), however, analysed the deskilling of highly skilled Chinese immigrant women. Interviews were conducted with 20 women from Mainland China and 30 from Hong Kong who immigrated in the mid-1980s to the late 1990s. More than a third of them were professionals prior to their emigration working in fields such as research, teaching, engineering, medicine, computer science, accounting and business administration. They related similar problems in finding employment such as the requirements for "Canadian experience", the employer's reluctance to recognise their qualifications and experience gained from their own countries and the racialised policies in the labour market. Previous studies have shown how racist and sexist labour market policies discriminate against immigrants in general and foreign-born women of colour in particular, as evidenced by their difficulties to be employed in occupations commensurate to their credentials or being paid the lowest wages and salaries (Boyd 1992; Li 2000). Consistent with these findings, only a handful of women in Man's study have found professional work in similar fields prior to their emigration. The rest of them either worked in clerical positions, were self-employed or ran their own or their husband's small business, were housewives or were unemployed. Several of them related already feeling tired of looking for a suitable job so they gave up the idea of entering the labour force.

Meanwhile, Miller (2008) studied the downward professional mobility experienced by overseas-trained teachers (OTTs) in England. Beginning in the 1970s, the United Kingdom has gradually liberalised its policies concerning the admission of immigrants, favouring those with high educational skills and resources rather than selecting purely

on the basis of racial backgrounds. The selection of the highly skilled has intensified in the 1990s, with preference for nurses, medical doctors, engineers and teachers due to the shortage of these skills in the domestic labour market. OTTs come mostly from European countries, the United States and Canada, as well as from Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. Analysing the 2004 Labour Force Survey, Miller (2008) found higher unemployment rates among the non-UK born and educated migrants. This is highly attributed to the nonrecognition or devaluation of their overseas qualifications. Migrants from white ethnic backgrounds were also found to be performing better in terms of employment and wage levels which also suggests the effect of race and ethnicity.

The employment outcomes of overseas-trained nurses in Australia were examined by Hawthorne (2001). As a country with a high deployment of nurses for overseas work, this study is highly relevant for the Philippines. Citing Corcega et al. (2000), Lorenzo et al. (2007) estimated that in 2003, 84.7 percent of employed Filipino nurses were working abroad. Hawthorne's sample consisted of 719 overseas-qualified registered nurses (93% females), which included those from the Philippines, and who had settled in Australia between 1980 and 1996. Additional data were obtained from extended individual interviews with 29 overseas-qualified nurses (OQNs), 71 interviews with key informants knowledgeable in migration, English language testing and qualifications assessment, and 231 OQN interviews completed as part of the mandatory 1995 Occupational English Test for nurses. While Hawthorne did not find any significant association between holding a position of responsibility (e.g., nurse director, nurse supervisor, nurse manager) and variables such as gender, whether a nurse had children or not, age or visa status, it was significant with region of origin. Specifically, non-Commonwealth Asians were significantly disadvantaged. They were found to be 70 percent less likely to be appointed to positions of responsibility when compared to English-speaking background (ESB) nurses or those from the UK, US, Canada, South Africa, Ireland and New Zealand. Non-Commonwealth Asian nurses were also found to be more likely to work in public hospitals and in nursing homes, a sector which is increasingly identified as for foreign labour.

Henderson et al. (2001) discussed the difficult experiences of 36 highly skilled Chinese migrants in finding employment in New Zealand. Their respondents reported the nonrecognition of their overseas qualifications, particularly for the doctors, teachers and engineers in the sample. The statutory registration for obtaining a practising certificate, while a procedure accepted by these migrants, was considered by them as a major setback given the time-consuming process packed with heavy requirements that may require months up to a year or years to fulfil. Some migrants in the sample also reported lack of New Zealand qualifications and work experience as reasons for their inability to find work. The women engineers in the sample also felt they were being discriminated against because of their gender. Finally, respondents reported their lack of familiarity with New Zealand English, particularly its accent, speed and colloquialism, as a factor that contributed to their unemployment.

In the Longitudinal Immigration Surveys of Migrant Experiences in New Zealand (New Zealand Department of Labour 2004) conducted in 2001 and 2002, the same barriers to finding work in New Zealand were mentioned by the respondents who were out of work at the time of the survey. Respondents in the 2007 Settlement Experience of Skilled Migrants Survey (Badkar 2008) confirmed the same difficulties faced by migrants (both principal and secondary applicants) in finding work in New Zealand. Among the reasons, lack of New Zealand experience, language difficulties and the nonacceptance of their skills or experience by New Zealand employers were the most common barriers they mentioned. The feeling of job dissatisfaction among employed migrants was also a critical issue raised in the same study. The common reasons found were low pay, the inability to use their skills and experience, and their job being not their preference.

Also central to the deskilling literature are studies on the catch-up of migrants or their gaining parity in the labour market over time. The earning gap of migrants and native workers and the theory of narrowing of this gap with assimilation in the host country have been analysed by many scholars (see, for example, Borjas 1985, 1995; Li 2000, 2003; Reitz 2003; Card 2005; Picott and Sweetman 2005). While these studies agree that immigrants earn less at entry, they have different conclusions about the prospects for immigrant assimilation and catch-up. At the heart of these opposing views is the position of George Borjas who extensively studied the case of immigrants in the US particularly those who arrived in the 1970s and succeeding periods. Large migration

streams into the US occurred in the 1970s and 1980s as a result of the passage of the Immigration and Naturalisation Act of 1965 (Pandey et al. 2006). Borjas (1995:238-239) argued that “there is little evidence to suggest that immigrants reach wage-parity with the typical US-born worker during their working lives...it is likely that the relative wages of post-1970 immigrants will remain about 15-20 percentage points below those of natives throughout much of their working lives.” This challenges the seminal view of Barry Chiswick who proclaimed less than two decades earlier that after 10 to 15 years in the US, immigrants’ earnings equal and even exceed those of the native born (Chiswick 1978). Contrary to Borjas, the conclusions of David Card were more optimistic. Card (2005) agreed with Borjas and other scholars on the lower earnings of migrants relative to the native born, but argued that this is compensated by the wage advantage enjoyed by second-generation children as a result of their higher educational levels. These diverging positions signify that migrant assimilation and integration will remain important issues for policy work and future research.

Coping techniques

Several studies have shown how the highly skilled in New Zealand and other destination countries have coped with deskilling. For example, the research of Riaño and Baghdadi (2007) identified the strategies taken by skilled Latin American, Middle Eastern and Southeastern European women immigrants in Switzerland who experienced deskilling and the specific activities they have undertaken for each strategy to improve their labour market participation. These strategies, which include reskilling, working below their skills, creating their own employment, and doing volunteer work, not only reflect the difficulties that highly skilled migrants generally go through to integrate into the labour market but also demonstrate their flexible and resilient nature to address the issue of downward professional mobility and to thrive in the destination country (Table 2.4).

Reskilling takes the form of undertaking study to get an education or training in the host country, which most employers prefer. This same strategy is applied by migrants in New Zealand, as reflected in the 2007 Settlement Experience and Skilled Migrants Survey (Badkar 2008). Some respondents reported undertaking study to upgrade their qualifications and to get a better job.

Table 2.4. Strategies taken by skilled women immigrants in Switzerland to improve their labour market participation

Realm of action	Strategy	Means	Gains
Educational	Re-skill	Improve German proficiency	Rebuild capital
		Redo tertiary education	Wider social participation
		Carry out postgraduate studies	
Labour market	Work below skills	Take any available job	Social recognition
	Create own employment	Set up own business	
	Do volunteer work	Unpaid work in social organisations	Self-esteem
Family	Family planning and gender arrangements	Postpone, limit number, no children	Time for work and/or study
		Share child-care tasks with partners	
		Separate from partners	Independence
Personal	Withdraw from labour market	Assume domestic role	Motherhood
	Find an escape to the situation	Return to the country of origin	Personal stability

Source: Riaño and Baghdadi (2007:178)

Aside from studying, another activity migrants who are out of work do, as reflected in the longitudinal surveys of the New Zealand Department of Labour, is taking care of dependents (New Zealand Department of Labour 2004). In both waves of the surveys, studying and caring for dependents are the two most common activities that jobless migrants undertook.

Volunteering is also done by many new migrants to gain local experience. Although they do not receive any income from it, they do unpaid work to beef up their resume. Volunteering itself is a recommended strategy by the New Zealand government. In the website of the Wellington City Council, it was listed, along with undertaking job mentoring and job brokering, as a suggestion for job seekers to improve their job prospects (Wellington City Council n.d.): volunteering is “a great starting point for work experience, and to learn about New Zealand people and their customs. It gives people the opportunity to get involved in the community, make friends and build their confidence and skill levels.”

Apart from being a coping mechanism, doing part-time work is a survival tool for many migrants. Part-time work keeps the income flowing while studying to upgrade qualification or continually seeking a better job. Many migrants also tolerate working below their skills just to be employed. Quoting a 2005 report of the International Labour Office, Badkar et al. (2009) noted in their study of caregivers in New Zealand that a significant proportion of these caregivers are migrant nurses who took up long-term care job because they are unable to gain registration in New Zealand due to the nonrecognition of their foreign qualifications or their inability to meet English language requirements.

For those who have business connections or sufficient financial capital, self-employment by way of putting up a business is another option. Based on the 2003-2004 Global Entrepreneurship Monitor of the Unitec New Zealand Centre for Innovation and Entrepreneurship (CIE), there are more than 40,000 business owners in New Zealand that fall under the category of 'necessity entrepreneurs' or those who put up a business in response to job loss or redundancy (Unitec New Zealand Global Entrepreneurship Monitor 2004). Compared to other coping mechanisms, however, entrepreneurship entails more demands and risks, and thus an option which new migrants may not be enticed to embark on.

For some migrant families, the transnational phenomenon of 'astronauting' is typical. Astronauting is when the head of the family, mostly the husband, returns to the country of origin to work while the rest of the family members stay in the host country to live. Studies have shown that Asian migrants resort to astronauting due to the difficulties in finding suitable employment in the country of destination (Ho et al. 1997; Ip 2000). Huang and Yeoh (2005) assert that astronauting helps to spread the economic risks while maximizing the social and economic benefits for the family at the same time. The motivation for choosing to take up an astronaut arrangement is in many cases also linked to the pursuit of a Western education among Asian families while continuing to maximise the economic capital in the country of origin (Waters 2002).

Some migrants take on return migration or repatriation as a last resort. Feeling frustrated after having exhausted all possibilities for a better life in the host country but still ending up devalued, discriminated against and their goals left unachieved, some choose to go back home. This option also poses risk. According to Papademetriou

(1991:215), “unplanned returns, such as those associated with mass expulsion, changes in immigration laws, plant closings or protracted economic recession in the host society are least likely to lead to lasting positive consequences for the migrant, his household and his community.” There are also other reasons why migrants may choose to return as noted by Callea (1986), such as attending to family needs (children’s studies), reaching a pensionable age, having sufficient savings, difficulty in working abroad, and personal factors (health, feeling of nostalgia).

Other migrants move to a ‘third country’ to gain better prospects. Hugo (2008) described third-country migration or remigration as one of the features of the contemporary migration system between Australia and Asian countries. He observed this phenomenon among India- and China-born skilled migrants in Australia. Analysing data for the period 1994-2007 on the destination of their permanent departures, the study showed that while there was a high percentage of China-born migrants returning to China (57.8%), the permanent departures with Hong Kong as destination (26%) were nonetheless striking. Among the India-born, the percentage of permanent return to India was smaller (23.2%) as many migrants moved to a third country, particularly the United States (16.6%), the United Kingdom and Ireland (11.1%) and New Zealand (10.4%). The move to Australia, Hugo (2008:283) noted, can be described as “an intermediate step (for some migrants) in a longer term strategy to move to countries which are bigger players in the global economy, the headquarters of major multinational companies and places where international careers are more likely to be advanced.” An earlier study conducted by Biao (2004) observed a similar pattern among the India-born IT workers who migrated to Australia and gained permanent residency but then have the intention to migrate to the United States later. The phenomenon of third-country migration is also visible in the New Zealand context. Bedford et al. (2000) remarked on the way New Zealand is used as a backdoor to gain easy access to Australia. In their analysis of Trans-Tasman migration, Bedford et al. (2003) noted the movements of Asia-born migrants in New Zealand to Australia (and other destination countries including Asia) given the ease of mobility for New Zealand citizens under the Trans-Tasman Migration Agreement.

Conclusion

This chapter has given a ‘face’ to the highly skilled Filipino diaspora, the main actors in this research. This provides a better understanding of this group of migrants. They are active participants in the processes of globalisation, migration and mobility. Their migration trajectories are not passive actions but conscious efforts shaped by events, both internal and external, which influence their motivations and objectives. Their mobility is facilitated by factors such as colonial ties, the shortage of local skilled workers and the adoption of neoliberal policies by many destination countries. In contrast to the growth of the highly skilled Filipino diaspora in the United States which was largely precipitated by colonial ties and heightened globalising processes, their counterparts in Australia and New Zealand have grown mainly out of the relaxation of their immigration policies following a shift to a neoliberal agenda to attract foreign skills and capital to sustain and strengthen their economies amid increasing global competition.

However, the Philippine government itself has played a significant role in this increasing high-skilled mobility. It has openly supported and managed international migration as a solution to the country’s high poverty levels and high unemployment rates but much to its own detriment. As noted in Chapter 1, brain drain is a real issue in the Philippines as the study of Albuero and Abella (2002) has confirmed. The Philippines is benefitting from international migration through the inflow of financial remittances. Whether it is also gaining from the inflow of knowledge and skills from its expatriate professionals through knowledge transfer—and to what extent—is another story and will be revealed in the succeeding chapters.

Although highly skilled migrants are similar in some ways to the lesser skilled in terms of their economic motivations, we find they also value other things. Their knowledge and skills are their main resource and it is important for them that these are also used and harnessed in the destination countries. We will see in the research results if they are also sharing or transferring these resources to their home country and if their motives for knowledge transfer are also driven by factors other than economic incentives.

Looking at the difficulties they face in the destination countries helps us to realize they are not insulated from marginalization or discrimination just because they are better

skilled or better educated. Similar to the lower skilled, they are beset with issues, though of a different nature. These issues such as deskilling particularly impinge on their resources—their knowledge and skills—which are the basis of their survival and security. How these issues affect their continued linkage with their home country, particularly in terms of their knowledge transfer, will be analysed in the study.

In the next chapter, I discuss the theoretical foundation of the research. I begin with a review of related concept and studies and culminate with the presentation of the analytical framework.

Chapter 3

Knowledge Transfer and Circulation: Theory and Analytical Framework

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented the main actors of the research—the highly skilled Filipino migrants in New Zealand and Australia. In this chapter, I take a closer look at the concept of knowledge transfer and circulation for which the involvement of these actors is studied. First, I locate the concept within general theories or viewpoints on skilled migration that exist in the literature to show how this concept connects to wider migration debates. Then, I discuss knowledge transfer in more detail by reviewing its conceptual foundations and practical applications. From this review, I present a framework which guides the way I address the major research question: how viable is knowledge transfer as a development strategy for capitalising on the relevant knowledge and skills of the highly skilled Filipino diaspora and for facilitating its participation in the development of the home country?

Revisiting views on skilled mobility

As I have indicated earlier, I argue that it is a rational strategy to let highly skilled people leave their home country when they cannot find suitable economic and professional opportunities at home. However, it is important to harness the benefits of this skilled mobility and to improve the conditions in the home country to encourage some skilled people to stay. I see migration as a continuing phenomenon so it is important for the home country to harness its benefits. Knowledge and skills are the resources that the skilled diaspora possesses and knowledge transfer is a novel concept to capitalise on these resources and alleviate some of the negative impacts of skilled mobility.

The two classic views on skilled mobility, which I argue are still valid, became prominent in the late 1950s when the concept of the brain drain first appeared in academic and policy debates to describe the large-scale movement of scientists,

technologists and health professionals from Britain to the United States and Canada in that period (Giannoccolo 2006). These views are still as relevant today as when they were first raised more than 40 years ago in an international conference on the ‘brain drain’ sponsored jointly by the Centre de Recherches Europeennes of Lausanne and by the US Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs (Adams 1968). The issue of brain drain from skilled mobility continues to be raised today. In recent years, a shift is evident in the emergence of the concept of ‘brain gain’, and closely related concepts which some authors also refer to as ‘knowledge exchange’, ‘knowledge transfer’ and ‘brain/knowledge circulation’ (Meyer et al. 1997; Meyer and Brown 1999; Saxenian 2002b; Hunger 2004) . Interest in the concept, particularly in terms of its practical policy application, has not waned as the present research shows.

One view of skilled mobility is the internationalist model or cosmopolitan liberal view proposed by Harry Johnson. In this model, Johnson considers international mobility as a right of every individual and also a beneficial process to utilise the untapped or undervalued human resources in countries of origin (Johnson 1968). He acknowledges that skilled mobility has both positive and negative consequences but the negative ones do not outweigh the economic and social benefits to countries of origin. He claims that these negative consequences are cancelled out by direct forms of compensation such as private and collective financial remittances that migrants send to their home country. There are also indirect forms of compensation such as foreign aid programmes and the knowledge and skills received by the home country from their overseas trained and educated migrants when they return home. These compensations form part of the positive consequences of skilled mobility in Johnson’s model.

Another perspective is the nationalist view suggested by Don Patinkin. He argues that the free flow of skilled workers among countries has damaging effects especially on the less-developed ones (Patinkin 1968). Patinkin acknowledges the reality of brain drain for underdeveloped countries and emphasises that financial remittances from skilled mobility is not enough to stimulate development because local people with the skills and know how are essential. In Patinkin’s view, however, brain drain is actually a problem that stems from home-country conditions. It is an issue that is inextricably linked to the “general problem of creating a political, social and economic milieu that will encourage development...and the success of the underdeveloped countries in minimizing the ‘brain drain’ is directly related to the confidence that exists with

reference to the future of the country” (Patinkin 1968:95). Patinkin’s view is actually consistent with Johnson’s stance on valuing the right of every individual to go wherever they want, particularly if conditions in the home country are not conducive to their welfare.

“If salaries of scientific personnel are so low that they must undertake a second or third job in order to make ends meet, then there is little prospect of persuading first-rate people to stay at home. The same is true if these people do not feel that they have minimum research facilities; or if their teaching load is so large (say, greater than 15 hours) that they have no time for research; or if they see their future as one of an endless struggle, with a cumbersome university and /or government bureaucracy.” (Patinkin 1968:96)

Similar to Johnson, Patinkin (1968) acknowledges that countries of origin also benefit from international skilled mobility through the training and education that their skilled migrants obtain and which they eventually pass on to their home country when they return. The fear of brain drain, according to Johnson, may also force affected countries to improve economic, social and political conditions to keep their skilled people from leaving.

The knowledge transfer and circulation argument

Knowledge transfer (variants of which are brain circulation and knowledge circulation) basically supports Harry Johnson’s internationalist view of skilled mobility. This is evident in the short description of the process provided by Castles and Miller (2009) in their book *The Age of Migration* which in turn is based on the position of the Global Commission on International Migration on the migration of professionals (for details, see GCIM 2005).

“...In any case, it is a human right to emigrate, and it is extremely difficult to prevent people from leaving. Efforts to do so (for instance by claiming back education costs from those who leave) are likely to be counterproductive: they will encourage people to leave in an irregular way, and will deter experts from returning, even if they wish to.” (Castles and Miller 2009:66)

Basically the argument of knowledge transfer is that knowledge and skills can flow back to home countries by a variety of processes because highly skilled migrants remain attached to their home country. This attachment creates a valuable exchange or circulation of knowledge between migrants and their home countries which challenges the notion of ‘loss’ and offers new possibilities for building wealth.

Theoretical foundations of knowledge transfer

Various theories from sociology, anthropology, economic geography and organisational studies provide the theoretical bases supporting the feasibility of knowledge transfer. Although these concepts appear in different disciplines, their ideas are overlapping and reinforce one another.

(1) Transnationalism and diaspora: connections across borders

The concepts of transnationalism and diaspora emphasise the continued ties of migrants across national borders and to their countries of origin, in particular, thereby supporting the possibility of the flowing back of migrants’ knowledge and skills to their home countries.

‘Connectedness’ is the central theme of the transnationalism concept, which was raised in the 1990s, concomitantly with the critiques on the traditional migration theories. First articulated by Glick Schiller and her colleagues, it posits the notion that contemporary immigrants are not uprooted or have not completely left their old country (Glick Schiller et al. 1995 as cited in Wong and Satzewich 2006). Apart from their host and home countries, they maintain multiple linkages and interactions that span national borders (Wong and Satzewich 2006) or what has been also referred to as “transnational social formations” (Vertovec 2009)⁹ or “transnational social spaces” (Faist 2000; Kivisto 2001; Pries 2001; Wayland 2006).

The concept of transnational social spaces, according to Faist (2000), marks the third phase or generation of migration scholarship. The first phase concerns the

⁹ In *Transnationalism* (Vertovec 2009), Steven Vertovec made an excellent summary of the key ideas of transnationalism and the important contributions of leading scholars, some of whom were mentioned in this section.

model that emphasises the push-pull nature of migration in which flows of people are instigated by the particular features of emigration regions (push factors) and of immigration regions (pull factors). The second phase upgrades this model in that it looks at migration flows and flows of goods and information between the two regions as embedded in the structural dependence between the periphery (emigration) and core (immigration) states under a capitalist world economy. In this model, the peripheral states are the economically less developed and politically insecure ones and the core states their opposite, which explains the reliance of the peripheral on the core states. The third phase regards migration as the building of transnational linkages or circular flows not only of persons but also of goods, ideas, information and symbols that connect emigration and immigration states. Whereas the previous models are concerned with the structural causes of migration, this model is about the resulting phenomena, in particular the trans-border familial, economic, social, religious, cultural and political ties that international migrants build. Attuned to present-day realities, migrations in this model “are not singular journies but tend to become an integral part of the migrants’ lives” (Faist 2000:13). The direction is not fixed—migrants travel back and forth—which blurs the distinction between the countries of origin and destination, and often multiple intermediary places.

Basch et al. (1994) and Pries (2001) argued that transnationalism is not a new concept in the sense that early migrants engaged themselves in relations and practices that were transnational in nature. These early forms, Pries (2001:23) asserted, have been important because they provided “a platform and a period of ‘incubation’ which made way for the current emergence of transnational social spaces.”

Efforts to popularise and expand the transnational perspective were made by other scholars notably Alejandro Portes. Central to Portes’ thesis is the significance of improved communication and transportation networks in the viability of transnational ties and practices (Portes et al. 1999).

Portes and his colleagues qualified their work by arguing that not all contemporary migrants are transnational and again underscored the importance of technology for transnationalism (Kivisto 2001). They also theorised that migrants with higher levels of capital have more possibilities to engage with or develop transnational

practices. Proximity to the home country—and it appears Portes and his colleagues were referring to geographic nearness—is also considered by them to be as a determining feature. Migrants situated in host countries that are near their home countries are also more likely to sustain transnational ties.

Diaspora and diasporic groups/communities are often used interchangeably with transnationalism and transnational migrants/communities giving the impression they are the same. It is imperative to clarify these concepts. Conceptually, they overlap, but transnationalism is broader and more inclusive than diaspora (Braziel and Mannur 2003). Transnational communities encompass diasporas, but not all of them are diasporas (Wong and Satzewich 2006). According to Patel (2006), diaspora can be considered a subset of transnationalism.

Braziel and Mannur explained that diaspora refers to the movement of people—forced or voluntary—from one nation-state to another. In contrast, transnationalism is the general flow of people, ideas, goods and capital across national territories “in a way that undermines nationality and nationalism as discrete categories of identification, economic organization and political constitution” (Braziel and Mannur 2003:8). In more specific terms, diaspora can be regarded as a form of transnational organisation that is specifically related to the country of origin (Wahbeck 2002 as cited in Braziel and Mannur 2003). It is a type of transnationalism that is more focused on the ties with the country of origin. It is what Faist (2000) called “bounded” transnational communities in the sense that their members have a particular interest in a specific place, which is their home country, and thus their actions are also influenced in one way or another by the policies of the home country as well as of the host country. The concept of diaspora emphasises the long-term nature of commitment to the home country (Cohen 1997 and Hardill and Raghuram 1998 as cited in Bailey 2001). Diaspora also connotes a dedication to the maintenance of identities as a cultural or ethnic group.

Traditionally, diaspora is a concept that was once confined to groups of people residing outside their homeland in exile due to forced displacement. Following this notion, the Jewish, Greek and Armenian diasporas are often cited in diaspora literature as examples of the classic types of diaspora. William Safran, a sociologist from the University of Colorado who did extensive work on identifying the common features of diasporas, also

considered as legitimate the Turkish, Palestinian, Cuban, Greek and Chinese diasporas, but emphasized the Jewish diaspora as the archetypical one. From his review, Safran (1991:83-84) identified the following distinctive characteristics of diasporas: dispersal from a specific original location to one or two locations; retention of a “collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland”; feeling of alienation from the belief that they are not or cannot be fully accepted by their host country; perception of their ancestral homeland as their true home and hope for return; commitment to the maintenance and restoration of their homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and continued relations with their homeland and a sense of “ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity.”

Over time, the use of ‘diaspora’ has been extended to encompass ethnic or national groups of migrant origin that are not necessarily displaced by force. This broader definition includes the contemporary (modern) diaspora groups, in particular, the economic migrants or those who migrate to another country to find better economic opportunities. This typifies the Filipino diaspora that grew in the early twentieth century in the United States and that has multiplied in the past three decades in different parts of the world as discussed in Chapter 2.

Gabriel Sheffer, a political scientist at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has proposed a general definition of modern diasporas: “they are ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin—their homeland” (Sheffer 1986:3). He enumerated other distinct features of modern diasporas such as the preservation of their ethnic or ethno-religious identity and cultural solidarity; work with various aspects of their cultural, social, economic, and political needs in a way that either complements or conflicts with the activities of the host government; and having the capability to mobilize within their host countries to promote or defend their interest or that of their homeland.

Robin Cohen, a sociologist from the University of Oxford, and another influential scholar, also made a critical work in examining the main features of diasporas mainly drawing inspiration from the work of Safran. Cohen added some features such as: the inclusion in the category diaspora “groups that disperse for colonial or voluntarist reasons” (this feature, particularly the deliberate character of movement, perceptively

epitomises many contemporary diaspora groups such as the economic or labour migrants earlier mentioned); “the positive virtues of retaining a diasporic identity”; “mobilize a collective identity, not only a place of settlement or only in respect of an imagined, putative or real homeland, but also in solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries; and “diaspora can be used to describe transnational bonds of co-responsibility even where historically exclusive territorial claims are not strongly articulated” (Cohen 2008:6-7). The last feature is a useful and relevant addition in light of this modern age where transnational bonds can be forged and maintained even through communication technologies. In Cohen’s own words: “...in a global age where space itself has become reinscribed by cyberspace, a diaspora can, to some degree, be cemented or recreated through the mind, through artefacts and popular culture, and through a shared imagination” (Cohen 2008:8).

(2) Network theory or circulationist/connectivist approach

Related to transnationalism and diaspora is the network approach, also known as the circulationist or connectivist approach (Meyer et al. 2001). Essentially, the network theory has contributed much to understanding the migration process. For instance, it explains that networks maintain the cycle of migration by increasing the access of potential migrants to employment and other opportunities present in the country of destination, as well as other information related to the movement. Together, this lowers the costs and risks of migration (Massey et al. 1993). Social networks also serve to link origins and destinations, of which the most visible form of linkage is the monetary remittance migrants send home to support their families and/or to invest in property (Boyle et al. 1998).

Applied to the knowledge transfer or circulation theory, the network or circulationist approach challenges the notion of brain drain and suggests that it could be understood as ‘brain gain’. The brain drain concept is based on the traditional view that skills are the “stock of knowledge and skills embedded in individuals” such that when they move, these also move with them (Meyer 2001:95). In contrast, based on the network approach, brain gain is possible, because networks connect expatriate professionals to their countries of origin and mobilise them for the benefit of the home country. Highly skilled migrants are connected to one another and with their home country through a web of networks, which makes the transfer or circulation of knowledge and skills

possible (Ouaked 2002). These networks, according to Ouaked (2002:156), are part of the “connectedness” that propel the diffusion of new technologies, management and trade.

The impact of new technologies on social relations gave rise to the term ‘network society’ which was broadly explored by Manuel Castells, one of the leading scholars who developed the theme. In the first of his so-called trilogy on the Information Age, Castells described how new information technologies have facilitated more complex interactions that are organised by networks (Castells 1996). “Networks are very old forms of social organization. But they have taken on a new life in the Information Age by becoming information networks powered by new information technology” (Castells 2000:15).

Social networks are considered a critical factor that facilitates knowledge transfer. According to Sorenson (2005), the building of social networks from personal ties which cultivate trust, is promoted by similar backgrounds, interests and affiliations. Social networks, the authors note, are important for they facilitate access to resources such as financial capital, human capital and knowledge capital. They add that the close social ties that people have to regions where they have contacts bind them to these areas, even if other locations appear to be more attractive.

Related to social networks is another type of proximity which is not geographical and yet has proved to be critically significant to knowledge transfers. This proximity is the cultural type. Taube (2005) points out that ethnicity and culture provide a high degree of trust or social capital arising from similar sociocultural backgrounds, language, customs and norms and argue that they may even substitute for the trust present in face-to-face contacts.

Taubes explains this point by examining the development of India’s software industry through the non-resident Indians (NRIs) in the United States. Taube notes how India’s software industry’s concentration in the south, particularly in Bangalore, Hyderabad and Chennai, can be linked to the strong transnational network ties between South India and the NRIs located in Silicon Valley which stem from their strong sociocultural proximity. Taube explains that the better educated Indians migrating abroad come from South India, which demonstrates a distinct culture of learning, as evidenced by the

concentration of high-quality learning institutions, such as for example, some of the institutes comprising the prestigious Indian Institutes of the Technology (IIT), which were formed even before the independence of India. Their common educational background—being graduates of the IIT—is a uniting force and they are continuously linked to one another through alumni associations.

(3) Knowledge flows and exchanges through people's mobility

Another body of literature that supports the argument of knowledge transfer and circulation through people's mobility is the one on knowledge spillovers, a concept much studied in economic geography and innovation and organisational studies.

Knowledge spillovers are traditionally regarded and initially explored as a phenomenon existing between and among entities, most notably firms (Jafee 1986 as cited in Feldman 2000). Knowledge is believed to spill over or flow across firms and their respective industries, contributing to each other's productivity and research and development efforts by promoting innovation (Feldman 2000).

Increasingly, however, knowledge flows and spillovers are being studied with individual workers as the focus of analysis (Feldman 2000; Storper and Venables 2002; Audretsch and Kielbach 2005; Oettl and Agrawal 2008). It is argued that the mobility of knowledge workers is an important mechanism by which knowledge spills over (Audretsch and Kielbach 2005). Based on the work of her colleagues, Feldman (2000) found some evidence of knowledge spillovers through individual workers. One is Jaffe et al.'s (1993) study of patent citations which are used to indicate the flow of knowledge from one invention to another. Another is the study of Zucker and Darby (1996) on the role of the so-called 'star scientists', or highly productive individuals who discovered a major biotechnology breakthrough, in the development of the biotechnology industry.

Vinodrai and Gertler (2006) refer to highly skilled workers as effective agents of knowledge circulation and innovation owing to their mobile nature. They assert that they are capable of bringing together knowledge, ideas and practices and therefore can enhance knowledge exchange and learning which are necessary to promote development. First, their circulatory character, that is moving between firms and regions and between projects, facilitates the flow of knowledge and practices into

different firms and projects. Second, highly skilled workers, they assert, are attracted to career ‘buzz’ or interaction for knowledge sharing and learning by engaging in communities of practices or networks of similar occupations.

A related concept which is often highlighted in the knowledge transfer theory and also well investigated in economic geography and organisational studies is the role of intermediaries.

Effective knowledge transfer, some authors note, also require different kinds of intermediaries to move knowledge from one domain to another (Wright et al. 2008; Yusuf 2008). Intermediaries bridge the gap between the source of knowledge and its perceived user. Using as an example the university-industry linkages in knowledge and technology transfer in discussing this role, Wright et al. (2008) points to the function of intermediaries as ‘boundary spanners’ who link together the groups involved in the exchange (in this case, the universities and private corporations) through the provision of necessary information about the technology and assist in levelling up their perceptions, expectations and ideas of each other. In their paper, Wright and his colleagues discuss the cases of some selected mid-range European universities and how their technology transfer offices (TTOs), which the authors refer to as internal intermediaries, have helped facilitate the transfer and commercialisation of technologies they developed inhouse. As an example, they cite the University of Nottingham’s TTO which was created in the 1980s and its involvement in licensing and spin-off activities. Spin-off is a process by which a new company is formed and the knowledge developer, for example a university, enters into a formal transfer of technology to the company through a licensing agreement (Wright et al. 2008). As an example of external intermediaries, on the other hand, Wright and his colleagues discussed the so-called “Collective Research Centres” (CRCs) which were created in most European countries after the Second World War to stimulate technological development through collective research. CRCs are usually private sector, nonprofit-type organisations operating through government support at the federal or regional level (unlike the TTOs that function at the local or community level). CRCs perform applied technology research and commercialisation for companies particularly small and medium enterprises through mutual collaboration (Wright et al. 2008).

Although Yusuf discusses his typology in the same context of university-industry linkages as Wright et al. (2008), its relevance and application extends to other settings such as the international mobility of knowledge workers and their knowledge flows and exchanges with their home countries. Intermediaries, either individuals or entities, also figure in these flows and exchanges and migrants themselves also serve as intermediaries in these processes.

In her paper, Michaels (2009) calls intermediaries ‘brokers’. Her framework of the different brokering roles provides a useful spectrum of brokering strategies for tapping knowledge and expertise for decisionmaking. Her typology of brokering roles includes informing, consulting, matchmaking, engaging, collaborating and building capacity.

Although discussed by Michaels in the context of brokering scientific and technical information between environmental scientists (the source of the information) and policymakers (the prospective users of the information), the relevance of her framework is valuable for other settings such as the international mobility of knowledge workers and their knowledge exchanges with the home country. Intermediaries, either individuals or entities, also figure in these exchanges and migrant diasporas themselves also serve as intermediaries in these processes.

Country examples of knowledge transfer and circulation: China and India

There are relatively few examples of knowledge transfer cases available in the literature. Two of the most studied and written-about are those of China and India, which are a combination of the concept’s two models: the return option and the diaspora model. The way these cases are written differed in approach to highlight their distinct features. In the China case, the focus was the prominent role of the state in stimulating knowledge transfer. Meanwhile, the India case highlighted the different roles of the diaspora in the knowledge transfer and how state policies, in tandem with market and cultural forces, have shaped those roles.

China

One of the most studied and documented diaspora models is the Chinese diaspora model which is more of a state-led intervention rather a market-led process (Xiang 2005; Wescott 2006; Zweig et al. 2008).

China experienced large outflows of highly skilled people totalling almost one million scholars between 1978 and 2006 (Zweig et al. 2008). In the 1980s, the Chinese government began a massive campaign to encourage expatriate Chinese to return to China. The series of economic reforms that China underwent beginning in 1978 (toward its accession to the World Trade Organisation in 2001) meant that more than ever, China needed highly skilled talent. With the knowledge and training that they have acquired overseas, which are the very qualities the country needs, the government saw Chinese expatriates as valuable partners for China to compete in the global economy (Zweig 2006). Thus, the government started calling on overseas students to return, “promising them that all would be forgotten if they avoided future anti-government activity” (Jiao 1999:72-74 as cited in Zweig et al. 2008), a statement which clearly was directed to students who had left China in the wake of the 1989 Tiananmen incident. In 1993, the government also issued a 12-point slogan on returnee policy with a promise that all returnees are “free to come and go” after they had returned (Zweig et al. 2008).

Between 1992 and 2002, a number of programmes were implemented to entice diaspora members to return. Some of these are the following (Zweig 2006):

- The “Hundred Talents Programme” of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. This programme provides fellowships to institutes in the form of grants to start a laboratory for their proposed research, including financial support for buying of equipment and hiring of technical personnel.
- Establishment of Overseas Study Service Centres to help returnees find jobs. As of 1989, 33 of these have been formed. Schools for the children of returnees have also been created to cater to the needs of these children.

- Setting up of ‘postdoctoral stations’ by the Ministry of Employment and the Ministry of Personnel to serve as holding stations for overseas PhD who could not find jobs in China.
- Giving of preferential treatment to returnees, such as more living space and higher professional titles and permitting students who had signed two- or three-year contracts with their research centres to either remain or switch jobs once their agreements expired.

In 2001, a major policy was implemented that promoted knowledge exchange or circulation as an option for overseas scholars to serve their home country. It highlighted the shift to temporary return which was demonstrated in the slogan, *weiguo fuwu* (serve the motherland) in contrast to the earlier notion of *huiguo fuwu* (return and serve the motherland), emphasizing that ‘physical return is no longer regarded as a determinant’ (Wescott 2006:8). The government started to advocate the ‘double base model’ or dumb-bell model with this new policy. This model suggests that Chinese expatriates can be in two countries simultaneously such as by having professional or/and business affiliations in both China and overseas and moving back and forth regularly (Xiang 2003).

The “Spring Light Project” of the Ministry of Education’s Foreign Affairs Bureau is one of the activities under this new policy (Xiang 2005). This project arranges and funds short visits for lecturing or research collaboration in Chinese universities. About 600 scholars participated during its first year.

To make it easier to organise the skilled diaspora overseas, the government organised diaspora members into professional associations (Xiang 2003). Officials in embassies and consulates led in this undertaking. More than 2,000 overseas student associations and 3,000 professional associations for overseas scholars were formed. An Overseas Chinese Scholars meeting is also held yearly by the Ministry of Education in which overseas scientists present their project to domestic governments and companies.

Zweig et al. (2008) in their paper also discussed some actual cases of knowledge exchange through the diaspora. One is that of a former Beijing University undergraduate who received his PhD in Canada. After setting up a laboratory for

developing hearing aid implants at a major Canadian university, he established a second laboratory at a Beijing university and helps in developing collaborative projects between the two institutions. Another case cited by the authors from the paper of Chen and Liu (2003) involves a geography professor at Berkeley who set up a joint research centre at Nanjing University.

The government also encouraged diaspora members to invest in China or to help find export markets for Chinese products. Examples given by Zweig et al. (2008) in their paper include the case of some Chinese expatriates based in Osaka who set up three plants in Changshu City in Jiangsu Province between 1999 and 2002. These plants manufacture a material for upgrading the quality of air conditioners. One of the authors of the same paper also related the story of a Chinese businessman living in Tokyo who owns 14 factories in China which manufactures high-quality fertiliser for the Japanese market.

Implemented in tandem with the double-base diaspora model are facilitating approaches to ease the entry of Chinese expatriates back to China. These include simplifying residency requirements and entry visas for overseas scholars who wish to return for short visits to engage in collaborative work as well as granting longer-term, multiple-entry visas for three to five years for overseas Chinese professionals (Xiang 2003).

India

Indians constitute one of the biggest diaspora in the world. Around 17 million people of Indian origin live in 134 countries as of 2001 (High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora 2001). One of the largest Indian diaspora can be found in the United States (1.7 million in 2001) as a result of decades of continuous migration. In particular, large migration streams into the US occurred during the 1970s and 1980s as a result of the passage of the Immigration and Naturalisation Act of 1965. The majority of the Indians living in the US belong to the educated and elite class and include information technology (IT) engineers, scientists, teachers, accountants, doctors, managers, hoteliers and business people (Pandey et al. 2006).

The Indian diaspora in the US is much written about for its contribution to developing India's software industry (for examples, see Saxenian 2002b; Hunger 2004; Saxenian

2004; Pandey et al. 2006). The software industry is considered the backbone of India's IT sector, producing US\$8.9 billion in total revenues in 2003-2004 (NASSCOM 2008). But the involvement of the Indian IT diaspora in the home country was very minimal in the 1970s and 1980s. The majority of 'IT migrants' had just arrived in the US and were still studying for their degrees or starting to build their careers. Also, at that time, investing in the IT industry back home was not regarded as lucrative due to bureaucratic obstacles and the insufficient manpower in India with the needed IT competency (Pandey et al. 2006).

In the early 1990s, the Indian IT diaspora began to emerge as a significant force in the growth of the Indian software industry. The highly skilled migrants who migrated 10 or 20 years earlier, or even more, had already established themselves. As described by Pandey et al. (2006:81), they "had become entrepreneurs, venture capitalists, or high-level executives in midsize and large companies." Two Indian associations—the Silicon Indian Professional Association (SIPA) and the Indus Entrepreneurs (TiE)—both formed in the 1990s also helped institutionalise the Indian social networks in the US (Saxenian 2004).

The contribution of the Indian IT diaspora came in a variety of ways—encompassing support to new business formation, mentoring, access to business contacts and new markets, and provision of employment, among others. Some Indians formed their own companies either by remigrating to their home country or by staying in the US and establishing them through branches of their US companies (Hunger 2004). NASSCOM figures cited by Hunger note that in 2000, 10 out of the 20 most successful software enterprises in India (which contribute more than 40% of the total revenues in the industry) were set up or managed by former Indian residents in the US. Five of the 20 companies were also joint ventures between Indian and foreign companies and the rest are Indian companies established in the past. Some of those who returned to India started their IT research and development laboratories, such as the IBM India Research Laboratory established in 1998, or worked for US-owned IT companies with branches in India by supervising outsourcing contracts or by training Indian professionals on US standards (Pandey et al. 2006). On the whole, NASSCOM estimates that there were around 30,000 expatriate professionals who returned to India and worked in the software industry (Engardio 2008).

Another role assumed by the Indian IT diaspora was by acting as ‘middleman’ linking US companies with software programming skills in India (Saxenian 2004). With some Indian nationals occupying well-placed positions in big corporations such as IBM, General Electric and American Express, they had every opportunity to influence their companies’ decision to outsource software work in India (Pandey et al. 2006). Many in the Indian IT diaspora working in US companies were also able to convince their own companies to hire Indian IT professionals.

Professional organisations formed by the Indian IT diaspora in the US provided mentorship support to budding entrepreneurs in setting up new enterprises. Indus Entrepreneurs, which was formed in 1998 and now has more than 12,000 members across 11 countries, is committed to fostering “entrepreneurship globally through mentoring, networking and education” (The Indus Entrepreneurs (TiE) 2008). Mohan Trika, head of the Xerox spin-off inXight, related to Saxenian in an interview how organisations like the TiE has created a feeling of self confidence in the community by acting as some sort of role model and confidence builder (Saxenian 2002b). In 1998, TiE also helped build IT training centres in India by providing financial support (Chakravartty 2001 as cited in Hunger 2004).

Hunger (2004) notes that the liberalisation of the economy and the offer of incentives to inventors have facilitated the economic participation of overseas IT intellectuals. Liberalising the economy opened up opportunities for them to take part in the economic processes in their home country. Furthermore, assistance in the form of incentives and subsidies spurred interest to invest in India. A major component of these reforms is the establishment of the software technology parks (STPs) (Saxenian 2002a). The introduction of the STPs facilitated the growth of offshore outsourcing in India particularly in regions such as Bangalore and Hyderabad. As hiring software engineers from India became both costly and cumbersome for both the workers and their employers, some companies gradually shifted to a new business model of having some of their software programmers work at their premises and the others continuing to work at their IT company’s office in India (Pandey et al. 2006).

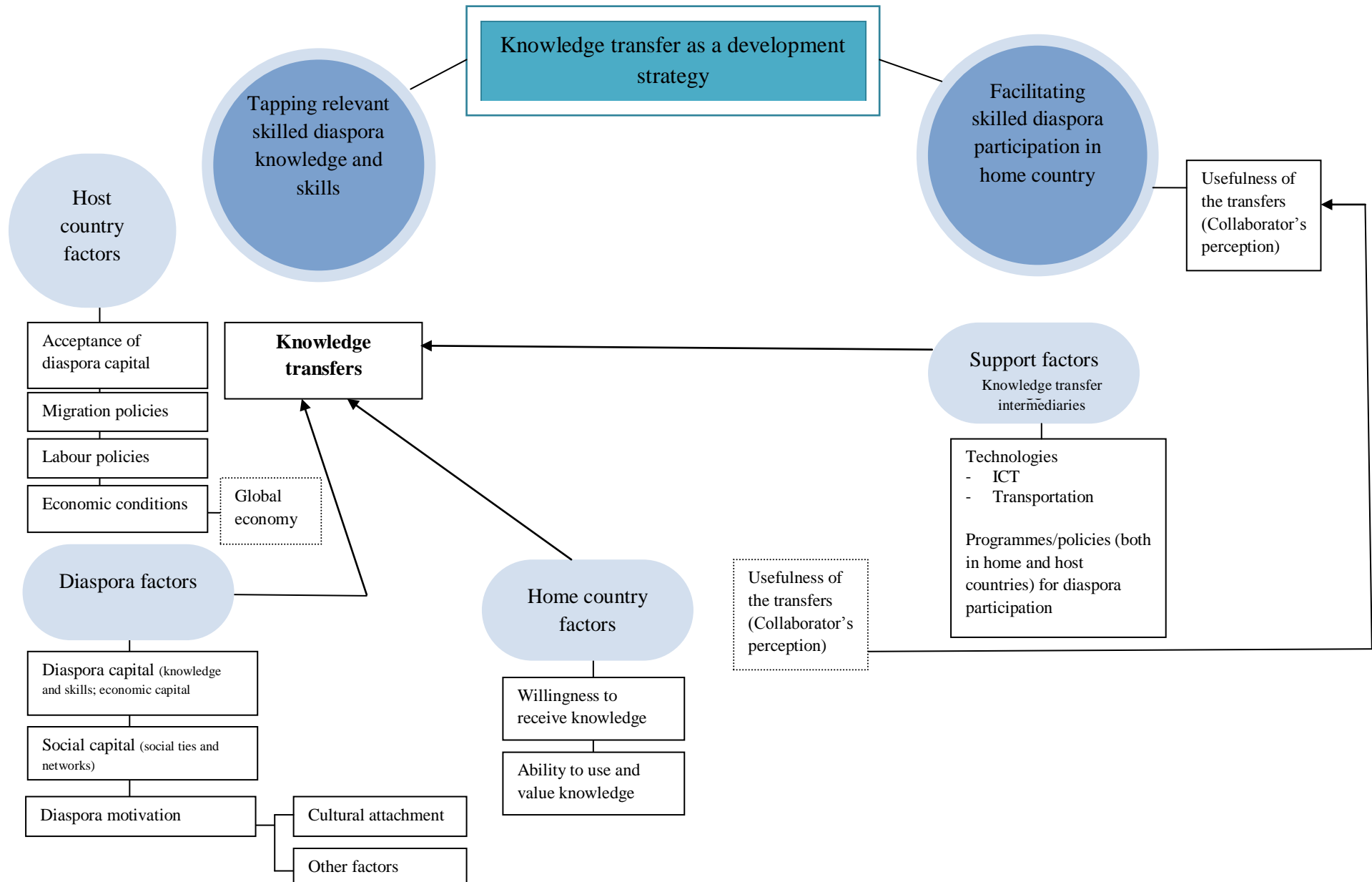
The framework for analysing the viability of knowledge transfer

Based on the foregoing review of related concepts and studies on knowledge exchange, I developed a framework for assessing the viability of knowledge exchange as a development strategy for the Philippines for capitalising on the relevant skills of its highly skilled diaspora and for facilitating its participation in the development of the home country. By development, I argue in this research that it does not only mean economic growth but the positive outcomes in the quality of life of the people which includes improvements in their living standards, education and health, and in the words of Nobel laureate Amartya Sen (1999:36), “the expansion of (their) freedom.”

Figure 3.1 presents a diagram of the analytical framework. It shows the main research question which investigates the viability of knowledge transfer as a development strategy for (1) tapping the relevant skills and knowledge of the skilled diaspora and (2) facilitating its participation in home country development.

To answer the first part of the research question, it is necessary to study the production of knowledge transfer. I conceived of it as a process, a bounded one that takes place under the influence of several factors that operate in a complex, intertwined manner. I name these factors as host country, home country, diaspora and support factors. I subscribe to Bailey’s (2001) view that the transnational practices of migrants are still influenced by factors such as the policies of the sending and receiving states, regions and localities. One such practice is knowledge transfer. (In this research, however, I am studying it more as a diasporic practice or an activity that is directly focused on the home country.) The international mobility of people (where they want to go, what they want to do there), and that of products, capital, technology and knowledge, across national borders, is still dependent on guidelines and procedures set by countries. I argue that electronic technology has only blurred the boundaries of space and time, and contributed to enhanced mobility, but the movement of entities is still governed by rules. For instance, in the case of knowledge, although it can flow seamlessly transcending boundaries particularly in this era of advanced

Figure 3.1. The analytical framework for analysing the viability of knowledge transfer as a development strategy



communication technologies, its transmission is still regulated by laws concerning intellectual property.

In the following paragraphs, I discuss in more detail the analytical framework. I draw upon relevant concepts and studies from the literature and my own insights in developing this framework.

Host country factors

Host country factors are those within the host country that affect the production of knowledge transfers by either enhancing or hindering them. One of these factors is the host country's acceptance of diaspora capital in the labour market. When referring to capital, I take on its social science theorisation which was studied extensively through concepts such as social capital, human capital and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984; Becker 1993; Coleman 1994; Putnam 1995).

In framing my concept of diaspora capital, I was guided by the concept of human capital which was extensively studied by Gary Becker. In the third edition of his seminal book, *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education*, Becker presented human capital as a resource which is embedded on people and which can be measured by their knowledge and skills acquired through education and training.

“But I am going to talk about a different kind of capital. Schooling, a computer training course, expenditures on medical care, and lectures on the virtues of punctuality and honesty are capital too in the sense that they improve health, raise earnings, or add to a person's appreciation of literature over much of his or her lifetime. Consequently, it is fully in keeping with the capital concept as traditionally denned to say that expenditures on education, training, medical care, etc., are investments in capital. However, these produce human, not physical or financial, capital because you cannot separate a person from his or her knowledge, skills, health, or values the way it is possible to move financial and physical assets while the owner stays put.” (Becker 1993:15-16)

With Becker's definition as my basis, I define 'diaspora capital' in the study as the totality of a migrant's knowledge and skills set gained through formal education and training and his or her economic resource arising from the application of such capital.

I measured the host country's acceptance of diaspora capital by looking at the migrants' initial employment experiences, specifically whether or not they immediately found a job upon arrival and if that job was relevant to their level of education and qualification or if they moved in between irrelevant jobs. I worked on the assumption that a more positive acceptance of diaspora capital renders stability to the diaspora—both in economic and professional terms—and such stability enhances their capability to transfer knowledge.

Other host country factors that I considered important in the analysis are migration policies, labour policies and the economic conditions in the host country. I propose that migration policies that facilitate the entry of highly skilled people also contribute to the onset and production of knowledge transfers to the home country. However, said policies also have to be complemented with labour policies that promote the utilisation of diaspora capital. Issues such as deskilling of migrant labour (which I discussed in Chapter 2)—or being relegated to lower status and lower paying jobs through the nonrecognition of foreign credentials and the bias for English proficiency, local experience and cultural know-how—hamper the migrants' ease of settlement in the host country and consequently, impede their involvement in knowledge transfer.

Both migration and labour policies are affected by the economic conditions in the host country. As Ongley and Pearson (1995) noted in their study of the post-1945 international migration experience of New Zealand, Australia and Canada, governments based their immigration targets on economic objectives and immigration intake also depended on local market situations (for example, during periods of economic recession, immigration targets were normally reduced). Migration policies are also shaped by factors such as historical (including colonial) relationships as well as multilateral and bilateral agreements between countries (Misraa et al. 2006).

Diaspora factors

Diaspora factors are the factors within the diaspora that affect the production of knowledge transfer. They include diaspora capital which I have explained earlier, social capital and diaspora motivation.

In terms of social capital, I acknowledge the vast literature on the topic most especially the works of influential authors Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam who have greatly contributed to the understanding of this theory (Bourdieu 1977; Coleman 1994; Putnam 1995). John Field, in *Social Capital* (2008), provided an excellent summary of the debates surrounding the topic through a closer look at its theoretical underpinnings. According to Field, “the central idea of social capital is that social networks are a valuable asset. Networks provide a basis for social cohesion because they enable people to cooperate with one another—and not just with people they know directly—for mutual advantage” (Field 2008:14).

For the study, I chose to adopt the simple yet functional definition of social capital by Adler and Kwon’s (2002:17) which is the “goodwill that is engendered by the fabric of social relations and that can be mobilised to facilitate action”. I posit that social capital is a resource similar to diaspora capital. It stimulates the diaspora to act or specifically to be involved in knowledge transfer. I worked with the notion of social capital arising from social networks which are built on similar backgrounds, interests, ethnicity or culture. In studying the effect of social capital on the onset and production of knowledge transfer, I looked at how these social networks have influenced the diaspora to transfer knowledge to the home country.

For diaspora motivation, I adopt the definition of motivation proposed by organisational management scholars Boudreau et al. (2003) who treat it as the inner drive to execute actions with the perception that they are linked to desired outcomes and rewards.

A factor under motivation that I included in the framework is cultural attachment. Because it is a study of the Filipino diaspora, or the links of Filipino migrants with their home country in particular, through a certain type of activity (knowledge transfer), the potential effect of cultural attachment should not be ignored in the analysis. I propose it to be a strong force that may entice migrant groups to share their knowledge and skills with the home country. Along with cultural attachment is the emotional bond that the

migrants have with the home country which evokes in them a sense of responsibility for its safety and prosperity—a behaviour that characterises a diaspora following the ideas of Safran (2004) and Sheffer (1986). It would be of relevance to know if the participants in the study exhibit this behaviour and to what extent.

According to Patel (2006), the value system embedded in the culture of a diaspora group may exhibit a significant impact on the growth of diasporas and the preservation of their ties with the homeland. The value of social relationships and networks, particularly of seeing oneself in a wider social context, is rooted in South Asian cultures as demonstrated by their close family and kinship ties. This, Patel (2006) said, is carried by its members and replicated through migration in a transnational sociocultural context.

A number of migration studies have explored the motivations for sending financial remittances (Menjivar et al. 1998; Poirine 2006; Rapoport and Docquier 2006; Alba and Sugui 2009). They identified these motives as altruism, exchange, insurance and moral hazard, investment and inheritance. However, although these studies are useful, I believe that knowledge transfer should not be considered as just another form of remittance similar to the financial type. For one thing, knowledge and skills differ from money in value as they constitute a person's ability to become productive in the society where he or she belongs. Knowledge and skills are also more sticky than money which can be easily transmitted or transferred even without the application of human effort. To transfer knowledge and skills, even through a mere email exchange, requires concentration, time, and at times, even financial resource. Highly skilled migrants can easily send a financial remittance as family assistance or community donation with ease because they have better-paying jobs. These characteristics, I surmise, make knowledge and skills a highly valuable resource for the highly skilled—that is, they are more significant than money—and as such, the diaspora's motivation to engage in knowledge transfer should not be interpreted lightly as one of those types identified under financial remittances. In this study, I will explore what those motivations are, aside from cultural attachment, and thus the term “other factors” in the framework. I consciously deviated from referring to any motivation theory available in published literature because these theories are found in the field of organisational management particularly in the aspect of explaining employees' behaviour. I believe that diasporic knowledge transfers have

dynamics that are distinct from organisational knowledge transfer and so theories explaining the latter may not be appropriate to explain the motivations of migrants involved in knowledge transfer to the home country.

Home country factors

Home country factors are the factors within the home country that affect the production of knowledge transfer. I propose them to be the home country's willingness to receive knowledge and its ability to use and value knowledge. I based this assumption on the concept of absorptive capacity proposed by Cohen and Levinthal (1990) who described it as the ability of a firm to recognise the value of new information and assimilate it. Absorptive capacity is a concept well explored in the fields of organisational management and innovation studies particularly with regards to organisation-level learning and knowledge transfer (see, for example: Cohen and Levinthal 1990; Lane and Lubatkin 1998; Lane et al. 2001; Tsai 2001; Bommess and Morawska 2005). However, I support its relevance in country studies. A country can be thought of as an organisation as well.

In this research, I analysed absorptive capacity—or the home country's willingness to receive and ability to use the knowledge shared by the diaspora—through the perspective of the diaspora's collaborators in the knowledge transfers or those whom they shared their knowledge with or who served as facilitators of these transfers or their co-resource persons. I used these factors in studying the usefulness of the knowledge transfer which is my measure for answering the second part of the research question which is determining how knowledge transfer is facilitating the diaspora's participation in the development of the home country.

There are also other concepts from organisational management and innovation studies that explain the different aspects in an organisation that affect knowledge transfer. I consider them relevant in this research in analysing the home country factors that affect the willingness to receive knowledge from the diaspora and ability to use it.

For example, Cummings and Teng (2003) noted the importance of a culture of learning in an organisation to facilitate organisational learning in general, and knowledge transfer in particular. They explain that similar cultures and value systems allow for a smooth working relationship between the knowledge transfer parties.

Additionally, Goh (2002) asserted that co-operative and collaborative culture as important prerequisites for successful knowledge transfer between different individuals and groups. Inkpen (1998:69) underscored the learning opportunities created when entities with “different skills, knowledge bases and organisational cultures” join together as “organisation learning is both a function of access to new knowledge and the capabilities for using and building on such knowledge”. In a more specific tone, Gulati (2000:203) cited what these opportunities are: “access to information, resources, markets, and technologies; and the advantages from learning, scale and scope economies”.

Support factors

Support factors refer to factors that facilitate knowledge transfer such as information and communication technologies as well as advanced and cheap transportation that enhances the mobility of the diaspora. Kivisto (2001) noted the importance of these factors in maintaining linkages with the home country. Easy access to the homeland, both spatial and imagined, is necessary to preserve these ties and I also argue that it contributes to the production of knowledge transfer to the home country. I agree with Ackers and Gill (2008:13) that “dramatic changes in the accessibility and costs of travel and the rapid development of new communication systems might be expected to support greater ‘circulation’ (of knowledge).”

I also propose that support factors should include people—either individually or institutionally—that serve as intermediaries and programmes and policies in the home and host countries that encourage diaspora participation. The role of people intermediaries has been discussed in the earlier part of this chapter. Among the different concepts presented, I particularly subscribe to the concept of intermediaries as ‘brokers’ which was proposed by Michaels (2009). Her typology of brokering roles, which include informing, consulting, matchmaking, engaging, collaborating and building capacity, is a good concept for analysing the role of intermediaries in the knowledge transfers found in the research.

Conclusion

The concept of knowledge transfer and circulation suggests that high-skilled mobility is a beneficial process that does not necessarily lead to a loss of skills and knowledge for sending countries. It posits that high-skilled mobility increases the intellectual, social and economic capital of migrants, which benefits home countries through knowledge transfers. By going abroad, migrants accumulate not only new skills; they also build professional and social contacts which may have still been possible had they remained in their home countries but most probably not as extensive or as substantive.

However, as I argued in my analytical framework, knowledge transfer is a process whose viability is highly dependent on many factors that operate in a complex, intertwined manner. Although migrants are living in a transnational space where they can easily forge ties which transcend boundaries, the nature and scope of their transnational and diasporic relationships and activities are still governed by rules. I therefore view knowledge transfer as a process which is not automatic and seamless. It is aided by policies and programmes that promote diaspora participation and by advanced communication and transportation technologies, but is also affected by policies and conditions in the home and host countries, and the skilled diaspora's own capacity and motivation. We will see in the empirical chapters starting in Chapter 5 if these arguments are valid.

Chapter 4

Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter describes how I developed the research methodology used in the study. It starts with an explanation of my choice of research design. Then, it is followed by a detailed account of the processes undertaken for deciding on the sample size, developing the research tools, recruiting participants, carrying out the data collection procedures, and processing and analysing the data.

Synopsis of the research design

The chosen research design is guided by my research question. The overall research question “How viable is knowledge transfer as a development strategy for capitalising on the relevant knowledge and skills of the highly skilled Filipino diaspora and for facilitating its participation in the development of the home country?” indicates that the study is about investigating a phenomenon and a process which is “knowledge transfer”. As such, I envisaged that the essence of the research which is analysing the process, content and outcome of that phenomenon was something that a qualitative research approach could strongly address. Additionally, as I studied my specific research questions, I saw that 80 percent of them required a qualitative type of investigation (Table 4.1). My choice of a qualitative research design was also driven by a desire to get a richer dataset that could fill important empirical gaps in knowledge about the highly skilled Filipinos in New Zealand and Australia and their knowledge transfer activities to the Philippines.

Meanwhile, the selected research method was case study. Based on Yin’s logic, it appeared to be the most relevant for this research as case studies are most useful for answering ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions or those that “require an extensive and in-depth description of some social phenomenon” (Yin 2009:4).

Table 4.1. The specific research questions and the predicted nature of inquiry

Research questions	Predicted nature of inquiry
1. Presence of knowledge transfer	Quantitative
2. Process of knowledge transfer and knowledge and skills transferred to the home country	Qualitative
3. Motivation of the diaspora for being involved in these transfers	Qualitative
4. Factors affecting the viability of knowledge transfer	Qualitative
5. Usefulness of the knowledge transfers to home country (collaborators' perspective)	Qualitative

Participant recruitment and identification tools consisted of the use of personal networks, research promotion via email and ethnic media, and snowballing techniques. The main data gathering strategies, meanwhile, were a combination of historical/archival methods and semi-structured, face-to-face in-depth interviews augmented by phone interviews. Transcripts of interviews with participants, together with additional information from secondary sources, were organised and analysed using Nvivo software which is designed for qualitative research data.

There were two sets of highly skilled migrant participants in the research as far as host countries were concerned: those from New Zealand and those from Australia. There were treated as two separate cases. Each case was composed of individual cases and each participant from New Zealand or Australia was treated as an individual, independent case. The New Zealand case was therefore a collection of individual, independent cases of the knowledge transfer of highly skilled Filipino migrants in New Zealand while the Australian case consisted of individual, independent cases of the knowledge transfer of highly skilled Filipino migrants in Australia. The individual cases within the New Zealand and Australia cases were described as 'independent' because their occurrence was not dependent on each other although the research did not eliminate the possibility that they might have been induced or affected by the same set of factors. Though it was ideal to do comparative analysis of the level of diasporic engagement between the two sets of participants and of the factors that may have affected the level of their engagement, this was not done because it would have required more resources than those available for this study. Also, this was an exploratory study and required careful interrogation of new categories.

The research in the Philippines was not treated as a separate case but a continuation of the cases in Australia and New Zealand. It was aimed at more fully investigating the effects of the reported knowledge transfers from the perspective of those in the home country who were involved in these transfers. They were either a recipient of the knowledge and skills shared by the migrants, a facilitator of these transfers or a co-resource person. As mentioned, they were generally referred to in the research as ‘collaborators’.

Deciding on the sample size

In any qualitative research, the issue of representativeness of the sample is tackled differently. Quoting Bryman, Silverman (2006) notes that qualitative research follows theoretical rather than statistical logic in choosing cases and “the issue should be couched in terms of the generalizability of cases to theoretical propositions rather than to populations or universe” (Bryman 1988:90). Mason (1996) explains that theoretical logic or sampling means choosing groups or categories that are relevant to the research questions and to testing the theory or explanation in the research.

Following this logic in deciding how many interviews to undertake, I relied on the number of participants that I could identify during my data collection in each of the study areas. Because the study was particularly concerned about the types of knowledge that were being transferred to the home country and the types of activities by which these transfers were taking place, the variability of cases was considered important. According to Seale et al. (2004), if the variance of a phenomenon is high, many cases may be needed but when the variance is low, only a few cases are needed and sometimes even one case is enough. In this study, knowledge does not only refer to scientific and technical knowledge but could also mean business, economic, and even cultural knowledge. Furthermore, there are also some activities that are not direct transfers to the home country but also have an effect on the home country. Given these considerations, I endeavoured to look for as many cases as possible within the limited period of my data collection.

Research instruments

The main research instrument used for collecting data was a questionnaire. Two types were developed: one for interviewing the participants in Australia and New Zealand who had knowledge transfer to the Philippines and one for the participants in the Philippines or their collaborators in these transfers.

A total of 50 questions comprised the questionnaire for the migrants with knowledge transfer (see Appendix 1). Most of the questions, particularly on the last section on knowledge transfer, asked for a description of the process or their reasons. This was in line with the qualitative nature of the study. The questionnaire was divided into four parts consisting of their sociodemographic profile, life in the host country, ties with the home country, and involvement in knowledge transfer. The questionnaire was written in English. There was no need to translate the questions in Filipino, the national language, as all participants were expected to, and indeed did, have a high level of English proficiency.

The questionnaire for the participants in the Philippines, which was also written in English, dealt mainly with verifying the knowledge transfers reported by the participants in New Zealand and Australia and their perception of the usefulness of these transfers to their work and/or their organisation. It consisted of 18 questions on their sociodemographic profile and involvement in knowledge transfer (see Appendix 2).

The questionnaires for the migrants with knowledge transfers and for their collaborators in the Philippines were used as guide for the face-to-face interviews. At the same time, the questionnaire for participants with knowledge transfer was made available online through Survey Gizmo, a web-based software for designing, conducting and hosting online surveys (<http://www.surveygizmo.com/company/about/>). This online version was intended for participants who had knowledge transfer but were not available for a face-to-interview or who were difficult to reach for geographic reasons. Verification of their answers and gathering of additional details were conducted through follow-up phone interviews.

Recruitment and selection of participants

Reaching potential participants and inviting them to participate took time. Because I was looking for a particular group of Filipino migrants and not concerned with the general population of Filipino migrants in New Zealand and Australia, my potential participants were relatively 'hidden' or 'hard to reach'. I therefore employed several strategies to reach potential participants. These included research promotion through personal networks, email, ethnic media, relevant Philippine government offices both in the home and host countries and Filipino diaspora organisations, as well as employing snowballing

technique. This time-consuming part of the study was compounded by the fact that my participants are located in two host countries.

As discussed in Chapter 1, for the purpose of this research, a ‘highly skilled Filipino migrant’ is operationally defined as:

- (1) Having at least a tertiary degree and a current job that belongs to the first three highest occupational major groups in the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), namely: (1) Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers, (2) Professionals, and (3) Technicians and Associate Professionals. The point of reference in terms of occupation is their current job, not the one they held in the Philippines, given issues of incomparability of qualification levels across international labour markets and, at times, nonrecognition of national qualifications by foreign employers.
- (2) Being born in the home country (Philippines) and may or may not be a permanent migrant in the host country.

‘Knowledge transfer’ is operationally defined as the sharing or flows of knowledge or skills on, but not limited to, science and technology, business and trade, economics, culture and the arts, and others. The receiver of the shared knowledge is the home country in view of the study’s focus on diasporic ties or linkages. Activities by which knowledge transfer is carried out may be formal or informal, and examples include, but are not limited to, meetings, email information/data exchanges, training, informal advice, research projects, and expert consulting (Meyer and Brown 1999), setting up business ventures or investment in the home country (Hunger 2004; Zweig 2006; Zweig et al. 2008), and writing or performing about the culture and life in the home country (Addison 2008).

Promoting the research was deemed important to make people aware of it and to reach potential participants. Personal contacts, ethnic media, official channels such as the Philippines embassies and consulates in both host countries and Filipino organisations in New Zealand and Australia served as channels for promotion. However, before starting the research, the Asia New Zealand Foundation published a press release about my research on its website in connection with my being awarded the 2009 Emerging Researcher grant (see Figure 4.1). The press release of Asia:NZ which came out in April 2009 was the first article published about my study. It was very timely as I had just started

recruiting participants and thus was also useful in establishing the authenticity of my research. It proved to be effective because a few days later, two Auckland-based Filipinos contacted me. One of them became my first participant in Auckland while the other happened to be the publisher of a Filipino newspaper circulating in Auckland. This publisher offered to publish a similar article in his newspaper.

To facilitate sending out research details, I also made a one-page flyer about the research (see Figure 4.2). It served as my main advertisement material which I sent my contacts with an additional note to pass it on to their networks. As time went by, email inquiries about the research started to increase. These came not from the people that I had originally written but from their relatives, friends or colleagues. There were also many cases where individuals who had signified their willingness to participate referred me to other potential participants. These people emailed me requesting additional information. In two or three cases as well, my New Zealand email recipients passed my message on to their Australia-based colleagues thus creating a Trans-Tasman snowballing effect.

Judging that a more personalised approach would be useful in promoting the research and recruiting participants, I made an initial visit to Wellington on the suggestion of my supervisors. Promotion, coordination and logistics were simpler in Auckland as it is my home base and I have more contacts in Auckland than in Wellington. The objective of my visit to Wellington was two-fold: to meet with potential contacts such as the Philippine embassy and heads of key Filipino organisations and to familiarise myself with the area and plan the logistics (e.g., accommodation, getting around the city, etc.) for the fieldwork. The three-day initial visit in May 2009 comprised a courtesy call to the Philippine ambassador and meetings with the Embassy staff in-charge of cultural affairs who referred me to some potential participants. I also met with the coordinator of an electronic group of Filipino migrants in Wellington (wellingtonpinoy.s.nz) who promised to spread the information about my research through their electronic group.

Although I asked the Philippine Embassy for the official list of all Filipino organisations in New Zealand, particularly those in Auckland and Wellington, my request was denied due to privacy issues. I therefore resorted to internet searches of Filipino organisations and sending out emails to the contact person named in their web pages. There were several instances, however, when my emails bounced, indicating that the information in their web pages was not updated.

I also contacted the Philippine government, specifically the Department of Science and Technology's (DOST) Balik (Return) Scientist Program (BSP). The BSP is a DOST programme that encourages the return of Filipino expatriate scientists to the Philippines for short- or long-term visits to share their skills. I emailed the BSP head, Assistant Secretary Lourdes Orijola, for the names of Filipino return scientists from New Zealand and Australia who had served in the programme so far. The BSP official readily gave the names. There was no one from New Zealand while there were four from Australia that had been involved in the BSP. These four scientists formed part of my Australian sample.

An approach that also played an important part in participant recruitment was snowballing. It was carried out by requesting existing participants to refer me to their relatives, friends or colleagues who may potentially qualify for the research. The snowballing technique was quite effective in the study as I was able to reach participants that I may not have sampled had I only relied on personal networks and research promotion. However, it also had some drawbacks. First, it is difficult to ensure the accuracy of snowballing in terms of getting participants that do qualify for the research. Verification through email exchanges and initial phone interview (see Selection of participants: initial phone interview for details) still had to be done to ascertain whether the referred participants meet the criteria of being a highly skilled migrant and having a knowledge transfer to the Philippines. Second, the referred participants were mainly people that belong to the existing participants' network of contacts and those that they know well, and therefore they may only be a small subgroup of the entire population of potential participants. Nevertheless, this second limitation was addressed in the study by not just relying on snowballing for participant identification and recruitment but also using other methods which were discussed previously.

Figure 4.1. A press release published by Asia: NZ Foundation on its website regarding the researcher's 2009 Emerging Researcher Grant and some background information about the research

The screenshot shows a web browser window displaying the Asia: NZ Foundation website. The URL is <http://www.asianz.org.nz/our-work/knowledge-and-research/research-features/emerging-researcher-2009>. The page features the Asia: NZ Foundation logo and a navigation menu with categories like 'about us', 'our work', 'events', 'opportunities', 'newsroom', and 'countries of asia'. A sidebar on the left lists various 'our work' categories such as 'action asia business', 'arts and community', and 'research features'. The main content area is titled 'EMERGING RESEARCHER GRANTEE 2009' and contains a press release. The text of the press release describes a grant awarded to a University of Auckland PhD student, Ms Sheila Siar, for a research project on knowledge exchange between highly skilled Filipino migrants in New Zealand, Australia, and the Philippines. The project aims to explore how these exchanges help migrants feel connected to their home countries and to determine the viability of knowledge exchange as a strategy for capitalising on the skills of the Filipino diaspora. The grant will enable Ms Siar to commit herself full time to the project through the provision of a research stipend. The project will consist of historical and archival research as well as field work, including interviews with highly skilled Filipino migrants and Filipino associations in New Zealand and Australia. The specific study areas are Auckland and Wellington in New Zealand, and Sydney and Melbourne in Australia. Ms Siar explains that there is, however, growing evidence from the works of Jean-Baptiste Meyer and Anna Lee Saxenian that this outflow of skills and knowledge may not necessarily mean a loss for home countries. She notes that the research is expected to shed light on the knowledge assets being exchanged between New Zealand, Australia and the Philippines through the Filipino diaspora. As an in-depth study of the role of diasporas in the development of home countries through knowledge exchange, the relevance of this study spans locations. The project will also be conducted in the Philippines to fully investigate the effects of such knowledge exchanges on the collaborators in particular and on the home country in general. Explaining in brief the relevance of promoting knowledge exchange, she notes that it benefits New Zealand as well as the other countries involved. "When migrants in the host country and their collaborators in the home country exchange knowledge and skills, both gain in the process. Home countries are able to tap into the resources of host countries through their migrants. Similarly, host countries are able to tap into the resources of their migrants' home countries whenever knowledge and skills are being exchanged."

On the right side of the page, there is a 'RELATED PAGES' section with several links to other articles, including 'JOURNALISTS IN JAKARTA: HIGHLIGHTING THE MEDIA'S ROLE IN COVERING CONFLICT', 'NEW STEERING COMMITTEE MEMBERS ANNOUNCED', 'FLETCHER BUILDING CEO ON DOING BUSINESS IN ASIA', and 'VIET NAM DELEGATION IN WELLINGTON FOR TRACK II DIALOGUE'. Below this section are three promotional banners: 'The Crescent Moon', 'THE LATEST NEWS from Asia: NZ', and 'EDUCATING FOR ASIA Asia in Secondary Schools ONLINE NOW CLICK TO READ OR DOWNLOAD'.

Source: <http://www.asianz.org.nz/our-work/knowledge-and-research/research-features/emerging-researcher-2009>

Figure 4.2. Flyer circulated to network of contacts and potential participants

Research on ties between migrants and their home country through knowledge/skills exchange or transfer






MAGANDANG ARAW PO!

I am Sheila Siar, a PhD student at the University of Auckland in New Zealand. I would like to introduce my research to you.

It is titled "Home country-diaspora ties for development through knowledge exchange networks: The case of highly skilled Filipino migrants in New Zealand and Australia". Basically, I am investigating the phenomenon of **knowledge and skills exchanges between skilled Filipino migrants in New Zealand/Australia and their home country, the Philippines**. I would like to know if these exchanges (or transfers) are existing and to what extent. The premise of my research is **that migrants contribute to their home country not just by sending financial remittances but also by exchanging or transferring their knowledge and skills to their home country**.

In case you have been involved in any activity whereby you have exchanged or transferred your knowledge and/or skills to individuals or groups in the Philippines, I hope you can share your experiences with me.

I invite you to participate in my research through a face-to-face 30-minute interview sometime in October-November (complete details to be sent out to participants).

If you could refer me to other people who could also be potential participants or contact persons for my research, I would appreciate it.

If you have any question or if you are interested to participate, feel free to contact me any time. It would be my pleasure to email/call you so we can discuss my research further.

For more information, you can also visit <http://www.asianz.org.nz/our-work/knowledge-and-research/research-features/emerging-researcher-2009>.

Maraming salamat po.

Samples of knowledge/skills exchange or transfer

1. Participation in technology/skills transfer or exchange and research projects in the Philippines
2. Returning to the Philippines for short- or long-term visits to share skills or expertise
3. Sharing through information and communication technologies knowledge or skills acquired in the home country and overseas.
4. Involvement in consulting work in the Philippines
5. Serving as resource person in the Philippines during trainings, seminars or conferences
6. Providing training to schools and other entities
7. Artists performing in the Philippines to share talents and skills.
8. Setting up business ventures in the Philippines
9. Promoting investments in the Philippines
10. Introducing colleagues to economic and business opportunities in the Philippines
11. Linking Philippine businesses to export markets

And other ways whereby you are exchanging or transferring your knowledge / skills to the Philippines.

The aims of this research

Through this research, I'd like to make the contributions of highly skilled migrants like you visible and promote the concept of knowledge exchange or transfer. Much attention has been given on the impacts of migrant remittances on the recipient countries. However, the knowledge and skills that migrants are able to flow back to their home countries are as important as financial remittances. Knowledge and skills also have more lasting impacts than money. If the process of knowledge transfer or exchange is promoted and sustained, its gains for the home country could be more than what can be contributed by remittances.

For questions or details, contact:

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Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 22 April 2009 for three years. Reference No. 2009/095.

Experience in Australia

Promoting the research in Australia was anticipated to be more arduous because both Sydney and Melbourne are geographically bigger than Auckland and Wellington and have larger populations of Filipino migrants. I also had no significant contacts in Australia, other than two Filipino friends, and had not been to Australia before. However, based on the information shared by friends and fellow researchers about the Australian setting, migrant communities in Australia are more organised and have more established social and communication networks which make information delivery and sharing easier.

True enough, the process of research promotion in both Australian cities was smooth contrary to my concerns. Apart from the use of emails with the promotional flyer in PDF as my main promotional tool and snowballing as my main technique, I also got media coverage in two ethnic shows produced by two Filipinos. One of them is Ronald Manila, producer of a Filipino radio programme in Sydney aired over SBS Radio. SBS studios are located in Sydney and Melbourne. SBS's public profile describes itself as an Australia's multicultural and multilingual public broadcaster established to highlight the cultural diversity of Australia by providing "radio and television services that inform, educate and entertain all Australians" <http://www.sbs.com.au/aboutus/corporate/index/id/25/h/SBS-Charter>. Over SBS Radio, 68 languages are spoken while 60 languages are broadcast on SBS Television. The Filipino programme is one of those aired over SBS Radio with past and present content also available on its online edition (<http://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/filipino>).

Based in Melbourne, the other producer is Al Noveloso. He produces *The Pinoy Lounge*, an offshoot of Pinoy TV which showcases the many aspects of the Filipino-Australian society. It has segments on cooking, guest interviews, community news, issues and events, panel discussion, and cultural performances (<http://www.pinoytv.com/about/about-pinoy-tv/pinoy-tv-program>). Pinoy TV began airing in 2002 and is broadcast in Melbourne, Perth, Adelaide and Sydney. It operates on a low budget and relies mostly on volunteers. The Pinoy TV studio is located at the university facilities of School of Arts and Sciences, Australian Catholic University on a reciprocal arrangement.

I found these producers in the internet. I searched for major radio or television shows that cater to the Filipino audience in Sydney and Melbourne and found their names. I emailed

them to ask for support to promote my research through their shows. With their positive response came their invitation to have me as a guest in their shows.

Apart from some exposure in radio and television, an article about the research was also published in the online edition of the *Philippine Times Australia* which is published by George Gregorio, a long-time Filipino-Australian in Melbourne. The *Philippine Times Australia* has been in circulation since 1990. The editor-in-chief of this newspaper, who later on became one of my participants, wrote the article. This participant also passed my email advertisement to her contacts in Melbourne.

As I had not been to Australia before, my supervisors recommended that I also visit Sydney and Melbourne prior to my actual data collection. These exploratory trips, they reckoned, would be useful in promoting my research to key people in the Filipino communities there and identifying potential participants and planning the logistics of my fieldwork. I made these visits in July 2009 soon after I finished my interviews in New Zealand. During these visits, I met with heads of some Filipino organisations in both cities. I also guested in the Filipino radio programme of SBS while in Sydney. The interview was aired on 30 July 2009. Meanwhile, the TV interview that I had with *Pinoy Lounge* in Melbourne, which was conducted when I collected data in Melbourne in October, was aired on 29 November 2009.

While in Melbourne in July, I also interviewed four participants as they turned out to be suitable for the research and already willing to be interviewed. On the suggestion of my supervisors, I also met with Dr. Kevin Dunn of the University of Western Sydney and Dr. Katherine Mckinnon of Macquarie University, two academics now based in Sydney whose research expertise includes migration and transnationalism. I discussed my research with them and asked for their insights on some conceptual and methodological issues. They shared with me some related studies of their own or that they knew of and also referred me to some of their colleagues whose works were relevant to my study.

Selection of participants: initial phone interview

The number of people who inquired about the research and/or expressed willingness to participate exceeded the final number of participants who had knowledge transfer activities and who comprised the final sample. Going over my emails and other inquiries sent through other means (SMS, phone call), I received inquiries from 77 people, at least

90 percent of whom indicated their willingness to be interviewed. This total included the potential participants that I gathered through the snowballing technique. However, as indicated previously, the people that I really wanted to interview for the research were those that have knowledge transfers to the Philippines.

Determining or verifying if a potential participant indeed has a knowledge transfer activity to report and if this activity can really be considered a knowledge transfer was done by conducting an initial interview over the phone. Scheduling of these phone interviews was also done through email. Almost all of the participants preferred to be called in the evenings, between 8 and 9 pm, when they were already at home and had taken their supper. Because of the three-hour difference between New Zealand and Australia, calling the Australia participants proved to be a challenge being at about midnight New Zealand time.

The average length of each phone interview was 30 minutes. This strategy had been useful in explaining the research more thoroughly, particularly the concept of knowledge transfer, and clarifying any questions or concerns they may have had. It also helped establish my credibility as a researcher and convey my earnestness to get in touch with them. Almost all expressed their appreciation after a call and thanked me for talking to them and listening to their story.

Main data collection: Preparing and conducting the interviews

In all three study areas (New Zealand, Australia and Philippines), the face-to-face interviews were set up mostly through email and at times through phone and text messages. As soon as it was known that a potential participant was qualified to participate, I asked them about their most convenient time and date for the face-to-face interview and their suggested venue, if any. I followed this with another email containing the sociodemographic questionnaire, consent form, participant information sheet and the list of questions. All of the participants were given the option to print and accomplish the sociodemographic questionnaire and consent form and return these on the day of the interview, or simply read them and fill out the hard copies I brought during the interview.

The average length of each face-to-face interview in Australia and New Zealand was 60 minutes. There were at least five interviews that lasted nearly 90 minutes and this was

experienced with participants who wanted to give more information of which some aspects were no longer related to the research.

Most of the interviews took place after office hours. Some were held during office hours usually at the participants' offices. There were a few interviews held during lunch time. Apart from their workplaces, the usual venue was a coffee shop.

Prior to each interview, a confirmation via SMS or email was sent to each participant as a reminder. All face-to-face interviews, except in the case of three participants who refused to have their interviews recorded, were documented using an electronic voice recorder. I also gave each participant a small token as a gesture of my appreciation for participating in the research.

The face-to-face interviews in Auckland and Wellington were conducted in June and July 2009, respectively. The ones in Melbourne took place in October and those in Sydney were conducted in December 2009. In between these months were preparations for the data collection, which included continuous research promotion, recruitment and identification of potential participants and checking of interview responses thus far obtained for validation or further interview for additional details. Table 4.2 provides a summary of the number of participants in the study areas.

As discussed earlier, the questionnaire for participants with knowledge transfer was also made available online. It was used by three participants. One was a participant in New Zealand who refused to be interviewed face-to-face. The other two participants were located in Canberra and therefore more difficult to reach as the study focused more in Melbourne and Sydney and surrounding areas. Their answers were verified and additional details obtained through follow-up phone interviews.

The final interviews, which were held in the Philippines, were done in January-February 2010. As previously mentioned, the participants in these interviews were the migrants' 'collaborators' in the Philippines, or the recipients of the knowledge they shared, their co-facilitators in these transfers, or their co-resource persons. It would have been ideal if all the collaborators named by the New Zealand and Australia participants were interviewed but only 16 of them agreed to participate. During the interviews in the two host countries, I mentioned to the participants that I also wish to interview their collaborators in the Philippines and will contact them again to request for the names of these collaborators and

to assist me by referring me to them. They all agreed. I chose the referral method rather than contacting the collaborators myself because my participants know them better and vice-versa, so the likelihood of them agreeing to participate may be higher. After receiving an email from a participant that his or her collaborator agreed to be interviewed and be contacted by me, I began emailing the person. As I was already in the Philippines from the third week of December, I also spoke to most of them over the phone to explain the research and how it is linked to the New Zealand and Australia data collection where I met the people who referred or introduced me to them.

The interviews were scheduled through email, phone and SMS and arranged according to their most convenient date and time, and putting into consideration the participants' location as well. Two participants lived far from my home base which was Laguna. One of them, a school principal, lived in Oriental Mindoro which could be reached by boat after a three-hour land travel from Laguna. The other participant, chief of a government hospital, was located in Gubat town in Sorsogon province which was at the southeastern part of Luzon island, and nine hours by land from Laguna. Because a more careful planning of logistics was necessary for these two participants, I interviewed them last.

Similar to the New Zealand and Australia interviews, I also emailed the consent form, participant information sheet and set of questions in advance to the participants. Most of the interviews took place within or after office hours and usually in the participants' offices.

My engagement with the participants in the three study areas did not stop after the face-to-face interviews. Follow-up communication either through email or phone was conducted to verify the information shared during the interviews or to request for additional information, as necessary. As related in a later section of this chapter, I also wrote a more detailed account of some cases and to ensure they were accurately presented, the participants were sent a draft version of their respective cases for their review.

Table 4.2. Total number of cases for each study area and method of data collection used

Study area	Total cases (no.)	Method of data collection¹
New Zealand	11	Face-to-face interview (10) Online questionnaire supplemented by phone interview (1)
Australia	21	Face to face interview (19) Online questionnaire supplemented by phone interview (2)
Total	32	
Philippines ²		
In connection with New Zealand cases	3	Face to face interview (3)
In connection with Australian cases	13	Face to face interview (13)
Total	16	

Note: (1) Figures in parentheses in the third column are the number of cases where the stated method of data collection was used.

(2) As previously stated, the Philippine cases were not treated as separate cases but part of the New Zealand or Australian cases. The Philippine research was the culmination of the data collection for the New Zealand and Australian cases.

Other data sources

Additional information and data for verification about migrants were obtained from internet sources such as the website of the company they own or work for, the ethnic or professional organisation to which they belong, online articles published about them, and newspaper articles.

For 14 out of the 21 participants from Australia, some information about their work or organisational affiliation could be found in the internet. There were also some relevant details concerning the knowledge exchanges they reported in the interviews. These additional sources were useful as supplemental references and as means for triangulation. For the 11 participants from New Zealand, however, only three names can be found in the internet. The fact that the knowledge transfer reported by almost all of the participants from New Zealand were informal transfers and not conducted through a structured activity or supported by a programme or project, in contrast to most of the activities reported by

the participants from Australia, could explain the lack of documentation in internet and printed sources.

In writing Chapter 2 which provided the background material on the growth and status of the highly skilled Filipino diaspora, I relied mostly on secondary data such as published books, monographs, papers and articles. For describing the current migration trends and profile of Filipinos moving into New Zealand and Australia, I obtained official statistics mainly from the Commission on Filipino Overseas (CFO).

Data consolidation and analysis

All face-to-face interviews, except for three participants, were audio-recorded. Transcription of the taped interviews was done manually with the assistance of three transcribers from the Philippines. Each submitted transcript was checked for accuracy. For portions of the interview that were unclear or that needed additional information, particularly for the part on involvement in knowledge transfer, I emailed the participant again to request clarification or to provide further details. Nvivo software was used for data organisation and analysis.

From the account of the participants of their knowledge transfer, I wrote summaries of each. As I promised the participants during the interviews that their privacy would be protected, I used pseudonyms in lieu of their actual names in the discussion. Clearly this could not guarantee that their identity would remain confidential; however, it was carefully explained to them before the interviews that there are risks of their identity becoming known in the thesis and any publication that may arise from it. This was also explicitly listed as one of the conditions in the Consent Form (Third bullet point, see Appendix 1 and Appendix 2) which was given to all the participants.

I did a more detailed writeup of several cases. I selected those cases due to the availability of more detailed information and the significant insights that can be gathered from them. To ensure accuracy of these selected cases, I sent the participants a draft version of each writeup for their review.

I used thematic analysis in analysing the data. I identified the emerging themes or patterns from the research, identified the data that relate to these themes and organised them

around these themes. I used those themes to build the arguments that would answer my research questions.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the research methodology, including the bases of the choices for each component. As can be gleaned from the detailed account, the choices were informed by my research questions and by what I perceived as useful and relevant.

Drawing up a set of criteria for selecting participants was a tough exercise. The success in recruiting and identifying the right participants depended on how clear the operational definitions were for key terms such as 'knowledge transfer' and 'highly skilled migrant'. What types of knowledge can fall under 'knowledge transfer' and what activities can be considered as knowledge transfer? What does 'highly skilled' mean? What is a 'migrant'? These were the questions I tried to address before starting the research.

As discussed, I followed a mixed method approach in collecting data, which consisted of the following:

- An initial phone interview for introducing and explaining the research to those who responded in the email announcement or signified their intention to participate. This initial conversation was also intended to verify whether or not the knowledge transfer they mentioned meets the study's criteria and whether or not they are indeed 'highly skilled'.
- Face-to-face individual interview with identified highly skilled migrants in New Zealand and Australia who have knowledge transfers.
- An online questionnaire for those with knowledge transfers but who were not available for a face-to-face interview or hard to reach for geographic reasons.
- When necessary, a follow-up phone interview for getting further details from and verifying the responses of those with knowledge transfer that participated in the research through the online questionnaire method.
- Use of internet sources for additional information and data verification on the participants from New Zealand and Australia and the knowledge transfer they reported.

- Use of secondary data from government sources for the context chapter on the highly skilled Filipino diaspora

A generous amount of time was devoted to participant recruitment. The chosen method, which was a combination of the use of research promotion through personal networks, email, ethnic media, diaspora organisations and Philippine government offices in the host and home countries, and snowballing technique, proved to be a robust one. It yielded a set of participants which not only met the criteria but which have knowledge transfer cases that were varied enough to make an indepth study of the different types of knowledge that flow from the diaspora to the home country. The use of several strategies for participant recruitment also helped address the limitation of the snowballing technique.

The phenomenon of knowledge transfer was something many participants were not aware of (or they were not conscious they were already doing it) so explaining to them what it is and what it is not, in contrast to financial remittances, also consumed a lot of time.

Strategies used to address this included an initial phone interview or email exchanges to get further details of the knowledge transfer they mentioned and ascertaining whether or not these can be considered as knowledge transfer. The final interviewees with knowledge transfer, therefore, have already been verified through the initial phone interviews or email exchanges to have been engaged in knowledge transfer and are also highly skilled migrants based on the criteria set in the research.

Despite my lack of extensive contacts in Australia and its bigger scale, promoting the research and getting participants there turned out to be smooth and not too difficult. The ease of research promotion and participant recruitment may be attributed to factors related to the higher concentration of Filipinos in Australia and the wider and more extensive communication and social networks of Filipinos there. Between research promotion through personal contacts and social networks and the subsequent snowballing, and the media-facilitated strategies (press releases, radio and TV guestings), I find personal methods more effective in reaching potential participants. People's endorsement of me to their colleagues and friends helped to build my personal integrity and veracity as an academic researcher pursuing an authentic research. Nevertheless, the media-facilitated promotional activities helped to create awareness of the research, particularly the key concepts, as well as reinforce my credibility as a researcher.

Chapter 5

The Highly Skilled Filipinos in New Zealand and Australia:

Living Both Here and There

Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the research participants—the highly skilled migrants in New Zealand and Australia who have practised knowledge transfer to their country of origin, the Philippines—and also describe their relationship with the host country and the home country. I see this chapter as a fitting introduction to the discussion and analysis of their knowledge transfers which I start in the next chapter.

I begin in the first section by discussing their profile in terms of basic sociodemographic characteristics. Their integration in the labour market in the host countries is also discussed and this gives a general idea on how receptive the host countries are to their human capital (their knowledge and skills) which I argued in Chapter 3 affects the production of their knowledge transfer. A more comprehensive analysis of this aspect is given in the succeeding chapters.

In the second section, I analyse their life in the host country. I discuss how they perceive their new home in comparison to the one they left behind, what citizenship means to them, and how well they have integrated or adjusted in the host country. My objective is to give readers an idea of the level of their attachment to New Zealand or Australia.

In the third section, I analyse their continued ties with their country of origin, which simultaneously exists as they forge their relationship with the host country. I explore these diasporic connections by looking at their information-seeking behaviour, sending of financial remittances, taking of dual citizenship, participation in absentee voting, participation in Philippine events, and the country they perceive as ‘home’. As I mentioned in my analytical framework, I argue that the prospect of successfully tapping the diaspora’s knowledge and skills is also dependent on the diaspora’s motivation to transfer or share these. Consequently, I think of their motivation as partly driven by their

cultural and emotional attachment to the home country. The results discussed in this chapter may give an indication of this aspect.

Profiling the highly skilled in the research

The sample consisted of 32 participants: 11 from New Zealand and 21 from Australia. The majority of the participants were between 35 and 55 years old (68%). By host country, most of the participants from New Zealand were younger, between 35 and 45 (64%), while most of the participants from Australia were between 35 and 45 (38%) and 46 and 55 years old (38%). The majority of the participants in New Zealand were males (64%) while there were slightly more female participants in Australia (52%). In both countries, there were more participants who were living with a spouse or partner than those who were not (82% in New Zealand and 67% in Australia).

Looking at the level of education of all the participants, the majority of them have a Bachelor's degree (31%) or a PhD (31%). As Figure 5.1 shows, the education of the Australian participants is higher. There are more participants with PhD in Australia (43%) than in New Zealand (9%) but there are more participants with master's degree in New Zealand (27%) than in Australia (5%).

Figure 5.1. Level of education of the participants

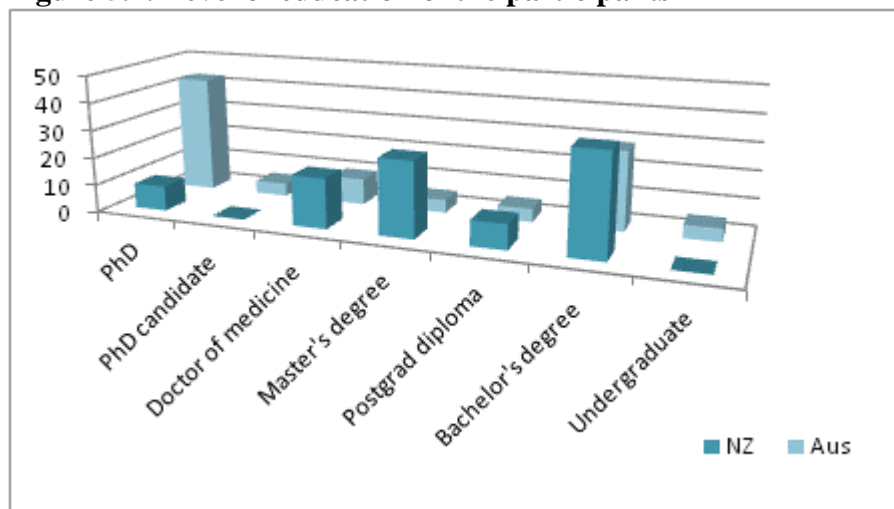
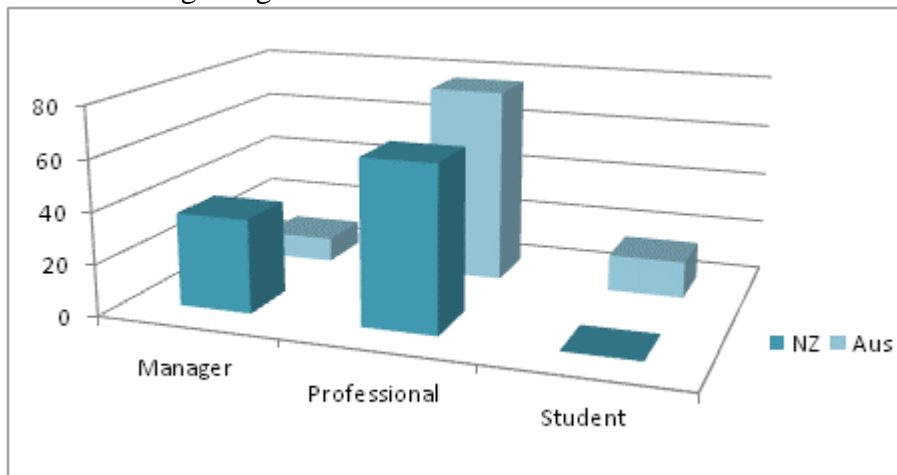


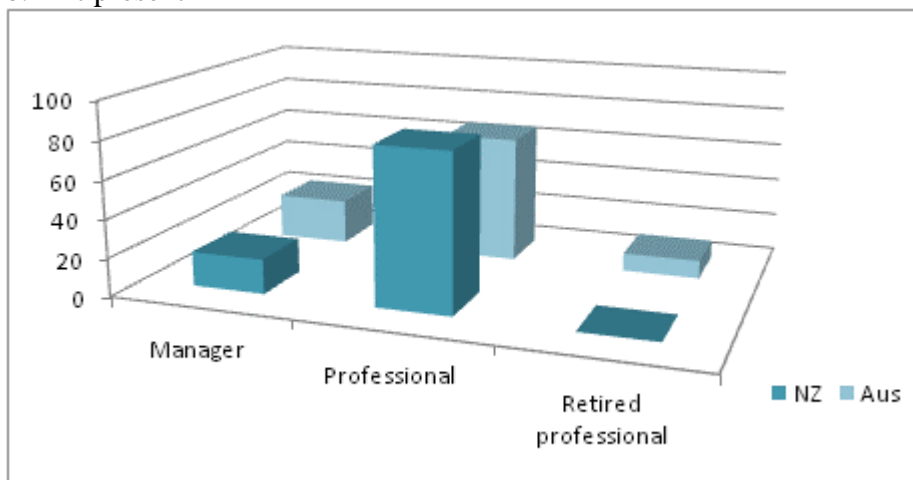
Figure 5.2 gives a snapshot of the changes in their occupation before and after migration to each host country. Table 5.1 provides details of the participants' specific occupation before migrating as well as their current occupation. These are categorised using the ISCO (International System of Classification of Occupations) system, namely: ISCO 1 (Legislators, Senior Officials, Managers) and ISCO 2 (Professionals). Their reported occupations prior to migration signify their highly skilled status before migrating. A little more than 70 percent of them were employed in professional jobs before migrating and a small percentage were managers (19%). There were more participants from New Zealand who held managerial positions before migrating as can be seen in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2. Participants' occupational level before migrating and at present, by host country

a. Before migrating



b. At present



Three participants, all from Australia, were students before they migrated. Two of them, brother and sister, came with their parents when they were teenagers, while the other one was an undergraduate who settled in Australia after marrying his Australian girlfriend. Although these three did not obtain their tertiary degrees in the home country, I decided to include them in the study for important insights that can be gleaned from their cases. The experience of the participant who was a college undergraduate when he moved to Australia and became highly skilled later on would show if his acquisition of diaspora capital in the host country had an effect on sustaining ties with his country of origin. Meanwhile, the case of the two participants who are 1.5-generation migrants may reveal the effect of migration generation in the appreciation of the country of birth. People, according to Wayland (2006), feel most attached to the society in which they are socialised, yet Patel (2006) also has the opinion that, in general, it is still difficult to predict whether second and subsequent generations will still maintain homeland connections. Some people also feel the urge to rediscover their roots as they get older.

Looking at the participants' current occupation, it is apparent and unsurprising that there have been significant changes between the time prior to their migration and after they migrated. While the total number of professionals has not changed as Table 1 shows, the number of migrants holding managerial positions has slightly increased and this can be attributed to the rise of business owners. More telling results can be gleaned from Figure 5.2 which shows the trend by host country. It can be seen that the percentage of participants who held managerial position prior to migrating to New Zealand has dropped, suggesting they are no longer employed at present as managers but already as professionals based on the percentage increase of participants who are now holding professional occupations. Different results were seen among the Australian participants. Comparing the professional occupation before and after migration, the percentage of participants has clearly dropped after migration. However, the percentage of managers has increased, which as earlier stated, is due to an increase in the number of business owners. These results not only point to the phenomenon of deskilling which is experienced by most highly skilled migrants as discussed in Chapter 2, but they also show a type of coping mechanism used by the highly skilled to improve their labour market participation which is creating their own employment (Riaño and Baghdadi 2007). If this phenomenon was seen only among the

Australian participants, the reason may be linked to the fact that they have settled longer in the host country compared to the New Zealand participants and therefore they already possess the economic and social capital to start and sustain a business. The effect of the length of their stay in the host country, which may reflect the level of their economic stability and extent of social networks, on the onset of their knowledge transfer is explored in greater detail in the analysis of these transfers in the succeeding chapters.

Table 5.1. Participants' occupation prior to migration and their present occupation at the time of the interview, New Zealand and Australia, 2009

Occupation prior to migration	Frequency	Present occupation	Frequency
<i>ISCO 1 – Legislators, Senior Officials, Managers</i>		<i>ISCO 1 – Legislators, Senior Officials, Managers</i>	
Technical manager	1	Sales Manager	1
Regional tourism director	1	Operations and export director	1
Sales manager	1	Department manager	1
Vice-president (real estate sales and development)	1	Executive officer	1
Information systems manager	1	Business owner/Managing director	3
Lawyer/Managing partner in a law firm	1		
Total	6	Total	7
<i>ISCO 2 – Professionals</i>		<i>ISCO 2 – Professionals</i>	
Professor/Associate professor/Lecturer/Senior lecturer	4	Professor/Associate professor/Lecturer/Senior lecturer	5
Medical doctor	4	Medical doctor	4
Researcher/Scientist	3	Researcher/Scientist/Senior scientist	4
Technical specialist/Development worker	2	Quarantine specialist	1
Publications Editor	2	Case officer	1
Programme officer	1	Technical adviser	1
Computer programmer	1	Programme officer	1
Business consultant	1	Lawyer	1
Trade specialist	1	Computer programmer	1
Legislative officer	2	Rehabilitation specialist	1
Sales executive	1	Disbursement officer	1
Nurse	1	Teacher	1
		Business development consultant	1
Total	23	Total	23
<i>Unemployed</i>		<i>Retired</i>	
Student	3	Retired professor	1
		Retired lawyer	1
TOTAL	32	TOTAL	32

Other details of the sample's employment experiences reveal the difficulties that some of them faced to integrate in the domestic labour market and the strategies they employed to address these. While a little more than half of the total had a first occupation in the host country which is related and commensurate to their level of education and training prior to migration, the rest worked in unrelated occupations in the beginning or continued their education as was the case with the two participants who migrated in their late teens with their parents. About 24 percent of the total got employed once in a job that was unrelated to their level of education and training, 11 percent worked twice and three percent worked three or four times each before they were able to get employed in a related and commensurate occupation. Seven of 23 participants who did not have employment difficulties were scientists and academics who had job offers before their arrival in the host country. The other participant who had the same successful experience was an inter-company transferee from Mexico to New Zealand.

Although the majority of the participants did not have employment difficulties on their arrival in the host country, about 46 percent of the total studied for a degree, diploma or certificate in the host country. The degree or course they completed is given in Table 5.2. When asked about their main reason for further study, most of them said they wanted to enhance their credentials to land a better job. This clearly relates to the experience of several participants in the research who had difficulty in the beginning to find an occupation which was related or commensurate to their education or training. As mentioned in Chapter 2, reskilling is one strategy taken by migrants to obtain qualifications in the host country to improve their labour market participation. This takes the form of undertaking study to get an education or training in the host country, which most employers prefer. This is particularly important for the highly skilled migrants in highly restricted occupations such as law and medicine where overseas-educated and trained migrants may be required to complete university subjects and/or pass an examination to be given the license to practice their profession. For example, the lawyer participant in New Zealand studied for a Certificate of Proficiency course at the University of Auckland and also took the New Zealand Law and Practice Examination. In Australia, foreign doctors trained and educated overseas need to pass the Australian Medical Council (AMC) examinations (written and practical). One of the doctors in the Australian sample was initially granted a conditional registration to practice when she came to Australia. While she was working, she completed the exams.

It is also relevant to mention that three of the participants obtained their PhD from the host country (Australia). One of them is the migrant who moved to Australia in his late teens with his family. He pursued all his tertiary and postgraduate education in Australia. Another participant decided to settle in Australia after obtaining her PhD. The third one earned his master's degree under a government scholarship, went back to the Philippines and stayed for a few years to fulfill his service obligation, then returned to Australia to pursue his PhD and eventually settled there after completing his studies. The last two examples show education in the host country as a pathway to migration. Although some may not have that conscious desire to settle permanently when they first set foot overseas, the motivation may eventually develop after having seen and experienced the opportunities present in the host country. This phenomenon appears to be becoming common and Solimano (2002) notes it could either resemble a brain drain or a 'brain cycle' symptom. It is more of a brain drain or loss for the sending country if the emigrant decides to stay abroad during his whole productive life and it is more of a brain cycle if after a few years of working abroad, the emigrant returns home (Solimano 2002). National Science Foundation data quoted by the same author show that 47 percent of foreign residents who earned their doctorates in 1990 and 1991 were working in the United States in 1995, with the majority of them coming from India (79% of all foreign Indian science and engineering doctorates were in the US) and China (88% of all foreign Chinese science and engineering doctorates were in the US).

Table 5.2. Degree or course attended by migrants who studied in the host country, New Zealand and Australia (n=15)

Degree/course	Frequency
PhD	5
Masters	4
Bachelors	4
Postgraduate diploma	4
Certificate course	2

Note: Total does not equal to 15 as some migrants studied for more than one degree or course. For instance, the migrant who immigrated in his late teens studied from bachelors to PhD in the host country.

Life in the host countries: a glimpse

Twenty five of the 32 participants from the two host countries migrated from the Philippines. The three New Zealand participants who migrated from other countries came

from Mexico, Dubai, and the United States where they used to work. The participant who migrated from Mexico was transferred by his company to Auckland, New Zealand.

For the four participants in Australia who did not migrate from the Philippines, two of them came from the United States and one was from Belgium where they were previously employed. The other one finished her PhD in Australia and decided to reside there permanently after finishing her degree. The presence of these migrants who migrated from another country demonstrates the mobile nature of highly skilled people.

The majority of the participants arrived in the 1990s and 2000s (Table 5.3). The participants from New Zealand are fairly recent migrants who arrived mostly in the 2000s while those from Australia came in the 1990s. There were even a few participants who arrived in Australia as early as the 1970s. The proliferation of arrivals into New Zealand in the 2000s may be attributed to the effects of the introduction of the Skilled Migrant Category in December 2003. This new category of migrant phased out the General Migrant Category. Based on a revised points-based system, it is intended to bolster the recruitment of skilled migrants which New Zealand needs (Birrel et al. 2006). It is similar to Australia's selection criteria in the areas of English language requirements, bonus points for former international students with NZ qualifications, and additional bonus points for occupations of current shortage, job offer and other employment-related criteria (Birrel et al. 2006). For Australia, the proliferation of participants who arrived in the 1990s reflects the increasing trend of Asia migration in that period as a result of relaxation of policies of ethnic and racial exclusion which began earlier, of which the most significant changes include the discarding of the White Australia Policy in 1973 by the new Labour Government and the introduction of a points system in 1979 in which personal skills, rather than race and ethnicity, became the basis for selection (Ongley and Pearson 1995).

The majority of participants from New Zealand have been residents for more than two years and less than eight years which is consistent with the previous finding that most of them are fairly recent migrants. Meanwhile, a greater number of participants from Australia have been residents for more than 14 years and even more than 20 years. Expectedly, as most participants have been living in the host countries for a relatively longer period of time, a large percentage of them (84%) are already citizens (Table 5.3). The rest are either still permanent residents or on work permits.

Table 5.3. Participants' arrival in the host countries, length of stay as at the time of the interview (2009) and immigration status

Arrival	NZ	Aus	Total	%
1970s	0	4	4	12.50
1980s	1	4	5	15.63
1990s	2	10	12	37.50
2000s	8	3	11	34.38
Total	11	21	32	100.00
Length of stay in host country	NZ	Aus	Total	%
6 to 24 months	1	0	1	3.13
More than 24 months to 8 years	6	2	8	25.00
More than 8 to 14 years	2	4	6	18.75
More than 14 years to 20 years	1	7	8	25.00
More than 20 years	1	8	9	28.13
Total	11	21	32	100.00
Immigration status	NZ	Aus	Total	%
Citizen	8	19	27	84.38
Permanent resident	3	1	4	12.50
Work permit		1	1	3.13
Total	11	21	32	100.00

Asked about what they felt when they had assumed the citizenship of their host country, most of the answers reflect the migrants' perception of the host country as their new source of convenience and security as they embarked on a new life. The majority of them took the citizenship option as a matter of expediency (Table 5.4). For instance, most of the citizens (48%) are pleased with the convenience of travel and mobility that citizenship could bring them because they no longer need to apply for a visa when travelling overseas. This is not surprising as highly skilled people mainly come from wealthier families (Lucas 2004) and therefore possess more economic capacity to move from one place to another, either for leisure or business. Mahroum (2000:1) described them as 'globetrotters', their high propensity for mobility and relocation driven by various factors, such as immigration policies, quality of work, educational opportunities, business expansion overseas, labour market supply and demand, and communication technologies.

Meyer et al. (2001) explained that the ease of traveling is important particularly for scientists and engineers because they are prone to mobility. They attributed these

‘professional nomadic behaviours’ to the need of scientific theories to be continually tested to gain universal acceptability (Meyer et al. 2001:310).

“That the universalisation process requires movements of scientists themselves is due to the complexity of knowledge. Its codified components (for instance, equations, experiment results, etc.) are easy to discriminate but most of the practice necessary to establish these, and also to reproduce as well as apply them to specific purposes, depends on tacit knowledge, embedded in human beings. These movements do not always need to be of long duration. Many scientific exchanges are short-term ones....However, as the social studies of science and technology have now extremely demonstrated, the need for deep understanding often implies collective acculturation, training and practice, therefore prolonged stay outside the milieu of origin.” (Meyer et al. 2001:311)

The security provided by the other benefits of citizenship was cited by some participants as evidenced by their responses pertaining to the ease of applying for a job, buying a house and sponsoring family members, as well as the less complicated taxation and availability of pension and medical services. The two participants, who migrated to Australia during the Martial Law years in the Philippines, which was a highly tumultuous period both socially and politically, said they were happy to become citizens as they did not have to return.

Reflecting their socially and politically conscious nature, two participants said they are glad to take citizenship because they could already vote, with one of them adding that this is important for her as she is concerned with issues that particularly affect the disadvantaged Filipino migrants. The other responses also show the importance that the migrants place on the host country as their new home, but which also entail responsibilities to be fulfilled. For one participant, citizenship is a symbolic act showing she has accepted the host country as her second home while two participants said it gives them the sense of belongingness in the Australian community. For some, assuming the citizenship of the host country was an emotional event, with one participant even saying that she felt she lost a part of herself.

Table 5.4. Feelings of participants when they became a citizen of the host country (n=27)

Responses	Frequency
Felt good for ease of travel and mobility it will bring	13
Just took it to bring my family here/easier to sponsor family members	2
Didn't feel any different but happy in a way that I can enjoy the benefits of an Australian citizen particularly in applying for jobs	2
Happy that I can get the benefits of New Zealand and the rights of a citizen	2
Took the citizenship as a necessity to get the job	1
Took the citizenship for the benefits it could give (hospital, pension, buying a house, etc.)	1
Felt happy I now have the same rights as any Australian citizen but with these rights also come my responsibilities	1
Did for practical reasons such as taxation	1
A bit more settled	1
A symbolic act that I have accepted the host country as my second home	1
Glad because I already have the right to vote which is important for me especially on issues that affects the disadvantaged Filipinos	1
Happy because I could already go to consultations and also vote	1
Felt the sense of belongingness in the Australian community	2
Just relieved	1
Felt relieved because I don't want to go back as it was the Martial Law period	2
Easy decision for me as during my time, we already have the option to retain our Philippine citizenship	1
Had a moment of doubt when I took it but remembered what my father told me that if I was to become a migrant, I have to accept everything that goes with it	1
Mixed emotions that I'm already a New Zealand citizen but whatever I do, I'm still a Filipino	1
I felt I lost a part of me	1
Felt bad that I had to give up my Philippine nationality	1
Felt sad initially because I lost my Philippine citizenship and I really try hard to uplift the image of the Filipinos but realised later than even if I'm already an Australian citizen, I can still do that.	1
Felt nothing; for me it was just a ceremony	1
Uneventful; I'm hoping to get my Filipino citizenship back	1
Happy that I am getting out of the complex life in the Philippines	1
I welcome it as I think the Philippines had nothing to offer me other than history and culture	1
Total	42

Note: Multiple responses so total frequency does not equal to 27.

All but three participants felt their life in the host country is much better than when they were in the Philippines. The responses of these participants who responded positively reflect their reasons for living the Philippines and migrating overseas which is a confluence of economic, professional, political and security factors. As can be seen in Table 5.5, they confirm the findings of other studies on the motivations of the highly skilled for going abroad, which are discussed in Chapter 2.

Table 5.5. Why participants felt their life in the host country is much better

Reason	Frequency
<i>Economic comfort</i>	
- Materially, it is better here	7
- Have a stable income/pay is better/well compensated	5
- Able to acquire a house which is difficult to do in the Philippines	4
- Already owns several properties here	1
<i>Better quality of life</i>	2
- There is safety and security	5
- Simple life/less stress/peaceful	4
- Good roads, less traffic	1
- Better access to social services, medical care and information	4
- Better economically and politically	1
- Less corruption	3
<i>Professional/career advancement and personal growth</i>	
- Better professionally/more career opportunities	6
- Better environment for research/Good facilities and equipment for research	2
- Better environment for professional networking	2
- Freer to think and explore and we are measured by our achievements	1
- More opportunities to express ourselves	1
- Good work ethics	1
- The country is more accepting of one's beliefs	1
- Good for personal growth with exposure to diverse political and spiritual views	1
<i>Prospects for family</i>	
- Children have a better future/more opportunities for my family	6
Total	58

Note: Multiple responses

Similar to the highly skilled from other countries, the highly skilled migrants from the Philippines who are now based in New Zealand and Australia also value other factors apart from economic or material security, such as their professional and career advancement, the better quality of life in terms of safety and security, social services, and less stressful life, and good opportunities for their family especially the children (Table

5.5). As these are the reasons they gave for saying that their life in the host countries is much better than their life in the Philippines, it may be assumed that the home country is deficient in these factors prompting them to go abroad particularly to developed countries like New Zealand and Australia which are known by international standards to have a good quality of life. The participants are educated migrants who have a high level of awareness and knowledge. It is probable that they are informed of the high rankings of the two host countries in terms of indicators such as, for example, the UNDP's human development index and the Mercer quality of living city rankings which are widely disseminated on the internet. Information such as these may have influenced their decision to choose New Zealand and Australia as their migration destination.

Two of the three participants who were unsure if their life now in the host country is better than in the Philippines gave reasons such as having a good job there. The other participant mentioned the lack of support network, particularly emotional support. All her family members remained in the Philippines and she is the only one who migrated to Australia.

All the participants were also asked when they started to feel secure and happy in the host country (Table 5.6). The majority started feeling this way within six months of their arrival (for the Australian participants) or after two to five years (for the New Zealand participants). For most of them, the feeling of security began to set in when they had found a good job, which some participants explained as a 'permanent' job or a 'real' job which means a full-time one and/or related to their level of education and skills. This confirms earlier findings on the motivations of the highly skilled for migrating which is not just economic security but also the application of their knowledge and skills (Vujicic et al. 2004; Astor et al. 2005). For a few participants, especially those in Australia, finding a job after they arrived was not a major problem because they had already been offered a job before migrating. That the onset of the feeling of security for the New Zealand participants came later (two to five years) compared to the experience of the Australia participants (within six months of arrival) may also suggest that the labour market integration of Australian migrants is better than that of the New Zealand migrants. This may be attributed to the presence of ample opportunities in Australia compared to New Zealand. It could also mean that the settlement support for migrants in Australia is better. Other participants also said they started to feel secure and happy when they had

become adjusted to the way of life in the host country especially the culture. One of them said meaningfully: “Migration is hard...it wears you down psychologically and physically.”

Table 5.6. Time period when the participants started to feel secure and happy

Time period	NZ	Aus	No.	%
Within 6 months after arrival	3	8	11	31.43
After 6 to 24 months	1	3	4	11.43
After 2 to 5 years	7	4	11	31.43
After 6 to 8 years		4	4	11.43
After 9 to 11 years		0	0	0.00
After 12 to 15 years		1	1	2.86
After 15 years		1	1	2.86
Not applicable (have always felt secure in life)		2	2	5.71
Does not yet feel secure and happy	1		1	2.86
Total	12	23	35	100.00

Ties with home country

Although the majority of the participants in both host countries combined had been living away from the Philippines for more than 15 years (some of them for even more than 25 years), it is apparent from various facets of their life concerning the home country that they are still highly connected to it.

For instance, all of the participants continue to seek information about the Philippines. This was gleaned from their response to the question about their sources of information about the Philippines (Table 5.7). Their most common sources are printed/online newspapers published in the Philippines and their family/relatives and friends/colleagues living there. That these sources are based in the Philippines are clear evidence of their continued links with the Philippines. It also suggests that they have a longing for news about events taking place in the home country as most of them have newspapers as their information source rather than people in which the information being sought may be more on the personal level. Their continued awareness of events in the Philippines could be making them not only feel connected with it but also conscious of the country’s problems and needs, which may evoke a feeling of responsibility and concern on their part.

Table 5.7. Sources of information about the Philippines*

Sources	NZ	Aus	Total	%
Printed and/or online Filipino newspapers produced in the Philippines	11	15	26	23.21
Printed and/or online Filipino newspapers produced in New Zealand (e.g., Pasa Pinoy, Diario Filipino) or Australia (e.g., Philippine Times, Philippine Herald)	2	6	8	7.14
Other newspapers (printed and online), including those produced in NZ or Aus		6	6	5.36
Radio (e.g., 3zzz in Australia)		2	2	1.79
Philippine TV shows via cable TV (e.g., The Filipino Channel)		2	2	1.79
Television programmes in NZ or Aus (e.g., SBS - Filipino programme) or elsewhere (excluding Philippine shows via cable)	1	6	7	6.25
Internet (excluding online Filipino and other newspapers)	6	7	13	11.61
Social networking sites (e.g., Facebook)	1	2	3	2.68
Family/relatives in NZ or Australia	1	2	3	2.68
Family/relatives in the Philippines	9	10	19	16.96
Friends and colleagues in the Philippines	7	6	13	11.61
Friends and colleagues in NZ or Australia	1	2	3	2.68
Friends and colleagues elsewhere	3		3	2.68
Philippine consulate/embassy		2	2	1.79
Associations or groups in host country		2	2	1.79
Total	42	70	112	100.00

*Multiple responses

Even the people that the participants keep in touch with are mostly those living in the Philippines such as their family, relatives, friends, work colleagues and professional contacts (Table 5.8). This is also evidence of their deeply rooted ties with the home country.

Table 5.8. People they keep in touch with and their means of keeping in touch*

Who they keep in touch with	NZ	Aus	Total	%
Family and relatives in the Philippines	12	20	32	26.02
Family and relatives elsewhere	11	8	19	15.45
Friends, work colleagues and professional contacts in the Philippines	11	18	29	23.58
Friends, work colleagues and professional contacts elsewhere	11	21	32	26.02
Business associates in the Philippines	4	4	8	6.50
Business associates elsewhere	1	2	3	2.44
Total	50	73	123	100.00
Means for keeping in touch				
Email	13	21	34	41.98
Texting/SMS	3	3	6	7.41
Social networking sites	4	5	9	11.11
Telephone	4	12	16	19.75
Regular mail	2	6	8	9.88
Conferences/meetings		1	1	1.23
Internet chat/voice	3	4	7	8.64
Total	29	52	81	100.00

*Multiple responses

A look at the aspects about the Philippines that the participants miss, which are presented in Table 5.9, implies they feel deeply for the home country. While local food was mentioned by many, expectedly as it is the most basic aspect of one's cultural origin, a good number talked about the sense of community and social support, the customs and traditions in the Philippines (in particular the festive Christmas celebrations), and the tight family structure. Compared to the other people of lesser education, the highly skilled have better and more opportunities to be exposed to different cultures through their travels, education and work. Because of this, they may be expected to be more independent and individualistic in their outlook rather than longing for collectivism. Their responses, however, show that they still have a high regard for the community spirit which is dominant in the Filipino culture. Their longing for these aspects is, in fact, demonstrated by the way they also miss the (Filipino) people, in general, and their traits such as their sense of humour and warmth, as well as their family and friends. Even the physical environment, despite some negative aspects it possesses ("chaos, noise, traffic, dirt, disorganized nature of the place"), is missed. These social, cultural and physical factors that constitute their image of the Philippines they have experienced, and the Philippines

they have left behind, clearly evoke feelings of nostalgia and longing among the participants. Such longing is manifested in the way they continue to make themselves informed about the Philippines and the way they sustain their ties with it through their family, friends, work colleagues, and professional contacts. Their knowledge transfers to the Philippines, which will be discussed in the next chapter, may also be a manifestation or an outcome of this longing.

Table 5.9. Aspects about the Philippines that the participants miss*

Aspect	NZ	Aus	No.	%
Local food	11	7	18	22.22
Tropical fruits	1		1	1.23
People in general	5	7	12	14.81
Family and friends	2	6	8	9.88
Filipino humour		2	2	2.47
Sense of community/strong social support		4	4	4.94
Customs and traditions	2	4	6	7.41
The way people celebrate occasions (gaiety atmosphere)		1	1	1.23
The way the Filipinos socialise		1	1	1.23
Warmth of the Filipinos	1		1	1.23
Tight family structure/family closeness	1	1	2	2.47
The way the people handle stress/their resilience	1	1	2	2.47
Being politically incorrect		1	1	1.23
The place in general	3	2	5	6.17
Beaches	3		3	3.70
Easy life (having people to do the chores for you)		1	1	1.23
Laidback lifestyle		1	1	1.23
Amenities like spa and massage		1	1	1.23
The chaos, noise, traffic, dirt, heat	1	5	6	7.41
Nighlife, bands	1	1	2	2.47
Disorganised nature of the place		2	2	2.47
The bustling activity	1		1	1.23
Total	33	48	81	100.00

*Multiple responses

Financial remittance is considered the most tangible form of connection between diaspora and home country. There are studies, however, proving that highly skilled migrants have a tendency to remit less (Faini 2007; Niimi et al. 2008). This behavior is attributed to the fact that they spend longer time abroad, take their families with them and that they are more likely to come from wealthier families.

The findings in the present study confirm the weaker connection between the skilled diaspora and the home country as far as financial remittance is concerned. Not all 32 participants were sending remittances although it is still notable that 59 percent of them remit (Table 5.10). The frequency of remitting among those who remit has also been found to be high, with most of them sending money monthly (26%) or at least every quarter (21%).

Remitting and its frequency were found to be dependent on the presence of immediate family members and relatives in the Philippines. Of family members, ‘parents’ or siblings are the foremost consideration. Some participants said they are or were sending money to their father or mother or both. One of them said he used to send money regularly for his mother when she was still alive. Another related that he started remitting for his parents only when they were much older. For some participants, the recipients of the remittances they send are either their siblings or their nephews and nieces whom they are helping to send to school. When they finished school, the remittances became less frequent like in the case of a participant who said that for 10 years, she was remitting every two months when her sibling were still attending school.

For those who do not remit, the usual reasons given were that they did not have any remaining immediate relatives in the Philippines or that their family back home was self sufficient.

Table 5.10. Sending of financial remittances

Send financial remittances	NZ	Aus	No.	%
Yes	5	14	19	59.38
No	6	7	13	40.63
Total	11	21	32	100.00
Frequency (n=19)				
Monthly	0	5	5	26.32
Every two months		1	1	5.26
At least every quarter	2	2	4	21.05
More than 6 times a year	1		1	5.26
Once a year		2	2	10.53
Occasionally (only during special occasions and when there is an emergency)	2	4	6	31.58
Total	5	14	19	100.00

Continued diasporic links can also be manifested by assuming dual citizenship. However, this choice is also reliant upon the presence of a policy in the home country that allows its diaspora members to retain their citizenship and a policy in the host country that also permits their citizens to hold dual citizenship. Both New Zealand and Australia allow dual citizenship (Australian Government 2010; New Zealand Government n.d.).

As a sending country, the Philippines also allows its diaspora members to retain their Filipino citizenship or reacquire it through the Dual Citizenship Law, otherwise known as Republic Act 9225, which took effect in September 2003 (Republic of the Philippines n.d.). According to the Law, among the rights and privileges that dual citizens can enjoy in the home country include full civic and political rights (including the right to run for political office), acquisition of land and property and to conduct business in the Philippines, to reside in the Philippines without having to apply for an entry visa and to stay indefinitely. However, as Filipino citizens, they are subject to duties and obligations imposed on the ordinary Filipinos such as paying of taxes on income earned in the Philippines and other types of taxes as mandated by law.

Among those who are already citizens of the host country, there are more participants in the study who are not dual citizens (78%). All those who are dual citizens are residing in Australia (Table 5.11). This can be an indication that the Australian participants have stronger ties to the Philippines than the New Zealand participants. That there were more migrants from Australia who were found to have knowledge transfer to the Philippines could be an evidence of this. Their bigger numbers could be not because there are more Filipino migrants in Australia than in New Zealand but because Filipino migrants in Australia may really have stronger ties to their country of origin than their fellow migrants across the Tasman. Future studies may provide more definite evidence on this.

Table 5.11. Of those who hold either Australian or New Zealand citizenship, whether they retained their Philippine citizenship or not (dual nationality)

Dual nationality	NZ	Aus	Total	%
	(n= 8)	(n=19)		
Holds dual nationality	0	6	6	22.22
Does not hold dual nationality	8	13	21	77.78
Total	8	19	27	100.00

Only half of the participants who are dual citizens reported participating in absentee voting in previous Philippine elections (Table 5.12). This actually mirrors the general low turnout of Filipino absentee voters in previous Philippine polls. Since the absentee voting law was passed, there have been two national elections, a presidential one in 2004 and a general one (Senate and House of Representatives) in 2007¹⁰. To be able to vote, permanent residents and dual citizens abroad have to register with the Philippine consulates and embassies in the host countries. The number of registrants has been very low. In 2003, the Department of Foreign Affairs' Overseas Absentee Voting Secretariat (DFA-OAVS) reported that only 37 percent of the projected 975,000 registrants registered for the 2004 elections and the figure even dropped in the 2007 election with only 16 percent (Santos 2008). This suggests the need for a more intensive campaign to encourage overseas Filipinos to participate in the political processes in the home country. However, it should also be complemented with uncomplicated procedures to encourage them to exercise their rights as Filipino nationals such as providing longer registration periods and abolishing the affidavit of intent to return which is required of Filipino immigrants abroad, a condition which has been reported as a disincentive for Filipinos especially green card holders in the United States for fear that it may affect their residency if such an affidavit is executed by the Philippine government (Santos 2008).

Table 5.12. Absentee voting participation among the dual citizens

Absentee voting	Aus	
	(n=6)	%
Yes	3	50.00
No	3	50.00
Total	6	100.00

The majority of participants, whether citizens of the home country or still Filipino citizens or already dual citizens, attend the Philippine Independence Day celebration in the host country which is held every 12th of June (Table 5.13). It is usually celebrated with the hoisting of the Philippine flag and a small programme. The celebration is led by the Philippine embassy in the host country.

¹⁰ A presidential election was held in 2010 but it is outside of the scope of the discussion as the research interviews were held in 2009.

Table 5.13. Attendance at Philippine Independence Day celebration in the host country

	NZ	Aus	Total	%
Yes	5	16	21	65.63
No	6	5	11	34.38
Total	11	21	32	100.00

Most participants also attend local events and shows showcasing Philippine culture (Table 5.14). The most notable example in Australia is the annual Philippine Fiesta held in Sydney and Melbourne in October and November, respectively, and organized by the Filipino associations in these areas. In New Zealand, there is the annual Labour Weekend celebration held in October where activities are organized for the Filipino communities by the different Filipino associations. The venue of the celebration is rotated yearly among the highly Filipino-populated areas of New Zealand such as Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Palmerston North. That the majority of the participants attend the annual Independence Day celebration as well as local events celebrating the Filipino culture is evidence of their continued association with and pride in their Filipino roots.

Table 5.14. Attendance at local events and shows that highlight Philippine culture

	NZ	Aus	Total	%
Yes	8	13	21	65.63
No	3	8	11	34.38
Total	11	21	32	100.00

The participants' response to the last question confirms the strong ties with the Philippines that most of them still feel. When asked which country they consider as 'home'—New Zealand/Australia or the Philippines—a big percentage (77%) answered the Philippines (Table 5.15). Some of them explained their answers particularly the participants from Australia. The reasons of those who chose the Philippines indicate their deep sentimental ties with their country of birth (Table 5.16). One of the participants in Australia was even wearing a 'barong', the national costume of Filipino men, when I interviewed him. He said he wears a 'barong' to work and attends formal occasions with it as his regular attire and when asked of his reason, he said: "I am proud of where I came from." He mentioned that he wore a suit only once and that was for a job interview.

Table 5.15. Country which participants consider home

	NZ	Aus	Total	%
Host country (Australia or New Zealand)	1	5	6	18.75
Home country (Philippines)	10	15	25	78.13
Host country and home country		1	1	3.13
Total	11	21	32	100.00

Table 5.16. Reasons given by participants for their choice of home country

A. Those who chose the Philippines		
Reason	NZ	Aus
No place like home	1	
My parents are still there and they are what connects me to the Philippines	1	
Philippines is my first home and Australia is my second home		2
Philippines is home to me but I will retire in Australia as I have nothing in the Philippines (no assets) plus I have pension in Australia		1
My mindset, looks and values are still Filipino		1
In my heart, Philippines is home. Australia is, too, because my children are all there.		1
I have never lost that love for the Philippines; I always tell my children that even if they grew up in Australia and they speak fluent English, the blood running in their veins is still Filipino blood.		1
B. Those who chose New Zealand or Australia		
Reason	NZ	Aus
I feel more welcome in NZ; immigration officers in the Philippines are arrogant and rude and couldn't care less that we're returning to the Philippines	1	
I lived in Australia for 30 years and I have born and raised my children here		1
Philippines is just my birth country; Australia now is my home as the elements of a home are right here		1
Philippines is my birth country but Australia is already my home country as I've been living here for so long		1
I don't have ties with the Philippines anymore. All my family members are already here. I consider Philippines as just my birth country but I still maintain the Filipino values which for me are universal values and not just present among Filipinos.		1
Australia is my home country for practical reasons but Philippines is really home for me because that is where my mom is and for me, my mother is home.		1
C. Those who chose both the Philippines and Australia		
Reason	NZ	Aus
I feel responsible here and I feel responsible there. I feel responsible to both.		1

Some of the reasons also indicate they consider both the host and home countries as home but one country takes primacy over the other and it appears a major reason is because their children and immediate family members are already in the host country so it is for them their 'home' or their 'first' home. This illustrates that the concept of home is fluid. It changes over time depending on the life stage of a migrant. Home is also not simply a physical entity or territory. It is a borderless concept which is tied to people, particularly family, and to culture and values which can transcend time and space. This may also explain why the concept of having two homes—of living both here and there and of having a first and second home—can actually exist.

Conclusion

The profile of the participants shows they were not insulated from settlement issues in the host countries however educated or skilled they were. Some of them experienced deskilling and took a number of jobs before finally getting the one that was commensurate to their skills and level of education. Some migrants even trained or studied for a degree in the host country to increase their chances of getting a better job. The additional education and training helped improve their employment outcomes and in all probability, the level of their economic and professional stability and extent of social networks. This is surmised to have contributed to their capacity to engage in knowledge transfer, a premise that I will explore in more detail in the succeeding chapters.

As educated migrants who are mobile and more exposed to different cultures through their education, work and travel, they may be expected to be more individualistic in their values in life and craving less for collectivism which is highly embedded in the Filipino culture. This chapter shows, however, how still deeply connected and committed the participants are to the Philippines.

The absence of immediate family members in the home country did not reduce their longing for it. The home country is part of their daily life and they continue to live there in a virtual or implicit way through news they hear and see in the media and through people back home. They re-enact home through activities they themselves organised and contribute to the welfare of the families they left behind through the money they send and to the development of the home country through facilities that enable their political

participation. The results confirm their low remittance behavior but in many other aspects that are immaterial in nature, their connection with the home country persists.

Citizenship appears not to be an exact measure of loyalty or affection to a country. For most of them, they have taken citizenship for pragmatic reasons which are associated with the benefits and security that the citizenship could bring them. This suggests that in reality, the participants do still remain emotionally tied and connected with the Philippines although they are also loyal to the host country, cognizant of their obligations as its citizens, and grateful of the security it provides them. This is why I describe them in the title of this chapter as ‘living both here and there’. These deep cultural ties to the Philippines demonstrated by the majority of the participants are also manifested by their choice of the Philippines as ‘home’. I explore these connections further in the succeeding chapters through their knowledge transfers to the Philippines.

Chapter 6

Science and Technology (S&T) Knowledge Transfers

Introduction

The knowledge economy which drives the world at present acknowledges the critical role of knowledge in innovation and economic growth (Huggins and Izushi 2007). In this chapter, I analyse knowledge transfer focusing on the mainstream types. Science and technology (S&T) knowledge is a particularly highly valued resource for development through its contribution to advancing research and development (R&D). Cororaton (1999) convincingly argues that R&D generates innovation which increases productivity and technological progress, and leads to economic growth and prosperity.

The importance of S&T knowledge can also be explained through its tacit properties or its being “sticky” or ”stuck in the head of individuals” (Huggins and Izushi 2007:4). Because it is “embodied in individuals as skills they posses”, Huggins and Izushi (2007:23) argue that tacit knowledge such as “skills, competence and talents cannot be directly communicated to someone else in verbal or symbolic form.” The critical issue of knowledge and skills loss pertains to tacit knowledge, or the skills and talents that people possess and which they bring with them when they move to a new place but cannot easily flow back to their countries of origin. The exchange or transfer of tacit knowledge such as S&T to sending countries, therefore, through various means, is an important mechanism by which knowledge loss through skills migration is mitigated.

I begin the chapter by describing these transfers. Then, following the analytical framework I presented in Chapter 3, I analyse the effects of home country, host country, diaspora and support factors on the formation of these transfers. I end the chapter by analysing the usefulness of these transfers from the collaborators’ perspective.

Nature of the S&T knowledge transfers

Thirteen participants reported S&T knowledge transfers. Ten of them are from Australia and the rest are from New Zealand. Except for two participants, all of them are doctors, reflecting their high level of education. Seven participants have Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degrees in different scientific fields. Except for one, all of them got their PhD from foreign universities (four from the US, one from Belgium and one from Japan). One participant is a PhD candidate in a university in Australia. Four have Doctor of Medicine (MD) degrees prior to migrating to either New Zealand or Australia. The lone participant who is neither a PhD nor an MD is a retired military personnel in the Philippines who is highly knowledgeable in agricultural technologies.

Their occupations also reflect a high level of skills. Five of the PhDs are senior research scientists. One PhD is a retired professor while another is currently teaching in a university. The four medical doctors are all practising their profession. They all took the medical council examinations in the host countries to gain accreditation to practice. Two of them—a general practitioner in diabetes management in Australia and a sonographer in New Zealand—also undertook retraining to practice their profession. One participant is an executive director in a government department. Another has a consultancy firm in the Philippines dealing with the promotion of agricultural technologies. Table 6.1 provides a snapshot of these knowledge transfers while a more detailed description of each of the cases is given in Appendix 3. Two cases are described more fully in Appendix 4 and Appendix 5. Appendix 4 shows a case wherein a migrant served as a transmitter of scientific knowledge and an enabler of scientific linkages while Appendix 5 describes a case wherein a migrant functioned as a source and a broker of medical expertise.

As the examples show, the knowledge and expertise transferred were in various fields of S&T such as engineering, medicine, audiology, restoration ecology, food science, psychology, communication and information science, sonography, computer science, analytical chemistry, and agriculture, which are also their fields of expertise (except for one participant—Mina). These fields also reflect the rich diversity of S&T skills that the scientific diaspora from the Philippines possesses. The participants performed various roles in the knowledge transfers, encompassing sharing of knowledge, facilitating scientific linkages, brokering of expertise, linking Filipinos to S&T opportunities abroad, and advising thesis students.

Table 6.1. A snapshot of the S&T knowledge transfers found in the study

Participant	Field of expertise	Knowledge transfer activity
Vic	Engineering	Teaching/lecturing under the Balik (Return) Scientist Program
Nes	Medicine (General Practitioner – Diabetes management)	Research and advocacy on the benefits of virgin coconut oil for treating diabetes
Tem	Food science	Trainer under the Balik (Return) Scientist Program and later, under the Volunteer for International Development Assistance (VIDA) programme
Anton	Medicine (Psychology)	Lecturing
Zeny	Medicine (Sonography)	Informal advising
Tery	Agriculture	Promotion of agri-based livelihood technologies
Gary	Engineering	Creation of a scientific diaspora network; expert advising
Ted	Restoration ecology	Lecturing and facilitating scientific linkages under the Balik (Return) Scientist Program
Jenny	Medicine (Obstetrics and Gynecology)	Medical and surgical missions
Mina	Gerontology	Brokering of audiology expertise and equipment for hearing-impaired children
Rey	Communication and information science	Facilitating overseas internship opportunities
Leo	Computer science	Informal thesis advising
Nilo	Analytical chemistry	Lecturing under the Balik (Return) Scientist Program; facilitating scientific linkages

Onset and production of S&T transfers

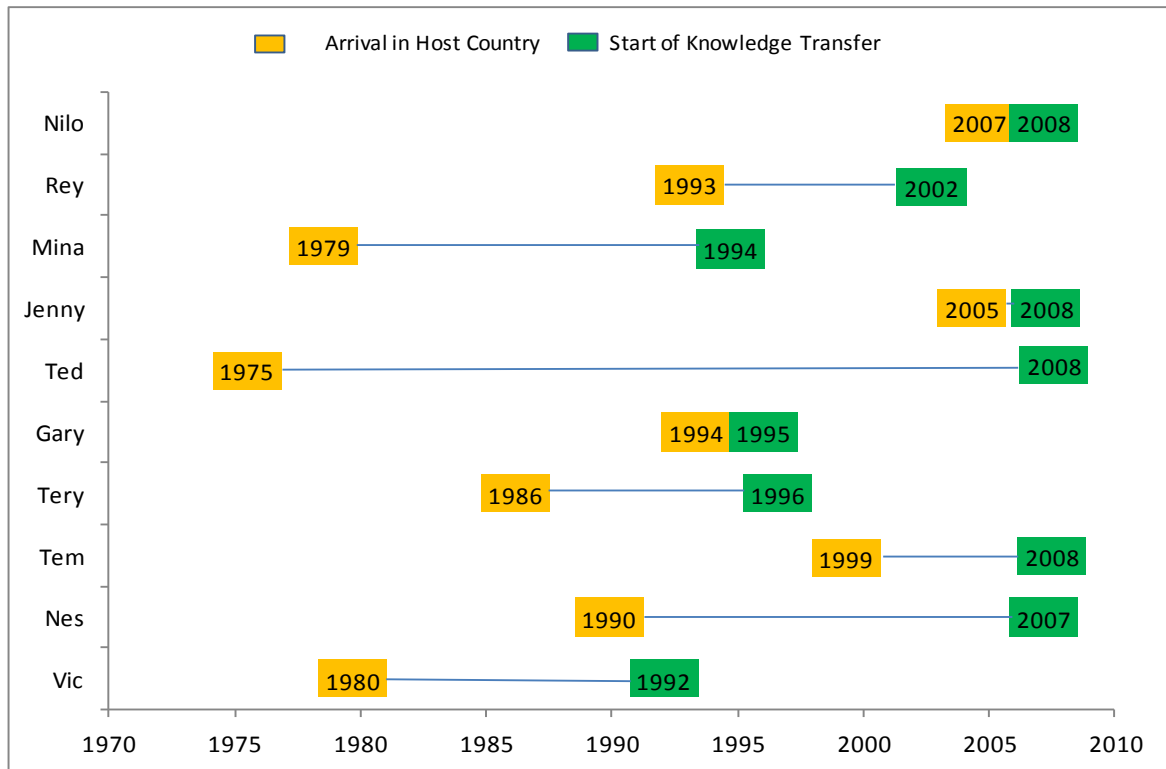
As suggested in the analytical framework, the success of knowledge transfer as a development strategy for capitalising on the diaspora's relevant knowledge and skills (the first part of the research question) depends on the production of knowledge transfer. However, it is affected by some factors which I termed as host country, home country, diaspora and support factors.

As can be gleaned from Figure 6.1, the participants migrated to the host countries in different years and their knowledge transfer also took place in various years after

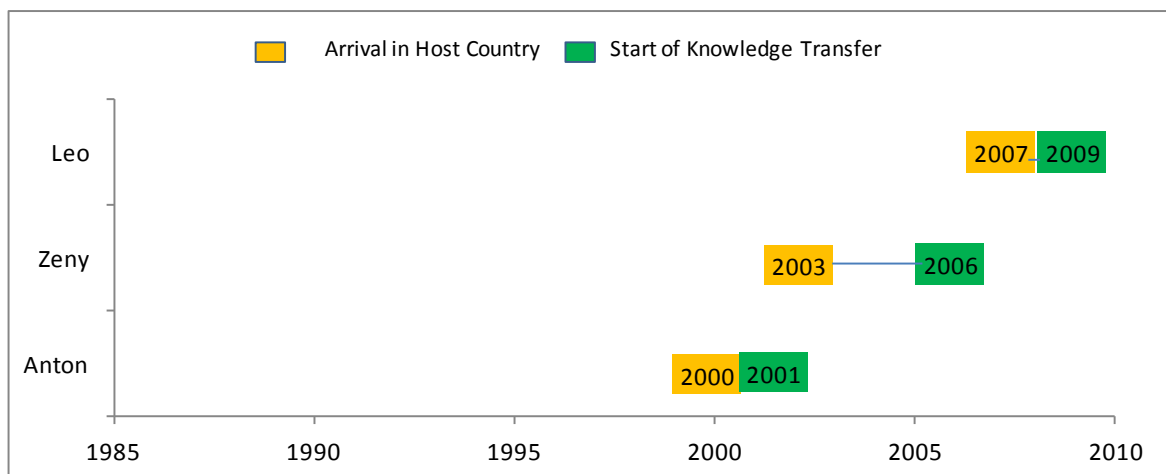
migration.¹¹ Why do some knowledge transfers occur early and why do others take more time? I analyse the effect of different factors in this section to know the answer.

Figure 6.1. Year of arrival in host country and start of S&T knowledge transfers (n=13)

Australia participants



New Zealand participants



¹¹ As the status of the knowledge transfers is not explicit in the graph, they would appear to have ceased. It is relevant to note that most of the participants have continued their involvement (Jenny, Mina, Nilo, Tery, Ted, Tem, Anton), a few have ceased their knowledge transfer activities but have expressed plans of being involved again (Vic, Nes), while the rest had not been explicit about their plan (Leo, Rey, Gary, Zeny).

The effect of diaspora capital and other host country factors

Diaspora capital is both a host country and a diaspora factor in the analytical framework. It is defined in the research as the totality of a migrant's knowledge and skills obtained through formal education and training and his or her economic resources arising from the application of such capital. The host country's acceptance of diaspora capital is posited to facilitate the onset and production of knowledge transfers by rendering stability to the diaspora, both in economic and professional terms. Such stability enhances their capability to transfer knowledge.

Apart from diaspora capital, I also analyse the effects of other host country factors such as migration policies, labour policies and the economic conditions in the host country. I propose that migration policies that facilitate the entry of highly skilled people also contribute to the onset and production of knowledge transfers to the home country. For this to take place, however, said policies also have to be complemented with labour policies that ease the utilisation of diaspora capital. Issues such as deskilling of migrant labour—or being relegated to lower status and lower paying jobs through the nonrecognition of foreign credentials and the bias for English proficiency, local experience and cultural know-how—hamper the migrants' ease of settlement in the host country and consequently, impede their involvement in knowledge transfer. However, both migration and labour policies are affected by the economic conditions in the host country. As Ongley and Pearson (1995) noted in their study of the post-1945 international migration experience of New Zealand, Australia and Canada, governments based their immigration targets on economic objectives and immigration intake also depended on local market situation (for example, during period of economic recession, immigration targets were normally reduced).

As Figure 6.1 shows, the knowledge transfer of the majority of the participants, around 60 percent of them, did not start immediately after their migration in the host country. This is evident in the longer lines that connect the year when they arrived in the host country and the year when they started to become involved in knowledge transfers to the home country. The longest onset of knowledge transfer of 33 years was seen in Ted, a restoration ecologist based at the University of Melbourne who migrated to Australia with his family during his teen years (a “1.5 generation migrant”). His delayed knowledge transfer may be attributed to his weaker professional ties with the Philippines. He did all

of his tertiary and postgraduate degrees in Australia and also was never employed in the Philippines.

The shortest onset of one year after migration was seen in Anton, a practicing psychologist and senior lecturer in a New Zealand university; Gary, a senior scientist in a government research organisation in Australia; and Nilo, a senior lecturer in an Australian university. I posit that the early production of their knowledge transfer was influenced by their professional and economic stability arising from the easy acceptance of their diaspora capital. To determine the validity of my premise, I tabulated the difference in years between the participants' arrival in the host country and the onset of their knowledge transfer (I call this "KT time lag") and the host country's acceptance of diaspora capital which I measured by looking at the participants' initial employment experiences, specifically whether or not they immediately had a job upon arrival and if it was a good fit to their level of education and qualification ("first job a good fit") or if they moved in between irrelevant jobs (Table 6.2).

As the fourth column of Table 6.2 shows, eight of the 13 participants (Vic, Tem, Gary, Jenny, Rey, Nilo, Anton, Leo) had a first job that was commensurate to their qualifications ("first job a good fit"). These participants did not have employment difficulties on their arrival in the host country. They applied prior to their arrival and got accepted and their having a job offer actually facilitated their migration into the host country. Vic, Nilo, Anton and Leo were hired as lecturers in universities; Tem, Gary and Rey were scientists in research organisations; Jenny was a medical doctor hired by a hospital. Looking at their KT time lag, five (Anton, Gary, Jenny, Nilo and Leo) of these eight participants had an early onset of knowledge transfer of between 1 and 3 years after their migration in the host country. They can be considered 'early beginners' given the rapid onset of knowledge transfer. This may be linked to their easy settlement in the host country because it was highly receptive to their capital as demonstrated by the offer of employment they received which was commensurate to their level of education and skills. Such receptiveness, in turn, may be attributed to the fact that most of them arrived in the 2000s, a period when both the Australian and New Zealand labour markets have become more open to highly skilled people from non-traditional source countries such as those in the Asian region.

Table 6.2. KT time lag in the S&T knowledge transfers and host country's acceptance of diaspora capital

Participant	Knowledge transfer	KT time lag ¹ (years)	Host country's acceptance of diaspora capital
<i>Australia</i>			
Vic	Teaching/lecturing under the Balik (Return) Scientist Program	12	With job offer before arrival; first job a good fit
Nes	Research and advocacy on the benefits of virgin coconut oil for treating diabetes	17	Studied for two (2) years
Tem	Trainer under the Balik (Return) Scientist Program and later, under the Volunteer for International Development Assistance (VIDA) programme	9	With job offer before arrival; first job a good fit
Tery	Promotion of agri-based livelihood technologies	10	Initially moved in between irrelevant jobs
Gary	Creation of a scientific diaspora network; expert advising	1	With job offer before arrival; first job a good fit
Ted	Lecturing and facilitating scientific linkages under the Balik (Return) Scientist Program	33	Not applicable ²
Jenny	Medical and surgical missions	3	With job offer before arrival; first job a good fit
Mina	Brokering of audiology expertise and equipment	15	Studied for several years (bachelor's and master's degrees)
Rey	Facilitating overseas internship opportunities	9	With job offer before arrival; first job a good fit
Nilo	Lecturing under the Balik (Return) Scientist Program; facilitating scientific linkages	1	With job offer before arrival; first job a good fit
<i>New Zealand</i>			
Anton	Lecturing	1	With job offer before arrival; first job a good fit
Zeny	Informal advising	3	Studied for two (2) years
Leo	Informal student mentoring	2	With job offer before arrival; first job a good fit

¹ The difference between the time (expressed in years) a participant arrived in the host country and the time (also expressed in years) he or she started to become involved in a knowledge transfer.

² Ted is a 1.5-generation migrant. He obtained all his tertiary qualifications in the host country.

Meanwhile, three of the eight participants may be considered as ‘late beginners’ relative to the five participants earlier mentioned. Two of them, Tem and Rey had a KT onset of nine years after migration. It can still be considered a rapid onset given that in the first 10 years in the host country, a migrant may still be in the process of settling in and establishing themselves professionally. If their knowledge transfer came later than the five participants, this was influenced by other factors, mainly personal ones. Tem, a food scientist in Australia who had his knowledge transfer activity through the Philippine government’s return scientist programme said that he only began contemplating returning to the Philippines and staying for longer periods when his parents became older. Part of his motivation, in fact, for applying to the return scientist programme and later on, to the VIDA (the Australian volunteering programme) was to be with his parents. Vic, a retired professor of an Australian university, had a first job that was relevant to his education and experience, but he had the longest KT time lag of 12 years among those who had a good first job. This participant said that the first 10 years of his life in Australia had been difficult because he had a growing family at that time. This indicates that the occurrence of knowledge transfer may also be influenced by the life stage of a migrant.

The much later onset of knowledge transfer for Nes, Tery and Mina, which ranged from 10 to 17 years, can be linked to the low acceptance of their diaspora capital by the host country as evidenced by their having to undertake further education or training. Nes, a medical doctor in Australia, studied for two years for retraining to be able to practice his profession. Mina, a nurse before she migrated to Australia, studied for several years for a bachelor’s and a master’s degree. Tery was initially employed in jobs that were unrelated to his education or training. For these ‘late beginners’, the host country was less accepting or less receptive of their knowledge and skills and this had an effect on their professional and economic stability which consequently affected the onset of their knowledge transfer to the home country.

The effect of social capital

I also explored the effect of social capital which is a diaspora factor in my analytical framework. I borrow Adler and Kwon’s (2002:17) definition of social capital which is “the goodwill that is engendered by the fabric of social relations and that can be mobilised to facilitate action.” In my analytical framework, I posited that social capital, as a resource similar to diaspora capital, stimulates the diaspora to act or specifically, to be involved in

knowledge transfer. I worked with the notion of social capital arising from social networks which are built on similar backgrounds, interests, ethnicity or culture. In studying the effect of social capital on the onset and production of knowledge transfers, I looked at how these social networks have influenced the diaspora to transfer knowledge to the home country.

An initial meeting among the participants and their collaborators in the Philippines prior to the knowledge transfers contributed to the formation of those transfers. In two cases, it was apparent that social networks, which were forged through personal ties and shared personal and professional interests, led to the formation of knowledge transfer later on. Sorenson (2005) notes that the building of social networks from personal ties, which cultivate trust, is promoted by similar backgrounds, interests and affiliations.

First is the case of Nilo, a senior lecturer in an Australian university who is collaborating with a Philippine university in its PhD ‘sandwich programme’. ‘Sandwich programme’ means that students pursue their research in the home country, and at the same time, gain international experience in a foreign university by conducting part of their research there for at least a year. Nilo and his collaborator in the Philippines, the Chairman of the Faculty of Chemistry of the Philippine university running the PhD sandwich programme (hereinafter called “Dindo”), met years ago in Japan when they were PhD students. They saw each other occasionally in social gatherings with fellow Filipinos in Japan. They met again several years later when Nilo applied to the university where Dindo was employed. Dindo was already the chairman of the faculty where Nilo applied and he was part of the panel that interviewed Nilo for the position of associate professor. During the interview, Nilo told Dindo that he also applied to a university in Australia. Dindo said that in case he gets accepted in the Australian university and chooses to work there, he may want to consider working with him in his department’s PhD sandwich programme. Nilo got the Australian job and shortly after he began his work in the Australian university, he talked to his department head about the PhD sandwich programme. His department head readily agreed for his unit to participate in the programme by hosting the students (i.e., providing laboratory and work space space and equipment for the students’ research) and allowing Nilo to take part as a co-supervisor. In 2008, Nilo’s involvement as co-advisor started and he and Dindo regularly communicated through email. The two PhD students they are supervising left in 2010 for

Australia to conduct their research in Nilo's university. As part of the collaboration between the two universities, Dindo also travelled to Australia in 2011 for a two-month research visit. The Australian university paid his airfare and provided accommodation.

The other case is that of Mina, executive director of a government department in Australia who, since 1994, has been helping to send audiology experts and hearing aids for deaf children in the Philippines. During the initial years, the recipients of these experts and equipment was only one school, but beginning 2001, Mina and her audiologist husband who had also been helping her in the project, decided to change their focus of not just helping a single school but the wider community. They began sending the hearing aids to the Philippine Society of Audiology (PSA) for use in their regular medical missions and also linked the Australia-based experts who are interested to share their skills in the Philippines through lectures and training to PSA for possible collaborative work. Mina and the President of the PSA (hereinafter called "Joe") were personal friends. They met in Melbourne in 1999 when Joe was doing his fellowship at the Royal Children's Hospital, University of Melbourne. They kept in touch even when he and his wife had returned to the Philippines two years later. In the course of their friendship, they also found out that their activities matched their interest of helping hearing-impaired Filipinos.

The effect of knowledge transfer intermediaries

Knowledge transfer intermediaries fall under support factors in the analytical framework. They comprise information and communication technologies (ICT) and transportation technologies, policies and programmes and organisations in the host and home countries that facilitate the production of knowledge transfer.

Knowledge intermediaries, particularly programmes and organisations, were visible in the majority of the knowledge transfers. They were present in 7 of the 13 reported transfers (Table 6.3). Four of these (by Vic, Tem, Ted and Nilo) were carried out through the Balik (Return) Scientist Program (BSP). As briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, the BSP is a programme of the Philippine government which aims at encouraging expatriate scientists to return to the Philippines to share their expertise. It was first implemented from 1975 to 1986 and was revived in 1983. Participants can choose between a short-term engagement of at least one month or a long-term engagement of at least two years. As a return

scientist, their activities, including airfare to return to the Philippines and back to their country of residence, is shouldered by the BSP.

The rest of the participants were not affiliated to or supported by a formal programme when they conducted their knowledge transfer activity. They did it out of their own initiative and also used personal funds. Nes conducted his own research and advocacy on promoting the use of virgin coconut oil for treating diabetes. Anton has been giving free lectures and workshops to different medical schools in Metro Manila each year when he visits the Philippines.

Table 6.3. KT time lag and presence of support factors

Participant	KT time lag¹ (years)	Support factors (knowledge transfer intermediaries)
<i>Australia</i>		
Vic	12	TOKTEN, Balik Scientist Program (BSP)
Nes	17	None
Tem	9	BSP and Volunteering for International Development Assistance (VIDA) programme
Tery	10	None
Gary	1	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
Ted	33	BSP
Jenny	3	Philippines-Australia Medical Association (PAMA), University of the Philippines-Philippine General Hospital, Rotary Club
Mina	15	None in the first seven years; beginning 2001 with Philippine Audiology Society (PSA)
Rey	9	CSIRO
Nilo	1	BSP, University of Tasmania
<i>New Zealand</i>		
Anton	0	None
Zeny	3	None
Leo	2	None

¹ The difference between the time (expressed in years) a participant arrived in the host country and the time (also expressed in years) he or she started to become involved in a knowledge transfer.

The rest were carried out with the support of programmes in the host country (VIDA) or run by international organisations that promote knowledge transfer (TOKTEN), professional associations (PAMA, PSA), civic organisations (Rotary Club), and academic institutions (University of the Philippines, University of Tasmania).

In analysing the effect of knowledge intermediaries on the production of knowledge transfer, I decided to drop Ted as the long onset of his knowledge transfer is not caused by the presence or absence of knowledge transfer but by his weaker professional ties with the Philippines being a 1.5 generation migrant. I also dropped Mina as initially, there was no knowledge intermediary involved in her knowledge transfer.

Looking at Table 6.3, Gary, Jenny and Nilo are early beginners of knowledge transfer, having a rapid start of one year to three years after migration. The remaining three—Vic, Tem and Rey—are ‘later beginners’, having a longer onset of nine to 12 years after migration. Although the variation in the onset of knowledge transfer between the early beginners and the later beginners is wide (1 and 12 years), more participants still have knowledge transfer that started less than 10 years after they migrated; this can still be considered a rapid onset of knowledge transfer. This could be the effect of knowledge intermediaries that facilitated these transfers through the provision of financial, administrative and institutional support. Additionally, although there were early beginners who did not have knowledge intermediaries (Anton, Zeny and Leo who are all from New Zealand), their knowledge transfers were mostly informal in nature. As such, the scope of these transfers was limited. For instance, the main recipients of Zeny’s knowledge transfer were her two friends, and for Leo, it was his thesis student in the Philippines. In contrast, those facilitated by knowledge intermediaries were larger in scope (lectures, trainings, medical missions) so the volume of the knowledge and skills transmitted was also higher, and expectedly, there were also more people who received these transfers compared to the ones that were conducted without knowledge intermediaries.

Additionally, I think that because resources and support in terms of facilitation provided by knowledge intermediaries, knowledge transfer also entailed less transaction cost for the expatriate professionals, which was an incentive for them. The presence of knowledge intermediaries also resulted in greater efficiency in conducting the knowledge transfer. For instance, coordination difficulties were experienced by Anton, the Auckland psychologist who gives free lectures and workshop, particularly on

sleep management, each year he visits the Philippines. His comment denotes a sense of frustration for wasted efforts.

“Occasionally I would get a few invites which just don’t go anywhere. People just leave everything open-ended. They would contact me while I’m here but once I’m there and I call them, they would say they’re interested but there’s nothing definite which can be quite annoying.”

Had he been supported by a programme that can coordinate his activities, this would not have occurred. During the interview, I asked him why he did not participate in the return scientist programme of the Philippine government. He said he is not aware that such a programme exists. His comment is actually consistent with the results of the study in which all of the return scientists were from Australia. This clearly denotes the lack of promotion of the programme in New Zealand, a shortcoming that the Philippine government should address as there are highly skilled Filipino migrants in New Zealand that are just waiting to be tapped.

The effect of diaspora motivation

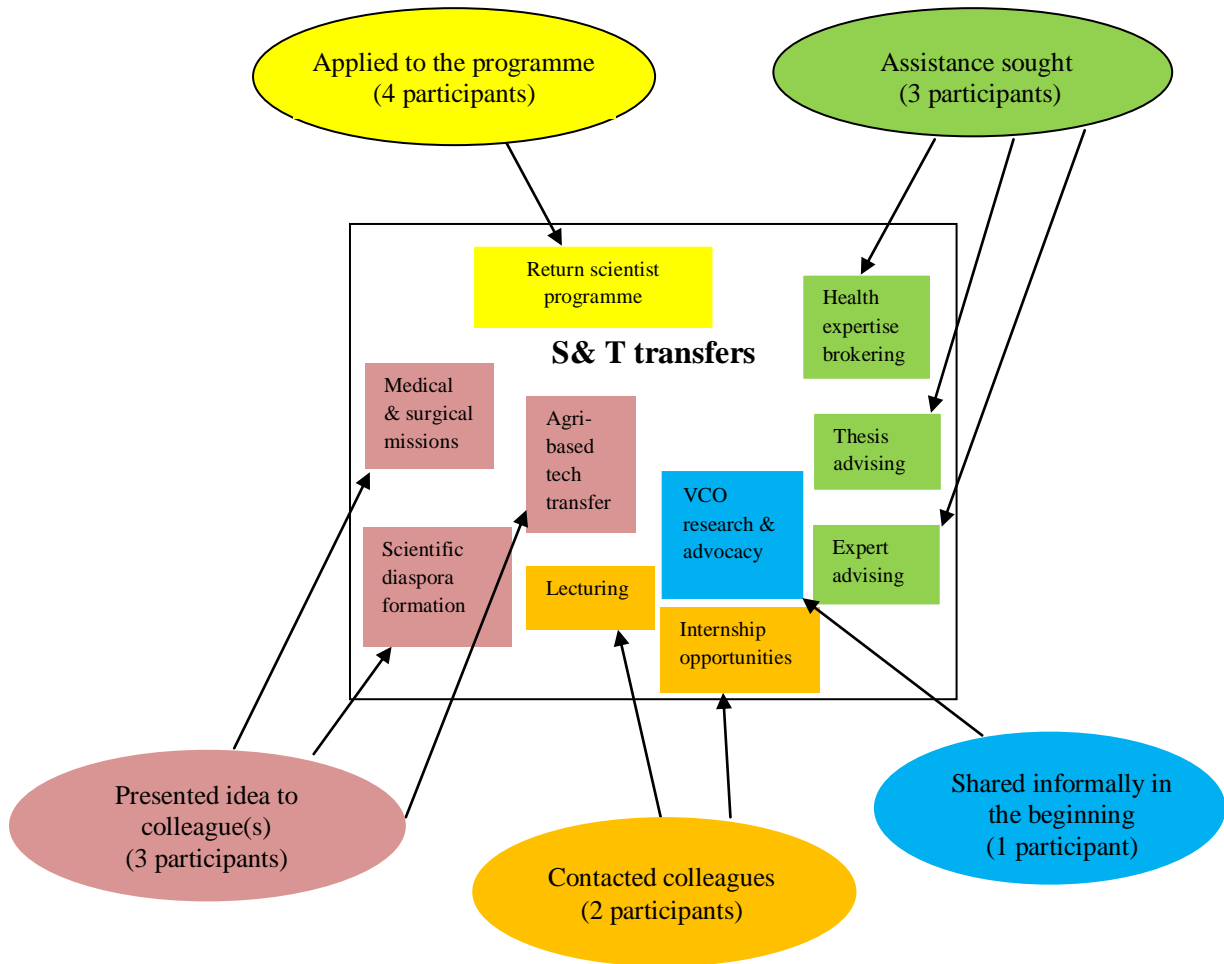
The S&T transfers started in different ways (Figure 6.2). In the majority of the cases, they were consciously started by the participants’ themselves by applying to a programme, presenting an idea, or contacting colleagues to share information. This suggests the deliberate desire of the participants to become involved.

It was only in three cases that the transfers were stimulated by other people seeking the participants’ assistance (Figure 6.2). Why did the participants deliberately initiate these transfers or decide to offer assistance when they were sought out?

An analysis of their motivations is telling. It shows that expatriate professionals have different reasons for engaging in knowledge transfer. The desire to help the Philippines was just one of those reasons, but it was nevertheless the strongest. In some, such desire was driven by a plain wish to help the home country. In others, it was motivated by a sense of responsibility or a feeling of debt or gratitude. The other reasons were not related to the Philippines but to the personal satisfaction they get from helping or sharing and to their professional orientation. Despite their different

motivations, what was apparent is the altruistic nature of their objectives. In many cases, it was selfless in character. Most of the reasons were also highly personal.

Figure 6.2. The different ways by which the S&T knowledge transfers started (n=13)



An example is Vic, an associate professor in New South Wales (NSW) who gave up his lucrative salary in Australia, took a long service leave from the university and went back to the Philippines to join the faculty of the state university where he earned his university degree. Eventually, he retired from his academic post in Australia and served the faculty in the Philippines for seven years despite the low salary there.

“I have never worked in the Philippines and I really wanted to give and return something to the country. After getting my bachelor’s degree in the Philippines, I immediately got a scholarship to study for a PhD in the US. After getting my PhD, I applied to several universities for a teaching position but did not get accepted. The offer in Australia came so I

grabbed it. I needed a job. I have a wife and my young kids. So we migrated to Sydney.”

Vic said his wife even offered to give him 30,000 pesos monthly, the equivalent of his salary in the Philippines, so he would stay in Australia after his retirement. He chose to stay in the Philippines, however. Eventually, he went back to Australia as his entire family lived there, but returned five years later for another return scientist engagement.

Another example is Nes, a medical doctor based in Australia who is specialising in diabetes management. His knowledge transfer was promoting virgin coconut oil (VCO) in the Philippines for treating diabetes. He was not supported by any programme in his activities. He used his own resources to conduct his research and share his findings. Asked of his reason for doing this, he said he wanted to make Filipinos aware they have something within their reach which is medicinally valuable. With coconut trees abundant in the Philippines, he was convinced that VCO was a resource which is readily accessible to Filipinos.

“I didn’t think that there was going to be any benefit to me. I think, in fact, I lost money because I paid for my own transport going there, back and forth. To me, I didn’t see that there is anything but what I wanted to happen was for them to actually realize that they have something in their hands and that they can actually potentially penetrate the world market with it, get the Filipinos known for, and it will actually benefit the entire world medically as well. So that’s primarily my purpose.

Meanwhile, the response of Ted, the restoration ecologist who migrated to Australia when he was 17, reflects the feeling of debt or gratitude that he has for his birth country (for more details, see Appendix 4). “I feel I should give and return something to the Philippines,” he said. This strong feeling of accountability may appear unusual in a 1.5-generation migrant who lived only for a short time in the Philippines. But after studying Ted’s profile, I find his strong desire to help the Philippines not surprising. His father is a staunch political activist in the Philippines. I posit that his strong emotional attachment to the Philippines was highly influenced by his father. Ted even used the savings from his return scientist engagement in 2009 to help a lecturer in a

Philippine university attend a highly specialised training in phytoremediation at the University of Melbourne where he is working. The same lecturer (referred to as “Remy” in the succeeding section) is his PhD advisee in her research in phytoremediation which is Ted’s area of expertise. He could have opted to keep the money for his personal use as it is his savings from his return scientist funds but decided to have it spent for the intellectual enrichment of his advisee.

“I don’t want to take the money back to Australia. I promised that all my *Balik Scientist* money has to be spent in the Philippines. So, I told her, we have enough money to purchase a plane ticket for you to come to this training which would benefit not only you but the Philippines in terms of the research that both you and I are doing because you can help to explain more to those in the Philippines the importance of what we do.”

Meanwhile, the feeling of debt or gratitude is apparent in the response of Jenny, a medical doctor in Australia who initiated her organisation’s medical missions to the Philippines. As described in Appendix 5, the medical missions are her way of showing her gratitude to the people who helped her become a doctor.

“I finished medicine with the help of a lot of people, my relatives, my grandfather, and other people who don’t know me, so I promised to serve the country. When I was studying for board exam I’ve been praying to God, I will only do this once if you let me pass I will work for the country at least three years and the days after that.”

The hard life Jenny witnessed in the Philippines, particularly while working in the rural areas, also served as an encouragement for her to organise medical missions for remote communities.

“Having worked there I have seen the difficulties of poor people, they cannot afford the medicines and then they literally die in front of me. And I was trying to help, with my idealism high to upgrade the quality of health services in the Philippines. So requesting this and that, fundraise for this and that, but what happened, nothing, no support from the government and because of corruption, we cannot get what we want. All the supplies you need come from the government so you need to buy from them but what they will give you are

not brand-new equipment so I said, this is enough. I have asked a lot of people already. So that made me think to just leave the country to put myself in a better capacity to serve. So my going away is not just self-serving but so I can serve others.”

“I know the hardship in the Philippines that is why I left, and because of this, I want to take part actively in making life better for other people. And then (gain) benefit for myself, mainly knowing that I am fulfilling the goal I set to myself; otherwise, I will feel guilty.”

Meanwhile, the reasons of other participants were not related to the Philippines but to the personal satisfaction they derived from the activity. An example is Mina, an executive director in a government department in Australia who has been helping to send hearing aids and audiology experts to the Philippines for the benefit of hearing-impaired people. She reported feeling satisfied seeing that her efforts (which she describes as ‘hand-on’ for it is a direct contact with the target of her assistance) are creating concrete gains on people’s lives.

“...It was personal satisfaction that I can see I was making a difference. People do this and that, they give money to a cause but you don’t see the end benefit. For me, it was very hands-on, *pupunta ka dun* (you go there), *tutulung ka* (you help), *nakikita mo talaga* (you can really see) there’s a direct tangible benefit to people.”

For some, their motivation is linked to or influenced by their professional orientation as scientists or academics and how they value knowledge sharing. This is evident in the response of Ted and Anton. According to Ted:

“Scientists like me have an obligation for science to flourish and this can be achieved by exchanging knowledge and collaborating. I am a scientist, I have a natural curiosity for learning. I love what I’m doing and I love sharing with others because you know, that is an attribute of being a good human being.”

Anton, the psychologist-senior lecturer in New Zealand who has been giving free lectures and workshops each year he visits the Philippines, had a similar comment.

But apart from his professional orientation, the values he imbibed in his university days as a state scholar was a motivating factor. He studied at the University of the Philippines (UP), the country's premiere and largest state-funded academic institution. UP students are called "Mga Iskolar ng Masa" (Scholars of the Masses) because their education is financed by money from taxpayers, many of whom come from lower income families. As such, service to the country is one of the values that are inculcated to UP students—an attitude that is also apparent in Anton's response.

"Definitely (it's) not money (that is driving me to give those lectures and workshops) because they don't pay. I think it's more of feeling of satisfaction. I like to teach. I like to share my knowledge. So when I come home, I make sure that I give my two cents' worth. I don't think my efforts are substantial, but you know I'm educated by UP, a state university. And I have an obligation to give back."

The motivation given by Tery, the ex-military who migrated to Australia, is also related to his professional training.

"I was trained in the military so my heart is in service. And because it was cut-off by some events which I didn't have any control, I still long for that thing, my heart is still in the Philippines. You can take the Filipino out of the Philippines but you cannot take the Philippines out of the Filipino. That's why whenever I see some technologies that may be applicable there, I ask myself what can I do."

Only two participants gave reasons that are different from the ones previously discussed. Their reasons were more self-seeking in nature. One of them is Nilo, a senior lecturer in analytical chemistry in an Australian university who also availed of the return scientist programme and is currently involved in mentoring Philippine students majoring in chemistry by acting as a co-advisee. He said he thinks these transfers are beneficial to him because the students can help him in his research and in terms of joint publications, which would assist in the advancement of his academic career.

The other case is Tem, a food scientist in Australia who availed of the return scientist programme of the Philippine government and Australia's volunteer programme. He returned to the Philippines through these programmes to be with his ageing parents.

In fact, after two short-term volunteer stints (one with the Australian programme and the other with the Philippine government), he applied for a longer return scientist engagement of two years to spend more time in the Philippines to be with them.

“I go back to the Philippines only because of them. Before I don’t miss them but lately, I began to miss them and be concerned about them because they’re old already. All of us are already living abroad and only my parents have remained in the Philippines.”

Usefulness of the S&T knowledge transfers: collaborators’ perspective

To gain a more thorough analysis of the knowledge transfers, I determined the usefulness of the transfers by interviewing the participants’ collaborators. By collaborators, I mean the individuals they shared their knowledge or skills with, who facilitated these transfers or who acted as their co-resource persons. As indicated in the research’s analytical framework in Chapter 3, the usefulness of the knowledge transfers is used as a measure to determine how it is facilitating the diaspora’s participation in the development of the home country (the second part of the research question). However, such usefulness as further explained in the framework, also depends on two home country factors: its willingness to receive and its ability to use and value knowledge. I based this assumption on the concept of absorptive capacity proposed by Cohen and Levinthal (1990) who described it as the ability of a firm to recognise the value of new information and assimilate it. Absorptive capacity is a concept well explored in the fields of organisational management and innovation studies particularly with regards to firm-level learning and knowledge transfers (see, for example: Cohen and Levinthal 1990; Lane and Lubatkin 1998; Lane et al. 2001; Tsai 2001; Bommess and Morawska 2005). While the present study does not deal specifically with knowledge flows across firms, I subscribe to the concept’s relevance in analysing the usefulness of diasporic knowledge transfers to the home country.

Five collaborators of S&T transfers agreed to be interviewed. A summary of their involvement is provided in Table 6.4, but it is also important to read the summaries of the knowledge transfer cases made available on Appendix 3 to have a good understanding of them. In addition to the five collaborators interviewed, an expert on S&T also gave me her insights on the usefulness of diasporic exchanges through email.

Table 6.4. The collaborators in the S&T knowledge transfers who participated in the study

Collaborator	Involvement in the knowledge transfer
Remy	She is the thesis advisee of Ted, the restoration ecologist and post-mining reclamation expert from Australia who participated twice in the Philippine government’s Balik (Return) Scientist Program (refer to Appendix 4 for details). Remy met Ted in the university which hosted his return scientist engagement and where she is a faculty member. Remy approached Ted and expressed her interest to do a PhD research on phytoremediation which is Ted’s expertise and asked him to be her external thesis adviser. In October 2009, Remy attended a specialised training on phytochemistry conducted at the University of Melbourne. Her training was financed by Ted through excess funds from his BSP engagement.
Julia	She is the Chief of the district hospital where Jenny and her group conducted a medical and surgical mission in 2009 (refer to Appendix 5 for details). Julia met Jenny only during the medical mission but they initially communicated through email when Jenny’s group was planning the activity. A native of the municipality of Gubat, Sorsogon, Julia has been Chief of Gubat District Hospital since 2004. When asked why she chose to remain in Gubat which is a remote municipality in southern Philippines, she expressed that she would like to serve her town folk. She described that the medical mission organised by Jenny was the largest ever conducted in Gubat as it covered not only Gubat but three other municipalities namely, Puerto Diaz, Bulusan and Barcelona.
Joe	He is the President of the Philippine Society of Audiology (PSA) to whom Mina has been sending hearing aids to since 2001. Details of their collaboration were described in the subsection “The effects of social capital”.
Dindo	He is the co-advisor of Nilo in the PhD ‘sandwich programme’ that Dindo’s department has been implementing with Nilo’s university in Australia. Details of their collaboration were described in the subsection “The effects of social capital”.
Lou	She heads the <i>Balik</i> (Return) Scientist Program (BSP) of the Department of Science and Technology (DOST) which was participated by Vic, Tem, Ted and Nilo. Lou, in this case, represents the Philippine government in these knowledge transfers through its implementation of the BSP. The BSP started in 1975 through Presidential Decree 819 for a period of five years. It was extended up to 1989 and revived and instituted under the DOST in 1993 through an executive order.
Additional interviewee: Linda (Non-collaborator)	She was the 19 th president of the University of the Philippines (UP), the national university, and UP’s first woman president. The UP System is composed of seven constituent universities (Diliman, Los Banos, Manila, Visayas, Mindanao, Baguio, and Open University) located in the 12 campuses throughout the Philippines. She held the position of UP President from February 2005 to February 2011.

All the Philippine collaborators interviewed expressed their willingness to receive the knowledge and skills shared by the New Zealand and Australian participants. They also confirmed the usefulness of the knowledge transfers. Their responses revealed the different ways by which the knowledge transfers had been useful, namely: mitigating the shortage of experts and scientific personnel, helping scientific research and development in the Philippines to flourish, and alleviating health services deficiency. I will discuss these ways as well as the relevant issues or constraints affecting the usefulness of the knowledge transfers.

(1) Mitigates the shortage of experts and scientific personnel

Remy described Ted a “blessing” for her. She has not only found a thesis adviser in Ted but also someone whom she can discuss her research interest with.

“My learning curve was sliding down before he became my thesis adviser. I needed someone to talk to, to consult. The microbiologists that I have been communicating with before, they have left the university, they’re all gone. They went abroad to work, do a PhD or a postdoc, it’s really like brain drain. I find myself alone. So, when he came and the department head told me he was offering his expertise, I was so happy. I immediately decided to go to him and ask if he could be my adviser.”

This example shows how the knowledge transfer of the diaspora mitigates the negative impacts of the increasing departure of experts and scientific personnel from the Philippines. As can be gleaned from the comment of Remy, it affects the conduct of basic research. Those who are left behind suffer from lack of expert advice to guide their work or from the lack of like-minded colleagues with whom they can discuss their work so ideas can flourish.

Through programmes such as the Balik (Return) Scientist Program (BSP) which facilitates the transfer of knowledge and skills of the expatriate diaspora to the Philippines, the negative impacts of skilled migration are abated. Lou, who heads the BSP, notes that as of 2008, there were a total of 320 scientists who came back to the Philippines and 195 who went back to their host countries after their stint while 114 are still in the Philippines and 14 are already deceased. However, she said that these figures are still below the desired target. Attracting expatriate scientists to go back to

the Philippines and share their skills remains a big challenge, she explained. The diaspora is a significant resource that could help the Philippines improve its S&T or R&D capacity particularly in the area of basic and applied research. But the tapping of the scientific diaspora, she said, is hampered by the limited support given to the BSP.

Lou expressed dismay over the low budget that is allocated to the BSP yearly. (She asked me not to disclose the actual figures.) This can be an indication that the Philippine government is not really serious in encouraging its expatriate scientists to participate in the development of their country of origin. Lou wished for more funding to provide better incentives to the returning expatriates.

“We pay for their airfare and give them some allowance, but these are little compared to what they are receiving (overseas) and if they leave their host countries, they would be giving up so much. One of our strengths is our human resources. We need our brilliant minds to come back and hone our local people. But we cannot simply tell them, “Come back.” We have to encourage them. We have to address the environment, we have to have resources, because these guys are also human beings, they have needs, and have families to raise so they have to give up certain things, especially our young brilliant scientists, we have to encourage them to return in their peak years. Look at China, they are offering their expatriates millions. They’re offering them free housing, they’re offering them big grants, schools for their children. I hope we can provide those as well. I just hope that we can get more support for the Balik Scientist Program.”

Another constraint of the programme, she said, is limited human resources. Although an important programme, she disclosed having only six personnel working with her, all of whom are contractual staff. Due to the nature of their employment, the continuity of the programme is also compromised by occasional staff turnover.

Other barriers relate to the attitude of professionals in the Philippines. Gary, a senior scientist in a government research institution in Australia, noticed in his visits to the Philippines to give lectures and meet with fellow scientists in his field noticed the lack of receptiveness of some professionals there to the idea of collaborating with expatriates. He

sensed this in his interactions with academics from a certain university. “They think that anything that happens to the Philippines is their thing.”

He related that he got mixed reactions when he opened the idea of discussing ways by which the engineering education in the Philippines can be improved. There was a group who welcomed the idea but others were simply not interested.

Gary also observed that there is no strong sense of cooperation between the government and professional networks in the Philippines. There is more competition than cooperation. This, he said, limits the gains for the Philippines.

“We tried to promote the setup used in Australia, and I guess it's the same setup in New Zealand, where government and industry work or the professional bodies work together and even across professional groups. But in the Philippines, they have their own tribes so it's difficult to implement it because of that culture. So, I guess for that reason, the benefits for the Philippines are less than for other places that are able to work together.”

(2) Helps scientific research and development (R&D) to flourish

Joe praised the contributions of the two audiologists from Australia who, since 2003, had been regularly attending the Philippine Society of Audiologists' annual conferences. These audiologists are Mina's husband and the latter's colleague. They have come to the Philippines several times to attend these conferences where they shared trends in audiology. “The presence of these experts from Australia and the knowledge and expertise they share is a big help to the industry to refine hearing aid equipment,” Joe said.

The cases of Ted and Nilo also show how the diaspora helps to boost scientific research in the Philippines through their contribution of expertise and fostering research linkages. The PhD sandwich programme participated in by Nilo and Dindo enables Philippine researchers to directly access scientific expertise abroad and be exposed to advanced research facilities while doing their experiments in Nilo's university in Australia. Dindo said the partnership between him and Nilo and their respective universities is an answer to the lack of ample research facilities in his own university, a problem also experienced in other academic institutions. Another benefit is that the students are able to receive close supervision from research scientists like Nilo who has extensive research experience.

“Scientists like Nilo have the resources in their university. They do a lot of research so they’re very well immerse into it unlike us or me, for instance, I have to teach here and I have to teach so many classes so I can’t concentrate in doing research. Research is a part of my work but not a big part so Lito has more experienced on that. So I’m confident that students will learn a lot from him.”

The benefit of access to scientific resources through the diaspora which facilitates research was also stressed by Linda, the additional participant in the Philippines that I interviewed. She was the past president of the University of the Philippines (UP) System, the country’s largest state-funded academic institution.

Similar to the comment of Lou, Linda took note of the lack of advanced research facilities even in a large university system like the UP. She noted that S&T is one area where expatriates can contribute tremendously and cited a number of examples on how this is becoming a reality in the case of UP.

“UP lacks some of the very sophisticated scientific equipment for our scientists to be able to do high level analysis in their own laboratories here in the Philippines. However, through our alumni who are with universities abroad, we have been able to utilize laboratories of our Filipino expatriates in their laboratories abroad, and together our scientists and the expatriates have made great strides in research.

There is also the Philippine American Academy of Scientists and Engineers (PAASE) based in the US who has helped us come up with a grand programme, the National Science Complex established in the University of the Philippines. They helped prepare and endorse the proposal to Malacañang and we got P1.7 Billion from (ex-) President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. The money went to infrastructure development and research.

UP is also putting up a Philippine Genome Center. We have received positive feedback from Filipino scientists who are working in genome centres abroad. Some have indicated their interest in spending part of their time in our Genome Center to help us set it up and to do research with our scientists.”

The S&T sector is an important sector for R&D which in turn generates knowledge and innovation which are both critical in the knowledge-based economy. The S&T sector carries out R&D in various disciplines in science and engineering through the support of academic institutions, national laboratories and industry.

In the opinion of Linda, the Philippine S&T sector is ready to absorb and utilise the knowledge and skills of its expatriate diaspora. An evidence of this, she said, is the government's continuing implementation of the return scientist programme. But even though the Philippines is ready, she is doubtful of the country's attractiveness to diaspora resources. Many factors, she said, are discouraging the professional diaspora to return to the Philippines.

“The Philippines has to do a lot about changing its image, most especially cleaning up the perception of how difficult it is to have things done here. The bureaucratic red tape problem must be looked into seriously. I am told that some hesitate to come back and help because government is not doing enough to make it easy, convenient, and attractive for them to come home and help. The peace and order situation has discouraged even Filipinos from coming home.

She identified the business and political environments as the main areas where the changes should take place yet. These are areas, she said, that are not completely within the control of the business and industry leaders as well as the scientists and academics.

“The Government has to work double time to bring back pride of place so Filipinos here and those living or working abroad will be attracted to do more for country. This is a very basic requirement.”

(3) Alleviates health services deficiency

The medical and surgical missions organised by Jenny were particularly useful in alleviating the inadequate health services experienced in many remote areas in the Philippines. The site of the 2009 mission, Gubat, still has limited health services with many poor residents who could hardly afford to avail of these services especially those requiring surgery. Gubat is located in Sorsogon province, one of six provinces comprising

Region V or Bicol which is one of the poorest regions in the country. Bicol has a poverty incidence rate of 45.1 as of 2009, the third highest in the country and higher than the national average of 26.5 (National Statistical Coordination Board 2011). Poverty incidence refers to the “proportion of the population whose annual per capita income is less than the per capita poverty threshold to the total number of individuals” (National Statistical Coordination Board 2005). In 2005, it has a malnutrition rate of 26.4 percent, which is slightly higher than the national average of 24.6 (National Economic Development Authority 2008).

Julia, chief of Gubat District Hospital where the medical mission in 2009 was held, only had positive words for the activity. She provided statistics on the number of people who benefited from the mission.

“It has helped the community a lot considering the economic status of the residents who could not really afford (medical care). A cataract extraction, for example, would cost about 20,000 pesos and the people don’t have that money to pay for that service. During the medical mission, 33 patients received cataract extraction. Then, 56 underwent surgery, minor ones like herniorrhaphy and major ones like hysterectomy. Circumcision patients numbered more than 200; dental patients also more than 200. The group was also able to conduct 895 medical consultations during the four-day mission.”

Julia added that Jenny and her group’s choice to conduct a medical mission which incorporates surgery was a smart move as it has a greater impact on people than a simple medical mission that only provides free consultations and medicines. Surgery is a medical procedure that poor people could hardly afford. Many remote areas also lack health facilities but if these are present in clinics and primary hospitals, they however lack the needed equipment to diagnose diseases and perform surgeries and are also inadequately staffed with health specialists. The medical mission conducted by Jenny and her group served as a temporary relief to these deficient health services in the rural areas. Julia described it as a highly comprehensive one which covered all health services. The organisers also made sure that all the necessary equipment to carry out these services were present. They brought all the needed equipment, even an anaesthesia machine.

The contribution of the diaspora in health services delivery is also exemplified in the case of Mina. During the interview, Joe lauded Mina and her husband's continuous efforts in gathering used hearing aids from Australia and donating these to the Philippines.

Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, knowledge transfer takes place in many different ways. The transfer of S&T knowledge may be in the form of actual visits to the Philippines to give lectures and training, medical and surgical missions, health expertise brokering, virtual thesis advising, scientific diaspora formation, transfer of agricultural technologies and facilitating foreign internship opportunities. These activities had served as the vehicle for the transfer of diverse knowledge and skills on S&T which include engineering, medicine, audiology, restoration ecology, food science, psychology, communication and information science, sonography, computer science, analytical chemistry, and agriculture.

The participants themselves started these knowledge transfers, indicating their deliberate desire to become involved. Different motives for knowledge transfer had been found with the desire to help the home country as just one of those reasons. Needless to say, it was the strongest. Such desire was found to be influenced by a feeling of debt or gratitude and a sense of accountability to the home country driven by their personal experiences. It is also possible that their behaviour is influenced by their strong cultural and emotional attachment which we saw in Chapter 5.

Another significant finding is the influence of the participants' professional training or orientation in their strong motivation to transfer knowledge. The comment of a scientist about the obligation of scientists like him "for science to flourish and this can be achieved by exchanging knowledge and collaborating" is insightful. This could explain why most of the knowledge transfers found in the study were in the S&T field. Eleven of the 13 participants who reported being involved in S&T knowledge transfers were educated in the S&T field. Five of them are scientists, two are university professors, and four are health practitioners.

The moral obligation to share medical and health knowledge for people's benefit was also clearly seen among the medical professionals in the sample. This 'medical humanitarianism' could have also been influenced by their professional training. How

do the participants in other professions differ? Does their professional orientation also have an influence on their behaviour for transferring knowledge and, if yes, in what way? We will see this in the succeeding chapters on the analysis of the business and trade (B&T) transfers in Chapter 7 and cultural and social (C&S) transfers in Chapter 8.

The knowledge transfers have been found to be not occurring immediately after migration. Acceptance of diaspora capital and presence of knowledge transfer intermediaries had the most significant effects on the production of knowledge transfers. Participants whose diaspora capital was easily accepted by the host country as demonstrated by their immediate employment in the labour market were involved in knowledge transfer sooner than those who experienced employment difficulties. Similarly, more participants had knowledge transfer intermediaries which facilitated these transfers through the provision of financial, administrative and institutional support. The intermediaries were also posited to have increased the scope, effectiveness and efficiency of the knowledge transfers. The effect of social networks, however, was found to be minimal in the production of S&T transfer. We will know in the next chapters if these factors had the same effect on the other types of transfers.

The collaborators' feedback indicates that the knowledge transfers had been useful in mitigating the shortage of experts and scientific personnel arising from skilled migration, in helping scientific R&D to flourish, and in alleviating health services deficiencies in the country. This provides evidence that migrants can be significant partners for development not just through economic remittances.

However, their continued involvement through knowledge transfer is hampered by issues within the home country such as those concerning law and order, the unstable business and political environment, and the perception of corruption in government. The government's limited support to its return scientist programme also limits the home country's potential to attract more scientists to return and share their skills. Some participants also observed the resistance and lack of openness of some home-country professionals to exchange information and collaborate. It would be interesting to know if the same issues emerged in the B&T and C&S transfers.

Chapter 7

Business and Trade (B&T) Knowledge Transfers

Introduction

The economic significance of business and trade (B&T) transfers cannot be understated in financing development. Conventionally, they are viewed as flows of financial capital into a country which create new businesses and produce jobs that help to improve the socioeconomic conditions of citizens. However, as the Indian and Chinese cases have shown, B&T transfers are not just monetary. They also include the transmission of business ideas, expertise and insights; business culture and ethics; cultural know-how; technical and language skills; technology; and contacts between the home and host countries. For instance, studies on the Chinese highly skilled diaspora by Zweig (2006) and Zweig et al. (2008) took note of the flows of business knowledge and skills along with financial investments by the diaspora into China through businesses and companies set up or financed by overseas Chinese businessmen. Home countries also benefit from the transfer of new technology, either through the new methods and procedures or the more technologically advanced equipment that is transferred in the process. Hu and Jaffe (2003) note that the industrialising economies of Korea and Taiwan gained from the more advanced economies of the United States and Japan through the tools and equipment they imported which embodied new technology. In turn, these tools and equipment encouraged the development of local technologies.

Studies of the Indian case show that the B&T transfers of the diaspora into the home country came in a variety of ways such as mentoring, brokering, provision of employment, formation of new business, and providing access to business contacts and new markets (Saxenian 2002b; Hunger 2004; Saxenian 2004; Pandey et al. 2006). For example, non-resident Indians acted as mentors by helping Indian programmers gain training and employment in US companies or by coaching Indian companies on US quality and performance (Pandey et al. 2006). The Indian diaspora acted as ‘middleman’ by linking human resources and US companies in need of software programming skills (Saxenian 2004). Through B&T transfers, India also gained access to both diaspora and

foreign capital through companies formed by non-resident Indians who went back to their home countries or who stayed in the US and established branches of their US companies (Hunger 2004).

In this chapter, we will see a few examples of B&T transfers that the highly skilled Filipino migrants in New Zealand and Australia were involved in. Due to the paucity of cases, this chapter is the shortest among the three chapters that analyse the three types of knowledge transfer. Nevertheless, these few examples contain useful insights that can further enrich the understanding of the knowledge transfer activities of the skilled diaspora.

Nature of B&T knowledge transfers

Only eight participants reported knowledge transfers related to business and trade. Five of them were from New Zealand and three were from Australia. They were involved in outsourcing, assisting foreign investors to set up a business in the home country, operating a business in the home country, providing assistance in exploring a market for Philippine products, forming a business council, and helping to explore business opportunities in the host country for a Philippine company and vice-versa (Appendix 6). Three of the participants from New Zealand were involved in the same activity of forming a business council which is intended to link the New Zealand and Philippine businesses.

The small sample size of B&T transfers found in the research is actually consistent with the low business presence of New Zealand and Australian companies in the Philippines, particularly in the case of New Zealand. As will be discussed later on, it is an issue that motivated the three participants in New Zealand to form a business council.

The website of the Philippine Economic Zone Authority (PEZA) lists 58 countries that have equity in the economic zones. PEZA is a Philippine government agency which is tasked to promote investments, extend assistance and grant incentives to investors in export-oriented manufacturing and service facilities located in the special economic zones. Incentives include corporate tax holidays for export-oriented enterprises. Japan has the most number of companies (583) in the special economic zones. These Japanese companies are mostly involved in the manufacture of semi-conductors. The United States also has a large presence with 232 corporations which include contact centres, semiconductors and software processing. New Zealand, on the other hand, has a very

weak presence. It only has one company. Australia has a stronger business presence with 39 corporations.

There are also a small number of New Zealand companies outside the special economic zones. In its ASEAN-FTA website, the New Zealand government reports there are companies involved in energy, infrastructure development, housing construction and banking (<http://www.asean.fta.govt.nz/philippines-other-connections/>). It further adds there is little Philippine investment in New Zealand, and in terms of tourism, the Philippines is not a preferred destination for New Zealanders.

The weak business presence of the two host countries in the Philippines could be a gap that the skilled diaspora could contribute to filling. At present, however, its involvement in B&T transfers is minimal. An analysis of these transfers found in the research could provide answers on why transfers of this type are less.

Onset and production of B&T knowledge transfers

I apply the same framework as used in the previous chapter in analysing the B&T knowledge transfers found in the research. I determine the effects of home country, host country, diaspora and support factors in the production of knowledge transfers.

The effect of diaspora capital and other host country factors, and the effect of social capital

Diaspora capital is both a host country and a diaspora factor in the analytical framework. It is defined in the research as the totality of a migrant's knowledge and skills obtained through formal education and training and his or her economic resources arising from the application of such capital. The host country's acceptance of diaspora capital is posited to facilitate the onset and production of knowledge transfers by rendering stability to the diaspora, both in economic and professional terms. Such stability enhances their capability to transfer knowledge. However, other host country factors such as migration policies, labour policies and the conditions in the host country are also posited to have an effect on the production of knowledge transfers. Migration policies that facilitate the entry of highly skilled people also contribute to the production of knowledge transfers but they have to be complemented with labour policies that are receptive of the diaspora's skills.

Meanwhile, I worked on the notion of social capital as a resource arising from social networks which are built on similar backgrounds, interests, ethnicity or culture. I posited that similar to diaspora capital, it can stimulate the diaspora to be involved in knowledge transfer.

I use a slightly different approach in analysing the effects of the different factors. I analyse the effect of diaspora capital, social capital and other host country factors at the same time. This is because I found the combined effects of diaspora capital and social capital in the production of B&T transfers. Compared to the S&T transfers in which social capital was not a significant factor but the host country's acceptance of diaspora capital was, I noticed that they worked in tandem in the production of the B&T transfers. This indicates that in the case of B&T transfers, the presence of diaspora capital alone is not enough to start them; social capital is also necessary. This was clearly seen in two cases.

One of them was Emer. As can be gleaned in Table 7.1, it was only 11 years after migration that he got involved in knowledge transfer. A careful analysis of his story (see Appendix 7) shows that his delayed involvement had been the result of the interconnected effects of his diaspora capital and social capital. Emer was a college undergraduate when he migrated to Australia to join his Australian wife. It was in Australia that he built his capital by acquiring the proper knowledge and skills to get into the business and events management field and by building his social and professional networks (social capital). This enhanced his capacity to start his own business events management company years later after migrating to Australia.

He built his network of contacts and clients for Scenovia by joining industry associations whereby he met owners and officers of different business companies belonging to those associations. At one point, he became the officer of a branch level of Meetings and Events Australia, the largest national association in Australia of individuals and businesses involved in the meetings and events industry. The industry has many stakeholders encompassing hotels, airlines, healthcare, and technology providers. Yearly, he attended conferences of fellow MEA members and that what how he was able to build his network of contacts and clients. When his business was just starting, he offered the association to build its website, <http://www.mea.org.au>, as a way of promoting Scenovia. Then, increasingly, his portfolio of clients and projects grew (see <http://www.eawards.com.au/experience.php>), which now include the Victorian Public

Health Awards, NECA Excellence Awards, and CountryLink Inland Tourism Awards, among others. This expansion of client base signifies the increasing acceptance of Emer's diaspora skills in the host country which consequently enabled him to sustain his diaporic links with the home country through his business.

The other case where the interconnected effects of diaspora capital and social capital were apparent was that of Fred. The automatic acceptance by the host country of his diaspora capital did not lead to an early onset of his knowledge transfer. He did not experience employment difficulties when he moved to New Zealand because he was an inter-company transferee from Mexico. However, it took him 25 years to get involved in a B&T transfer which was his leadership in the formation of the Philippines-New Zealand Business Council (Table 7.1). This indicates that he was not lacking of diaspora capital (knowledge and skills or financial capital) to start a knowledge transfer. His delayed involvement can be attributed to his inadequacy of social capital in his early years in New Zealand or the absence of relevant networks of people who shared his interest and vision of promoting trade between the two countries. In turn, it can also be linked to the conditions of the host country. Fred was one of the early settlers in New Zealand. When he and his family arrived 25 years ago, there were only a handful of Filipino families in Auckland. He came at a time when there were also few skilled Filipinos in New Zealand due to restrictive immigration policies. As related in Chapter 2, until the 1990s, most of the immigrants were young women who came as spouses or fiancés of Kiwi men (Te Ara: The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand n.d.). Radical changes in immigration took place only in the late 1980s with the implementation of the Immigration Act 1987 which was followed by the introduction of a points system in 1991. They paved the way for the entry of skilled people from non-traditional source countries like the Philippines.

The colleagues that helped Fred establish the council—Adan and Paul—arrived in New Zealand much later. Adan and Paul came 18 and 22 years after him, respectively. They arrived in the 2000s, a period when the effects of the changes in the immigration policies were beginning to be felt, notably the significant rise of skilled migration particularly from the Asian region. This shows how immigration policies in the host country could actually affect the production of knowledge transfer. Adan and Paul are both highly skilled. Adan is a business development manager. When he migrated to New Zealand, he immediately found a job in Amexco NZ. Meanwhile, Paul is a lawyer. He first studied for

a year for a Certificate of Proficiency course at the University of Auckland and then took the New Zealand Law and Practice Examination. Thereafter, he began his law practice in New Zealand.

Fred, Adan and Paul forged their ties initially through their familiarity with each other as personal friends moving around the same circle of Filipino migrants in Auckland. The business council was an idea informally presented by Fred to Adan and Paul and some Filipinos in one of their get-togethers. As the most senior in the group in terms of length of stay in New Zealand and the most directly involved in business in New Zealand, Fred saw from his business dealings with Kiwi business people their lack of knowledge about business opportunities in the Philippines. Usually, when they found out that he was originally from the Philippines, they would ask him questions relating to news about the Philippines which they saw or heard. They seldom asked him about business or trade-related matters concerning the Philippines. He added that whenever he would tell them of business prospects, they usually appeared unaware of what he was talking about although they showed interest to know more. Adan and Paul immediately welcomed the idea of forming a business council when Fred presented it.

Their collaborator in the Philippines—the resource person of the investment seminar in 2009 that they organised for Kiwi business people—was a former boss of Paul in one of his jobs in the Philippines. The said collaborator is the director-general of PEZA, which is a highly appropriate agency for the business council to link up with, in terms of advancing its goal of promoting trade between Philippines and New Zealand. The business council's connection with the PEZA director, through Paul, is advantageous to companies wanting to get into business in the Philippines. It increases the probability of more successful business and trade transfers into the home country.

Another source of social capital which was lacking in Fred's early years in New Zealand is the Philippine Consulate in Auckland which was set up only in 2008. In my interviews with the three New Zealand participants who set up the council, all of them mentioned that the Honorary Consul-General, who assumed the post in 2009, had played a significant role in the formation of the council and in carrying out its activities. Being a business person herself, the Consul believed in the merits of having a business council that links the host and home countries. She was very supportive of the business council and even helped the officers, through the Consulate, carry out its activities by providing backup

support and acting as an intermediary between the business council and the business community in Auckland.

In the other examples, only the host country's acceptance of diaspora capital appeared to have a direct influence on the production of B&T transfers. This again confirms the significant effect of this factor on the production of knowledge transfers. Joel and Jaime were the two early beginners with onset of 0 to 3 years (Table 7.1). Both had a first job in the host country that was commensurate to their qualification, which indicates the host country had an immediate acceptance of their diaspora capital. Jaime is an Australian government staff who has a business in the Philippines and who travels three to four times a year to visit his business. He earned his master's degree in an Australian university and also worked for the Australian Embassy in the Philippines prior to his migration to Australia. These qualifications made it easy for him to get accepted into the Australian labour market.

Meanwhile, Joel is a marketing manager in Auckland who helped his brother-in-law in the Philippines to market his canned tuna products in New Zealand and to find a business his brother-in-law can invest in. He easily found a job that was commensurate to his education and skills after migrating to New Zealand.

A late beginner with onset of 14 years, Dan had two jobs not related to his level of education and skills after migration. He related that he had a difficult time settling in because of this. His third job as a purchasing manager for Telstra, Australia, was finally a good fit. While being in that job, he got involved in a B&T transfer of helping two foreign investors he met at work to put up a printer ribbon company in the Philippines. The late onset of his B&T transfer may be attributed to the fact that he had not been able to achieve immediate economic and professional stability in the host country.

Table 7.1. B&T knowledge transfers found in the research, KT time lag, acceptance of diaspora capital by the host country and presence of KT intermediaries

Participant	Knowledge transfer (KT)	KT time lag¹ (years)	Host country's acceptance of diaspora capital	Presence of KT intermediaries
<i>Australia</i>				
Emer	Outsourcing technical operation in the Philippines	11	Initially moved in between jobs	None
Dan	Assisting foreign investors to set up a business in the Philippines	14	Had two jobs before the right one came	Yes, Philippine Consulate in Sydney and Board of Investments in the Philippines
Jaime	Operating a business in the Philippines	0	First job a good fit	None
<i>New Zealand</i>				
Joel	Assistance in exploring market for Philippine products and linking venture capital to New Zealand	3	First job a good fit	None
Fred	Formation of Philippines-New Zealand Business Council	25	Inter-company transferee	Yes, Philippine Consulate in Auckland
Adan	Formation of Philippines-New Zealand Business Council	7	First job a good fit	Yes, Philippine Consulate in Auckland
Paul	Formation of Philippines-New Zealand Business Council	3	Studied for a year then got a first job that was a good fit	Yes, Philippine Consulate in Auckland
Sammy	Exploring business opportunities in New Zealand for a Philippine company and vice-versa	13	Had one unrelated job after migration	None

¹ The difference between the time (expressed in years a participant arrived in the host country and the time (also expressed in years) he or she started to become involved in a knowledge transfer.

The effect of knowledge intermediaries

The fifth column in Table 7.1 shows that knowledge intermediaries are present in only two B&T transfers. The first case is that of Dan who assisted two foreign investors to set up a printer ribbon company in the Philippines. His intermediaries were the Philippine Consulate in Sydney which provided advice on who to contact in the Philippines for support, and the Board of Investments in the Philippines who assisted the investors in setting up the business.

The second case is that of Fred, Adan and Paul who formed the Philippines-New Zealand Business Council. Their intermediary was the Philippine Consulate in Auckland particularly the Consul-General who, as previously mentioned, was highly supportive of the Council's goal and activities.

In both cases, the Philippine government through their consular offices abroad and their investment office in the home country served as knowledge intermediaries. This demonstrates the crucial role that the home country government can play in enabling the formation of knowledge transfers, specifically those on business and trade which, in turn, facilitates the flows of financial capital, knowledge, skills and technology from the host country to the home country. The two host countries' low business presence in the Philippines and the paucity of B&T transfers found in the study is an indication that greater effort is needed from the home country government to promote the Philippines as a favourable place for investments. That only two B&T transfers were found to be facilitated by intermediaries actually leaves some doubt on the effectiveness of the Philippines' consular and/or trade offices in the host countries to promote trade and investments.

The effect of diaspora motivation

Only three of the eight participants (Dan, Fred and Paul) mentioned helping the home country as their main reason for being involved in knowledge transfer. Two others (Emer and Adan) cited it but they had other reasons as well which are orientated toward some personal motives. The rest of the participants did not mention the home country. Basically, their reasons for being engaged in knowledge transfer were related to the fulfilment of a personal objective which is characteristically self-gain in nature. These

contrast with the S&T transfers where the desire to help the home country emerged as the strongest reason.

These findings seem to indicate that in knowledge transfers of the economic type, people tend to think differently. Personal incentives appear to have a stronger influence on their motivation. This could also explain why only a few B&T transfers to the home country were found in the study.

Dan said he wanted to create jobs for Filipinos so he assisted the two foreign investors whom he met at work to establish a printer ribbon company in the Philippines. Meanwhile, Fred who is one of the three prime movers of the Philippines-New Zealand Business Council expressed deep concern for the lack of exposure of the Philippines to New Zealand companies. According to him, this explains why New Zealand invests very little in the Philippines and why the creation of a business council that could link Philippines and New Zealand businesses is necessary. He hopes the Council, once it has fully developed, can do the role of a trade attaché for New Zealand since the Philippines has one in Australia but not in New Zealand.

“I don’t believe the NZ companies already have a full appreciation of the business in the Philippines. Why? It’s probably because we don’t market the Philippines well. I’d like to be able to bring the Philippines into the NZ front, to have an appreciation of what Philippines is all about and vice-versa. I think as a market, probably, the Philippines is a better market for NZ businesses. It’s an English-speaking country. I just felt that there are many businesses in NZ that are possible for the Philippines, not only call centers. I want the Philippines to compete in manufacturing. Some NZ businesses can source their supplies from the Philippines rather than from China. Unless you bring the element of the country into their space, they will not be aware of the opportunities.”

Paul, the lawyer who also helped form the Council, said he feels responsible for the Philippines. “The Council was not even a business endeavour because there are no returns. We’re not earning from it, it’s all voluntary.”

These altruistic motives clearly differ from what the others mentioned. Sammy, an IT systems manager in Auckland who explored two business opportunities in the Philippines,

said he “just wanted to make money”. Similarly, the motive of Jaime, a government staff member in Australia, who has a bag business in the Philippines and travels three to four times each year to oversee it, was also to earn money. However, his business also serves as his financial remittance to his parents, which, he said, is his way of fulfilling his obligation to them:

“It’s a business so my reason is really financial. I mean, I have the capital that I can earn here with my work to bring it to the country and exchange it to 40 pesos to a dollar which makes a lot of difference so capital wise it is easier for me to invest. Then, it is good to know my family will have some money there to use so I don’t have to worry about sending them. That is another thing.”

At the outset, his motivation appeared to be a benevolent act which is focused toward his immediate family, but if something is given out of obligation and not voluntarily, can it still be considered altruistic? Doing something to fulfil an obligation can also be taken as an act to achieve a personal goal of freeing oneself of guilt for not fulfilling an obligation. Particularly within the Filipino culture, respect and love for parents are expected of the children.

Emer, owner of a business events management company based in Victoria, Australia, had mixed motives of helping the home country and fulfilling a personal objective. However, a careful scrutiny of his comment shows that he was primarily after the personal incentives he would obtain from outsourcing. He made the decision to farm out his company’s technical operations to the Philippines primarily for a pragmatic reason which is to take advantage of the cheap but highly skilled workers in the Philippines. However, he also believed that by doing that, he can also provide employment to Filipinos:

“Well, for me it is really a sound business decision because it is cheaper. But aside from that, I know how the Filipinos work. I trust they will deliver. Their skill set is very high. Cost and work discipline are what I considered the most. And I also know that by employing Filipinos, I can also help the Philippines by helping to support their family and in sending their children to school.”

His reason is a rational, cost-sensitive action which is actually expected of any business person who will normally choose a course of action that maximises his personal advantage. However, his action is also influenced by his ties with the home country. He mentioned the word ‘trust’, which is a strong word. Trust is an attitude that a person feels for another whom he or she considers trustworthy. Emer’s trust for Filipino workers emanates from his knowledge of the Philippines, its culture and people because of prior experience. Trust is an emotion that renders the trustor vulnerable as he may not have all the information about the trustee but because he trusts the person, he is willing to take the risk. This is seen in Emer. As the detailed account of his story shows (Appendix 7), he recruited his staff only through the Internet, relying on the resumes and samples of work they submitted and recommendations from referees. The job interviews he had with them were all done through phone or Skype. He met only two or three of them and only once or twice when he visited the Philippines. He managed their work through email or Skype. He mentioned being satisfied by their performance and this shows that the trust he has for them is reciprocated, which further strengthens that trust as time passes.

Rational choice models omit noneconomic influences on rational choice decisions. Citing Elster (1985:379), Archer and Tritter (2000:93-94) note that emotions are excluded by rational choice theorists because “when they are involved in actions, they tend to overwhelm the rational mental processes...Irrational behaviour, controlled by faith and emotion, is seen as interfering with rational decision making” (Archer and Tritter 2000:94). The case of Emer shows, however, that rational choices are not just purely governed by economic goals of achieving efficiency. It may be influenced by sentiments stimulated by social and cultural variables, which combines self-seeking objectives with benevolent ones.

Adan, the business development manager who assisted Fred and Paul in forming the Philippines-New Zealand Business Council, also had personal incentives in mind similar to Emer. “Yes, you are able to help by linking the Philippines to New Zealand companies but you are helping yourself also.” Through the Council, he said he becomes aware of business opportunities that he can engage in because he is privy to information about companies both in the Philippines and New Zealand that are interested in getting into business. He also has aspirations to run for public office in the future, similar to Melissa Lee, a Korean migrant who is now a New

Zealand member of parliament under the National Party list. Becoming active in the community through the Council would make him known, he said.

Based on these findings, the motivations of the members of the skilled diaspora to engage in knowledge transfer seem to differ depending on the sector where they are working or the nature of their profession. In the previous chapter, we saw the influence of professional orientation on the nature of the motivation of scientists or academics. They made the decision to transfer knowledge not just to help the home country but because knowledge sharing and collaboration is considered important in their profession for the advancement of science. With people who are into business and trade, however, or who are involved in knowledge transfer of the economic type, they appear to rationalise differently. They are more of personal utility maximisers. Their behaviour depends more on the personal incentives that they would obtain from the activity, and social and cultural factors do not strongly influence their actions. This could be attributed to the greater risks involved in business and trade activities due to the greater capital required to produce them. As seen in the previous section, diaspora capital alone or one's knowledge and skills, combined with financial resources, may not be sufficient to start certain types of business and trade activities such as for-profit ones (e.g., a business); social and professional networks (social capital) are also necessary.

Usefulness of the B&T knowledge transfers

I also determined the usefulness of the B&T transfers for the home country from the point of view of the participants' collaborators in these transfers. By collaborators, I mean the individuals who the participants shared their knowledge or skills with, who facilitated these transfers or who acted as their co-resource persons. As I have indicated in Chapter 3 where I discussed my analytical framework for analysing the viability of knowledge transfer as a development strategy, the usefulness of the transfers is used as a measure to determine how it is facilitating the diaspora's participation in the development of the home country.

Unfortunately, for this type of transfer, I was only able to get one interview. It was for the case of Fred, Adan and Paul, the Auckland migrants who formed the Philippines-New Zealand Business Council. Dan and Sammy could no longer track down their collaborators. The collaborator of Joel, the brother-in-law whom he helped find a business

in New Zealand to invest in, declined the interview because he did not want to share details about his business. The employees in the Philippines of Emer, owner of a business events management company, also refused to be interviewed but did not state their reason.

Although the data that I gathered from this section is limited, the available information still provides valuable information on the usefulness of B&T transfers. The business council is a unique type of knowledge transfer because while it is not a direct knowledge transfer to the home country, it can have significant impacts. By linking the host and home country together through the council, a robust exchange of knowledge between the two countries and the people concerned is also promoted. For example, the business council provides business people in New Zealand with relevant information about the business and economic climate in the Philippines, its human resources and culture. In turn, they share with the council their perceptions and views about the Philippines and their business and investment plans.

The collaborator of Fred, Adan and Paul who I interviewed was actually the representative of his boss who was really the one involved in the business council as resource person in an investment seminar held for Kiwi business people in September 2009. I will refer to him in this research as Emer. His boss is the PEZA director-general who could not be interviewed as she was on a business trip. She asked to be represented by Emer who works as PEZA's Promotion and Marketing Manager. He is also one of the senior officers of PEZA and is knowledgeable of its activities, including the business travels of the director-general, as he often arranges the itinerary for her and at times, also joins her on these trips. Although he did not go with her in September 2009 to New Zealand, he was the one who arranged this mission for her and he was in close correspondence with Paul in terms of the objectives and itinerary of the trip. Paul was the lawyer in Auckland who was also a former staff of the PEZA director general but in another office.

The investment seminar was the second organised by the business council. The first was held a year before. At that time, the business council was not yet formally registered but it already had a set of officers which included Fred, Adan and Paul who spearheaded the activity. The attendees, around 35, were all New Zealand business people. The council members did not incur any expense because the attendees paid for their own food. The resource speakers—who were all colleagues of Paul—were from the Philippines. One of them was a former lawyer and a partner of Paul in his law office in the Philippines; the

other was a business person. Both of them were heavily involved in corporate law particularly in providing support to multinational companies who would like to invest in the Philippines. Paul said that after the seminar, the council received eight queries from some attendees who expressed their interest to explore investment opportunities in the Philippines. The council consequently referred them to PEZA. The queries are an indication of the effectiveness of the seminar in eliciting the Kiwi business people's awareness of the business opportunities in the Philippines.

In the second seminar where the boss of Emer served as resource person, around 40 Kiwi business people came. The participation of the PEZA director-general was also voluntary. Her airfare was fully paid by her agency and she did not receive any honorarium from the business council. According to Emer, the PEZA director-general was highly supportive of the business council because she saw it as an instrument that could increase investments from New Zealand into the Philippines. As a knowledge transfer to the Philippines in an indirect way, the director-general considers the business council as a useful undertaking that would benefit the Philippines.

In the second seminar, the PEZA director-general discussed three projects that business people from New Zealand could engage in. One is boat building. Boat manufacturers can take advantage of cheap materials from China, which is close to the Philippines, and the latter's human resources. If operations are conducted in a special economic zone, companies can also enjoy attractive fiscal incentives such as tax holidays and duty free importation of materials. The second project is on power utilities. New Zealand has developed an intelligent power metering system which the director-general would like to recommend for companies located in special economic zones. The third project relates to the planting of New Zealand pines in the Philippines. The Philippines has extensive mountain ranges suitable as plantation areas for New Zealand pines which are perfect as raw material in making furniture. According to Paul, the director-general received inquiries from some Kiwi business people regarding these projects. However, because 2010 was an election year for the Philippines, they were somewhat hesitant to proceed because they were not sure whether the director-general would be re-appointed after the election. Paul said the business people liked the director-general and they feel confident doing business in the Philippines if she is in office. Fortunately, the director-general was reappointed by the new administration after the 2010 election in May.

The PEZA director-general also briefed the attendees about the merits of doing business in the Philippines particularly in the special economic zones. One is the wide array of industries or sectors covered in these areas. As detailed in the PEZA website, the country currently has 240 special economic zones located in different parts of the Philippines. They include information technology parks/centres (149), manufacturing economic zones (64), agro-industrial economic zones (13), tourism economic zones (12) and medical tourism parks/centres (2). Another advantage the director-general mentioned includes incentives such as 100 percent exemption from corporate income tax of up to four years and tax and duty free importation of raw materials, capital equipment, machinery and spare parts. Most of these special economic zones are also equipped with high-quality infrastructure services and physical facilities and amenities such as high-speed telecommunication and Internet services, business support services and networked office buildings, among others. The Philippines' advantage in terms of the quality of its workforce was also highlighted by the director-general in the seminar. Characteristics such as English language proficiency, discipline and hardwork, and a fast learning curve were given emphasis.

Emer shared the director-general's views on the benefits from the business council in raising the awareness of New Zealand business people on the business potential of the Philippines. He said that in terms of companies located in the PEZA-managed special economic zones or more commonly known as industrial parks, the value of investment of companies from New Zealand in the Philippines is very small relative to the total amount of foreign investments in the country. From 1995 to 2010, he said the Philippines received a total of 1.08 trillion pesos in foreign investments in these special economic zones. Out of this, investments from New Zealand companies only amounted to 17 million pesos. He attributes this to the lack of awareness by New Zealand companies of the benefits of investing in the Philippines.

“PEZA does not know how to penetrate New Zealand because we (the Philippine government) do not have a trade attaché there, only in Australia. *Hindi namin alam ang size ng New Zealand market* (We do not know the size of the New Zealand market). We have long wanted to break into New Zealand but could not find a way to do it. That is why when my boss learned about the

business council, she got really excited. She said it could be the chance that we are waiting for.

Serving as additional data for this section are some insights shared with me by Bernie, a well-known business and trade specialist. He is a professor of economics at the University of the Philippines, the country's most prestigious and largest state-funded educational institution. Although he was not directly involved in the research as a collaborator of any of the participants involved in the B&T transfers, his views on the role that the Philippines' expatriate professionals can play in the business and trade sector are worth mentioning.

According to Bernie, the skilled diaspora's expertise is relevant in alleviating the skills shortage in the country. His view was actually consistent with findings in the previous chapter on S&T transfers wherein the scientists and academics who had knowledge transfers were helpful in mitigating the shortage of experts and scientific personnel as a result of the increasing high-skilled migration. This further confirms the potential advantage for the Philippines in this aspect if the country can successfully tap its expatriate professionals.

“Filipino expat professionals can help address present shortages in management and technical skills in mining, tourism, agribusiness and food manufacturing. These are among the sectors that are growing more rapidly but do not have enough management and technical skills since they were relatively stagnant in the past, which led many Filipinos in these areas to look abroad for employment opportunities. For example, in tourism, there are many more hotels of different sizes that are put up but there is a dearth of experienced managers and other hotel workers.”

Similarly, he had the same opinion as Linda, the S&T expert that I interviewed, regarding the readiness of the Philippines to absorb its returning skilled diaspora.

“The Philippines is definitely ready to absorb its returning diaspora. Under the new leadership of President Benigno Aquino III, the Philippine economy is expected to grow at 7 to 9 percent annually, following the footsteps of countries like India and Vietnam. In addition to the sectors mentioned

above, the other growth industries are real estate, transport, telecom, water, energy, logistics, education, and health services.

Yet, as with Linda's views, he felt the skilled diaspora is discouraged to return to the Philippines, share their skills, invest or promote the country as a favourable place for business and investments. He attributed this to corruption, inefficient infrastructures, red tape, and inconsistency in investment policies. Foreign scholars such as Hunger (2004) share the same views. Hunger noted that countries such as Mexico and the Philippines which are strongly affected by the negative effects of brain drain can significantly benefit from the effects of brain gain by encouraging their emigrated elites to return. However, this potential is constrained by their low attractiveness to investments. Hunger (2004) said it is necessary to improve the safety of investments—politically and economically—and at the same time, implement policies that encourage the skilled diaspora to return home. This once more confirms that in terms of the country's attractiveness to diaspora resources, it remains low. It is actually reflected in the small number of B&T transfers found in the study.

Conclusion

The significance of home country conditions for the production of knowledge transfers, particularly those related to business and trade, is suggested in this chapter. Favourable conditions are necessary, particularly for this type of transfer due to its distinct nature. As we have seen in the motivation of people involved in B&T transfers especially for-profit ones, they are sensitive to personal incentives. We can attribute this to the sector where they are working in which utility maximisation is of paramount importance due to the greater capital necessary to get into B&T types of activities and thus, there are greater risks involved. Business and trade require more capital—economic, social and knowledge and skills—to start and sustain, which suggests greater risks compared to S&T transfers which can take place even virtually through information technologies. We have clearly seen this peculiar nature of B&T transfers in some of the cases wherein diaspora capital alone or one's knowledge and skills, and financial resources, was not sufficient; social capital or social and professional networks were necessary to get into B&T or related activities.

The greater sensitivity of B&T transfers to home country conditions can explain the few cases found in the study, which is also consistent with the low business presence of New Zealand and Australia companies in the Philippines. This suggests that unless conditions in the home country improve, the Philippines would really find it difficult to attract knowledge, as well as financial, transfers and investments—both from the diaspora and the non-diaspora alike. These ‘conditions’ were elaborated a bit in the present chapter but were also mentioned in the previous one. They refer to governance issues such as corruption and red tape in government, inefficient infrastructures, unstable political conditions and public order and security. S&T transfers also appear to be sensitive to home country conditions but not as much as B&T transfers. Again, this can be attributed to the greater capital involved in getting into business and trade. Another reason may be the presence of more intermediaries that support S&T transfers, which provide administrative, institutional and financial support and thus lower the transaction cost and risks for the participants.

Chapter 8

Cultural and Social (C&S) Knowledge Transfers

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the types of knowledge transfers that are less covered in published literature. I call them cultural and social transfers and I characterise them as ‘soft knowledge’ to distinguish them from ‘hard knowledge’, the term that can be used to characterise the scientific, technological and economic types which I discussed in the previous chapters. I consciously deviated from using the popular typologies of knowledge available in the literature such as Polanyi’s tacit vs. explicit knowledge (Polanyi 1966) or Blackler’s embrained, embedded, embodied, encultured and encoded knowledge (Blackler 1995). I call them soft knowledge for two reasons. First, compared to the scientific, technological or economic types of knowledge, they are less tangible and less quantifiable. These attributes can also be said of the outcomes of this knowledge. While mainstream scientific, technological and economic knowledge can be seen to bring about tangible results such as a new product, a scientific discovery that aids in treating people, a new procedure that facilitates work processes or a business venture that provides incomes and jobs, knowledge of the cultural and social types have outcomes that are less tangible but are still highly important to achieve development. Second, soft knowledge is mostly learned through experience, has a subjective quality, and is more culture- or location-specific than mainstream scientific knowledge. I will show these characteristics in the next section as I discuss the examples that I found in the research.

I believe that a discussion of knowledge transfer in the context of high-skilled migration and development is incomplete without the inclusion of C&S knowledge—or soft knowledge. First, science and technology (S&T) and business and trade (B&T)—are not the only types of knowledge that drives development. If cultural and social knowledge has been ignored in the literature, Williams (2006) attributes this to the shift in the 1990s to a strong emphasis on scientific and technological jobs under the new knowledge economy which created the notion that other skills are of lesser importance. Second, highly skilled migrants share particular types of knowledge with the home country that are not just

limited to the scientific or economic types or the hard knowledge. Restricting the discussion of knowledge transfer to these mainstream types distorts the reality that the diaspora transfers various types of knowledge to the home country. Third, highly skilled migrants from the Philippines and from other parts of the world work in various occupations or belong to different professions that are not just confined to science, engineering, business and trade.

As I did in the analysis of other knowledge, this chapters analyses the examples reported by the highly skilled Filipino migrants in New Zealand and Australia. In the next section, I discuss the types of knowledge transferred by the migrants to the home country and the roles they played in these activities. Then, I discuss how host country, home country, diaspora and support factors have impinged on the formation of these knowledge transfers. I will also study the motivation of the participants for involving themselves in these transfers. In the process, it will be revealed how similar or how different their motivations are from the other participants who were involved in scientific or economic transfers. Finally, I will analyse the usefulness of these transfers from the point of view of the collaborators.

Nature of C&S knowledge transfers

I found 11 participants who were involved in C&S knowledge transfers. Eight of them are from Australia and four are from New Zealand. Table 8.1 provides a snapshot of their knowledge transfers; further details are given in Appendix 8. There are two specific cases for which I have provided more details because of their uniqueness in the research and the availability of more detailed information. Appendix 9 discusses the case of Loida which is about transmitting cultural knowledge and serving as a cultural bridge. Appendix 10 tackles the case of Len which is about sharing knowledge and experience on project management tools.

Migrants as carriers of soft knowledge

Migrants are emerging in the research clearly as carriers of particular types of knowledge that go beyond the scientific or economic. The examples showed the transmission of soft knowledge in the form of cultural knowledge, skills in creative arts, newspaper production skills, capacity building skills, settlement and legal assistance, migrant information and management tools, to name a few. These examples of “soft knowledge” are intangible in

nature and produce intangible outcomes which, nonetheless, contribute to development in an indirect manner. For example, the books that Loida, a creative artist and senior lecturer at the University of Wollongong, writes about Philippine culture and issues do not directly impact the Philippines in terms of new innovation or job creation (see Appendix 8 for digest and Appendix 9 for more details). However, her books help to create a deeper and more objective understanding of the Philippines especially for her foreign readers, thereby helping to break down stereotypes and correct negative perceptions. As Loida explained:

“Through the books that I produce, I show the foreign readers what’s really happening in the Philippines so they could look at it more objectively. I know I am different from the others that you interviewed because you said you talked to businessmen and scientists. They are directly giving back to the Philippines; in my case, I am indirectly giving back. I am involved in the production of knowledge—but where is my audience? It’s the people here in Australia, in the United States, and readers from other parts of the world and then those in the Philippines, so I also return the knowledge. Whatever I do here will have, I hope, some impact on the Philippines because I am educating foreign readers about the Philippines.”

I mentioned earlier that another characteristic of soft knowledge is its subjectivity and location specificity which contrasts it with hard knowledge such as mainstream scientific and technological knowledge whose application is often not bound by location. The subjective quality of soft knowledge is evident in some examples. For instance, Lita, a lawyer in Sydney, provides free settlement or legal advice to Filipino migrants that she meets or who go to her for assistance. She also writes articles on Filipino issues such as absentee voting and dual citizenship in her column in a Filipino community newspaper as a way to promote home-country nationalism. The knowledge that Lita imparts to them is specific and relevant to a particular group of people, in this case, a particular ethnicity which she also identifies herself with. She also acquired that knowledge through her experience with the Filipino communities in Sydney.

Another quality of soft knowledge which I proposed was that it was experienced-based rather than formally obtained. This is evident in two examples. Again, Lita got her legal knowledge and skills formally but the information on Filipino migrants is something that she obtained mostly during her private practice of the law where she got exposed to issues

faced by Filipino migrant women such as domestic violence and racial discrimination as well as her involvement with Filipino organisations in New South Wales. The same thing can be said of Minda, a psychology teacher in a Technical and Further Education (TAFE) college and coordinator of a nongovernment organisation. She shares her knowledge on the situation of Filipino migrants in Victoria, particularly on settlement and integration issues, with the Commission on Filipinos Overseas of the Philippine government. Minda acquired that knowledge through her experience in dealing with Filipino migrants as a long-time volunteer at the Centre for Philippine Concerns Australia, an NGO which advocates for the rights and welfare of Filipino migrants and promotes their well-being and successful settlement in Australia.

Migrants as brokers of knowledge

Similar to the scientific and economic knowledge transfers discussed in the previous chapters, the role of migrants as human brokers or intermediaries of knowledge was also seen in the C&S knowledge transfers. The migrants themselves helped to bridge the gap between the sources and receiver of knowledge. Brokering is acknowledged to be important for effective knowledge transfer in order to move the knowledge from one domain to another (Wright et al. 2008; Yusuf 2008). In the typology of brokering developed by Michaels (2009), brokers perform roles such as informing, consulting, matchmaking, engaging, collaborating and building capacity.

In several examples, the participants served as a broker of knowledge, performing one or several of those roles. One example is the case of Jose, a senior lecturer at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) in Melbourne, who facilitated study tours and internships in the Philippines for the BA international studies programme. In carrying out such a task which is part of his job in the university, he performed the brokering roles of matchmaking, engaging and building capacity. As an engager, Jose connected RMIT to Philippine universities and nongovernment organisations which could help run the study tours and internships on development tools and practices in developing countries. In doing so, he also engaged the home country as a learning laboratory, thereby promoting it as a site for education on particular areas, and its people—the staff in the NGOs and universities that conducted the study tours and internships—as sources of knowledge. As a matchmaker, Jose helped RMIT to identify relevant organisations in the Philippines that could host the study tours and internships. In the process, he was also able to link up

Philippine organisations to his Australian university, thus connecting host and home countries together and their resources. He facilitated the development of formal agreements between RMIT and the University of the Philippines as well as Miriam College for the reciprocal exchange of students for internship opportunities. Finally, as a capacity builder, the relationships between his university and the Philippine organisations Jose helped to establish facilitated the building of capacity of people from both sides—the home country and host country—particularly the students who were involved in the study tours and internships.

The case of Tilda, a Senior Evaluator at the Ministry of Maori Development in Wellington, also demonstrated brokering of knowledge through informing and matchmaking. When Tilda first started working at the Ministry, she was assigned at the Maori Business Facilitation Service (MBFS), a major programme which aims to assist Maori entrepreneurs. She thought that the MBFS may be relevant to carry out in the Philippines for its indigenous communities so she discussed with her boss the possibility of introducing it to the Philippines with him as the resource person. Her boss readily welcomed her idea and even agreed to travel to the Philippines at his own expense to meet with Philippine officials. Tilda then emailed an official of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) of the Philippine government to initially inform them about the programme and to request for a face-to-face meeting in the Philippines so they could discuss it further. Receiving no response even after a follow-up email, she relentlessly pursued her plan by contacting a colleague of hers for advice on the next person to approach. Although her plan did not materialise, Tilda acted as a broker of knowledge by informing those concerned in the home country of the existence of a knowledge that may be beneficial to them and by matching or linking expertise in the host country with the home country.

Table 8.1. A snapshot of the cultural and other types of knowledge transfers found in the study

Partici- pant	Activity	Means of knowledge transfer
Loida	Transmitting cultural knowledge and serving as a cultural bridge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diaspora literature: short stories, novels and poetry about home country • “Transnational home project” involving the host and home countries • Workshops on creative writing
Ria	Transmitting cultural knowledge and serving as a cultural bridge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diaspora literature: short stories, novels and poetry about home country • Workshops on creative theatre practice and writing short stories; poetry reading
Liza	Providing skills training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training on newspaper production
Dencio	Sharing skills and assisting in capacity building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teaching a course in a secondary school • Helping school officials to improve the curriculum and to develop a five-year development plan
Lita	Advocating for Filipino migrants’ rights and welfare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communicating issues and problems faced by Filipino migrant women with concerned Philippine agencies in the host and home countries • Free settlement and legal advice to migrant Filipinos • Information dissemination and advocacy of Filipion migrants’ rights and welfare through the print media
Minda	Exchanging data and information with Philippine officials regarding the settlement of migrants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migration “clinics” or consultations with the Commission on Filipinos Overseas to share information on the situation and problems affecting Filipino migrants and recommendations on how these can be addressed
Jose	Facilitating study tours and internships from Australia to the Philippines and vice versa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Study tours and student internships in cooperation with Philippine universities and nongovernment organisations
Tilda	Brokering or sharing development tools and project management models/strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contacting relevant Philippine agencies to link up resource person
Len	Brokering or sharing development tools and project management models/strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharing through email exchanges
Mela	Promoting Philippine tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Production of a travel magazine intended for <i>balikbayans</i> (Filipino returnees) and Australian.
Gina	Sharing knowledge and experience on how to improve Philippine tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seminars

Onset and production of C&S knowledge transfers

Similar to the analysis of the S&T and B&T transfers, I analyse the effects of host country, home country, diaspora and support factors on the onset of these C&S knowledge transfers. I start off with the effect of diaspora capital and other host country factors in the next section. It is followed by the analysis of the effects of social capital, knowledge intermediaries and diaspora motivation. To review, the following are my assumptions of the likely effects, which I have detailed in Chapter 3 and in the two previous chapters:

- The host country's acceptance of diaspora capital facilitates the onset and production of knowledge transfers by rendering stability to the diaspora, both in economic and professional terms.
- Migration policies that facilitate the entry of highly skilled people contribute to the onset and production of knowledge transfers to the home country, but have to be complemented with labour policies that ease the utilisation of diaspora capital. Both migration and labour policies are affected by the economic conditions in the host country and therefore vary over time.
- Social capital, as a resource similar to diaspora capital, stimulates the diaspora to act or specifically, to be involved in knowledge transfer.
- The motivations for knowledge transfer are different from sending financial remittances. Cultural attachment can influence migrant groups to transfer their knowledge and skills to the home country.
- Knowledge transfer intermediaries, such as ICT and transportation technologies, and programmes and policies for diaspora participation and organisations in the home and home countries, facilitate the onset of knowledge transfers.

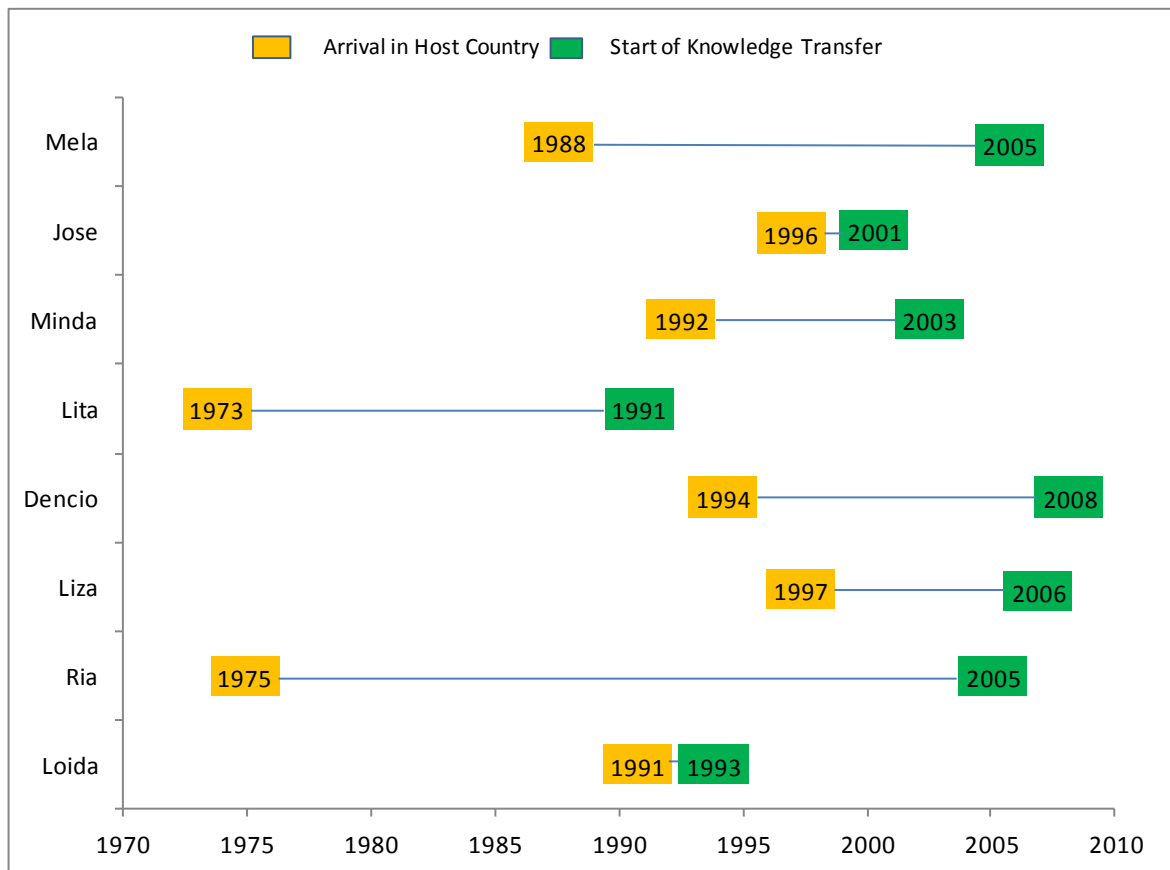
The effect of diaspora capital and other host country factors

Figure 8.1 plots the year when the participants arrived in the host country and when they started to become involved in C&S knowledge transfers. The line that connects the two years represents the "KT" time lag or the difference in the number of years between the participants' arrival in the host country and the onset of their C&S knowledge transfer.

In addition to Figure 8.1, Table 8.2 shows the calculation of the KT time lag and the host country's acceptance of their capital in terms of their experiences in the labour market.

Figure 8.1. Year of arrival in host country and start of cultural and other types of transfers (n=11)

Australia participants



New Zealand participants

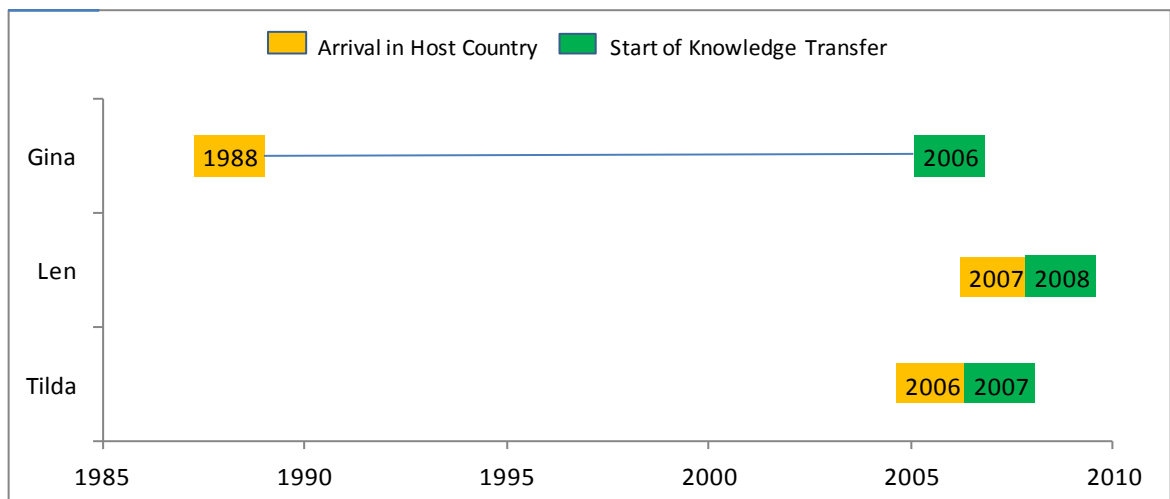


Table 8.2. KT time lag in the C&S knowledge transfers and host country's acceptance of diaspora capital

Parti- pant	Knowledge transfer (KT) activity	KT time lag¹ (years)	Host country's acceptance of diaspora capital
<i>Australia</i>			
Loida	Transmitting cultural knowledge and serving as a cultural bridge	2	First job a good fit; obtained PhD degree in the host country
Ria	Transmitting cultural knowledge and serving as a cultural bridge	30	Not applicable ²
Liza	Providing skills training	9	Had one unrelated job before the right one came
Dencio	Sharing skills and assisting in capacity building	14	Had four unrelated jobs before the right one came; studied for a diploma course related to present job
Lita	Advocating for Filipino migrants' rights and welfare	18	First job a good fit; studied for a law degree in the host country
Minda	Exchanging data and information with Philippine officials regarding the settlement of migrants	11	Had one unrelated job before the right one came
Jose	Facilitating study tours and internships from Australia to the Philippines and vice versa	5	First job a good fit; obtained PhD degree in the host country
Mela	Promoting Philippine tourism	17	First job a good fit
<i>New Zealand</i>			
Tilda	Brokering or sharing development tools and project management models/strategies	1	Had one unrelated job before the right one came
Len	Brokering or sharing development tools and project management models/strategies	1	First job a good fit
Gina	Sharing knowledge and experience on how to improve Philippine tourism	18	Had three unrelated jobs before the right one came; underwent several skills trainings and studied for a diploma course in between

¹ The difference between the time (expressed in years) a participant arrived in the host country and the time (also expressed in years) he or she started to become involved in a knowledge transfer.

² Ria is a 1.5-generation migrant. She obtained all her tertiary education in the host country.

In general, there were more participants who were late than early beginners of C&S transfers. Only four of them (Loida, Jose, Tilda and Len) had an onset of 1 to 5 years and all of them, except one, had a first job which was commensurate to their level of education and work experience. This validates the effect of the host country's acceptance of diaspora capital on the onset of knowledge transfer which I also found in the scientific (S&T) and economic (B&T) knowledge transfers. In two of these cases in the C&S transfers, the participants obtained their PhD degrees in the host country and this facilitated the immediate acceptance of diaspora capital.

The rest had an onset of knowledge transfer from 9 to 18 years after migration. Their labour market experiences show they had one or several jobs before getting the right one and this hampered their involvement in knowledge transfers. A few of them even studied for a degree or a certificate course in the host country to be able to find a good job. An example is Dencio who studied for an associate diploma in conservation and land management at the University of Melbourne. A BS agriculture graduate from the University of the Philippines, he had a difficult time getting a job that was suited to his education and work experience after he migrated to Australia. He was employed as a quarantine officer of the Australian Quarantine and Inspection Service after "so many jobs" which, he said, enabled him at least to get local experience and training which host country companies often require from migrant workers. The certificate course he obtained from the Australian university was also instrumental for him to landing the full-time technical post for the Australian federal government.

Dencio's experience demonstrates the effect of the host country's migration and labour market policies on the onset on knowledge transfer by facilitating or constraining the acceptance of diaspora capital. Although he came to Australia in the 1990s through family sponsorship, he was also a skilled migrant having a university degree and years of related work experience in the home country. Nevertheless, his initial diaspora capital—or the resources that he possessed when he moved to Australia—was not easily accepted by the host country owing to restrictive labour policies at that time that give more emphasis to local experience and host country education and training. Such delay in the host country's acceptance of his capital was demonstrated by his experience of moving from one job to another which was either not related to his skills, of lower status or lower paying ones compared to the ones he held previously in the home country—the details of which he

opted not to divulge during the interview. This deskilling experience besets many migrant workers especially those who came from developing countries like Dencio. For example, Boyd and Thomas (2002) found in their study that male engineer migrants in Canada are less likely to be employed in engineering occupations except those who were born in the United Kingdom, Western Europe and the Oceanic countries and who were educated and trained in Canadian institutions. In contrast, engineers who were born in the Philippines or Eastern Europe and who were not educated or trained in Canadian institutions have the lowest probability of holding a managerial or engineering occupation.

Another factor that could have contributed to Dencio's unfavourable experience in the job market after he migrated to Australia was the adverse economic conditions in the 1990s in which Australia suffered a recession that prompted the government to restrict the entry of immigrants (Ongley and Pearson 1995). This demonstrates the interrelated effects of migration and labour policies and economic conditions in the host country on diaspora capital uptake, which consequently affect the production of knowledge transfer by the diaspora.

The importance of economic and professional security of the diaspora in the production of knowledge transfer was acknowledged by Dencio himself, thus validating this research's assertion that the acceptance of diaspora capital by the host country affects the production of knowledge transfer. He said:

“I've always been looking for an opportunity to go back to the Philippines to do these things, skills exchange, transfer of knowledge. But I have been stuck here because of my reality in Australia. I've had an opportunity to do that because with the VIDA programme, they had committed to cover my living expenses while I was there. It's enough to sustain my life while doing this thing there. Given my own capacity I won't be able to afford to that – living in the Philippines and doing volunteer work and passing the weight to your host organization. So I thought before you could do that, you should first be self-reliant financially so VIDA offered that opportunity. And then the next question was my availability, I had to resolve that first because I was fully employed by the department. So I had to ask my boss first if I could hold on to my job when I leave and request for a leave of absence without pay, which

means they'll keep my position and I'll come back after my volunteer work.

And that was granted.”

As can be deduced from Dencio's response, he was able to engage in knowledge transfer as a volunteer environmental education specialist for a farm school in the Philippines through the opportunity provided by the VIDA programme which enabled him take a leave from his work and return to the Philippines. This in part made him economically stable. But apart from that, being given the consent by his employer to leave his work temporarily and the assurance that he would still have the job when he returns to Australia also gave him both the economic and professional stability to decide to engage in knowledge transfer. These factors gave him “self-reliance” which he himself mentioned as an important factor to engage in knowledge transfer. Even though there was a willingness on his part to become involved before (“I've always been looking for an opportunity...”), it was difficult for him to proceed (“stuck”) because of his so-called “reality in Australia” which refer to his family's own economic welfare that he needed to continuously sustain and therefore keep his job. This also paints a scenario of the diaspora, as represented by Dencio, living a dual life—of both ‘here and there’—and negotiating the realities in the host country and his transnational practices with the home country.

Liza, the disbursement officer in Melbourne, became involved as editor-in-chief of the community newspaper, *The Philippine Times*, three years after she migrated to Australia. The said newspaper became her vehicle to transfer knowledge to the Philippines by providing skills training on newspaper production to a young fresh graduate whom she hired in 2009 as managing editor. Through the newspaper as well, she shares information about the Philippines with Filipino-Australians in Victoria through the new articles and feature stories she writes. This also constitutes her knowledge transfer to the Philippines. Although it is not a direct transfer, it impacts the Philippines indirectly by keeping the diaspora's sentiments for the home country alive which could stimulate both material and knowledge transfers. When asked when she started to work at *The Philippine Times*, her reply again validated the critical significance of diaspora stability in the onset and production of knowledge transfer. As suggested, such stability arises from the host country's acceptance of diaspora capital which is also influenced by migration and labour policies in the host country. She said:

“I got involved only when I started getting a stable job. First, I was busy making sure that I have my own career rather than end up in factory work. Once, I had a full time, stable job, I slowly got involved in affairs concerning Filipinos like the newspaper.”

The next section explores the effect of social capital on the onset and production of knowledge transfer.

The effect of social capital

The effect of social ties and networks is highly prominent suggesting the significant role they play in the production of this type of knowledge transfer.

For example, it is the effect of social capital that gave Tilda the motivation to explore the possibility of introducing the Maori Business Facilitation Service (MBFS) to the Philippines. The said capital is formed through her previous work in the Philippines as senior legislative officer. One of her assignments was providing policy research expertise to a Philippine senator in drafting an indigenous people’s rights bill. In my interview with her, she related that she developed extensive professional and social contacts with people from both government and nongovernment circles who are particularly involved in issues affecting indigenous communities. She also travelled extensively to indigenous communities all over the country to know their conditions first-hand and interview leaders of indigenous groups as part of her research. These experiences developed her strong sentiments for indigenous communities and made her motivated to help the home country through the introduction of the MBFS scheme.

Len’s social networks also paved the way for his knowledge transfer to the Philippines. In his case, his social ties with a friend and ex-colleague (Jean) in his former office provided the opportunity to exchange information on project management tools and strategies. The motivation for knowledge transfer, in fact, was not in his mind when he started emailing Jean. He said:

“I didn’t have that consciousness to help. With Jean, my intention was just to keep in touch until our discussion began to focus on certain technical aspects of our work and our respective offices.”

His desire “to keep in touch” with his friend as result of their social ties facilitated the exchange of knowledge. I also surmise that it is also with social capital as manifested by Jean and his friend’s shared understanding of the topic that made their exchange successful even if it was carried out virtually. The importance of social capital in virtual interactions which refers not only to trust but also to shared understandings of the task at hand is highlighted by Riemer and Klein (2003). They noted that “without social capital as the necessary complement, collaboration in VO (virtual organisations) is unlikely to succeed (Riemer and Klein 2003:1).” Relatedly, Hossain and Wigand (2004) suggested that ICT-enabled virtual collaboration would be effective if augmented by face-to-face communication to establish higher levels of trust especially if the participants are geographically dispersed. Following these two lines of argument, the absence of face-to-face communication between Tilda and the government official in the Philippines that she contacted to initially introduce the MBFS scheme could have deterred the success of their knowledge transfer. While there was no face-to-face contact involved with Len and his friend, their social capital is more developed compared to that of Tilda and her collaborators in the Philippines. Len and his friend have a shared understanding of the topic while Tilda and her collaborators have yet to establish it.

In the case of Gina, her social network in the Philippines also became the channel through which she had the opportunity to be involved in knowledge transfer. Travelling to the Philippines in 2006 for a vacation, a casual visit to her friend in Baguio City who is now the dean of a college of the University of the Philippines-Baguio led to a spontaneous invitation to give a seminar on how to improve Philippine tourism based on her knowledge about New Zealand. Gina has ample knowledge about the tourism industry in the Philippines having worked as a director of a regional office of the Philippine Department of Tourism for many years before migrating to New Zealand. During the same trip to the Philippines, she visited a former colleague of hers in the tourism department and was invited to participate in a Dive Congress. In that forum, she shared about New Zealand’s effort on protecting the environment which she believes are relevant to the Philippines. Gina’s story clearly shows how social network could provide the opportunity for knowledge transfer.

Meanwhile, the case of Jose shows the combined effects of social capital in creating opportunity and ability to engage in knowledge transfer. His professional involvement as

a senior lecturer at the RMIT University and coordinator of internships and field studies for the BA international studies programme provided him with both the ability and opportunity to broker knowledge on development tools and approaches in developing countries particularly the Philippine experience. It was also through his professional and social contacts with various Philippines NGOs in the past that enabled him to organise these tours and internships and easily link up with relevant organisations in the Philippines to serve as host institutions. He was able to facilitate in developing formal agreements between RMIT University and two Philippine academic institutions for the reciprocal exchange of students for internship opportunities thus also promoting mutual benefit for both home country and host country institutions.

The effect of diaspora motivation

Clearly all the participants who participated in the study were motivated to transfer knowledge to the Philippines. But the question is, what were their motivations?

The responses of the 11 participants who were engaged in C&S transfers gave reasons that fall into five different motivation categories: to help the home country, personal satisfaction or fulfilment, to learn from others, “sharing for sharing’s sake” (just want to share), and to take advantage of the competent but cheap labour in the Philippines.

As can be gleaned from Table 8.3, all except one expressed the intention of helping the home country, suggesting it was a very strong reason for these participants. The majority of the participants in the S&T transfer also expressed that motivation to help but it was more strongly expressed by those involved in cultural and social transfers.

A general observation among the participants is the common mention of “Philippines” and/or “Filipinos” as their focus in helping and the emotional or sentimental tone of their response. Examples are the following:

Loida: “For me, it’s a social responsibility to the home country. I like to think that even in my writing, I am giving back something to accentuate the human spirit which is often buried under the weight of master narratives, like colonisation, foreign policy, and globalisation...”

“I often write in connection with the Philippines because there is a cause to worry about. With the political instability, the economic instability, the militarism, the political strife, the corruption, there’s a lot to worry about.”

Lita: “I did not think of any benefits for myself. I just think of what was good for the Filipino people after seeing what is good here and experiencing the good things in life here, I’d like to give something back there.”

Tilda: “I just want to help and do something good for my country and my fellow Filipinos.”

Mela: “I believe we should not stop helping the country even if we have moved to a new one. And I don’t think we have the right to criticise if we’re not doing anything to help.”

Gina: “I want to help the Philippines. I want to make the people aware that there’s some things need be to be improved. Because of my tourism orientation, you are like an ambassador of goodwill, you always want to help the Philippines. I feel sad every time I hear negative things about the country. Filipinos are sufferings. Those things make me really sad.”

These comments suggest the strong connection that the participants have with the Philippines, and I deduce this to be the main factor that is driving their motivation for knowledge transfer. A look at their chosen country which they consider ‘home’ also confirms such emotional and cultural attachment. Out of 11, eight consider the Philippines as home, two consider both the Philippines and Australia, and only one considers Australia as home. The choice of the lone migrant who chose Australia (Ria) was not surprising because she migrated to Australia in her teens (a 1.5 generation migrant).

Table 8.3. Motivation of the participants who were engaged in C&S knowledge transfers

Participant	To help the home country (Give something back)	Provides personal satisfaction or fulfilment	Sharing for sharing's sake (Just want to share)	To learn from others	To take advantage of the cheap but competent labour
Loida	✓			✓	
Ria	✓			✓	
Liza	✓				✓
Dencio	✓				
Lita	✓				
Minda	✓	✓			
Jose	✓			✓	
Tilda	✓	✓			
Len			✓	✓	
Mela	✓				
Gina	✓				

In addition, it can also be observed in Table 8.3 that most participants have more than one motivation for transferring knowledge and these motivations are partly altruistic and partly self-gain in nature. Motivations such as personal satisfaction or fulfilment, learning from others and tapping low-cost but high-quality human resources from the home country can be considered self-seeking objectives. These results suggest that people's altruistic motivations combine with self-seeking ones in their decision to transfer knowledge and that no motivation is purely altruistic at all. People engage in knowledge transfer not just for the purpose of helping others or sharing what they know but also for getting some personal rewards such as self-fulfilment or new learning. The following responses show this:

Loida: "I keep learning there all the time, not only when I research, but when I go there, say, to give a lecture. The questions and the input they give me make me think. They keep me grounded and they serve as a reminder that I have a responsibility to where I came from. Even those who critique me—I think about why their reaction has been like that—so all these different knowledge sources help me to interpret reality and interrogate the 'realities' that I create in my stories. And each time, I am able to see the world and myself in a different way."

Ria: “It’s ongoing learning for me plus I’m able to increase understanding and appreciation and love for the culture and the people.”

Minda: “I believe it’s my place under the sun, you know. I like this job. It enhances my personal skills. It’s a fulfilment, self fulfilment.”

Migration studies that explored the motivations for sending financial remittance identified reasons such as altruism, exchange, insurance and moral hazard, investment and inheritance (for example, see: Menjivar et al. 1998; Poirine 2006; Rapoport and Docquier 2006; Alba and Sugi 2009). The last four motivations can be considered as self-seeking. The problem that I see in these studies and in others is that they look at one motivation for remitting as a urge or desire that exists independent of other forces. But as we have seen in Chapters 6 and 7 and in this new chapter, people are induced to act not just because of a single purpose but many. At times, a certain objective is greater in intensity than the other, combining with that objective of lesser force to produce an action. As the results of this study show, such is the behaviour of people when it comes to transferring or sharing knowledge with the home country. They do it not simply out of their benevolence but also for some personal rewards.

The non-monetary nature of the personal reward the participants of the C&S transfers sought is worth noting. They looked for self-fulfilment or new learning instead of monetary returns. We have also seen this behaviour among the participants who were involved in scientific and technological (S&T) transfers particularly the scientists and medical doctors. This may be suggesting that among the highly skilled, people who are engaged in S&T and C&S knowledge-related occupations are driven more by non-monetary rewards. They behave differently from those engaged in B&T transfers who are more sensitive to monetary incentives and we have posited this in the previous section to be the influence of the sector where they are working and their professional orientation. This was also observed in the S&T transfers. One of the scientists noted the obligation of scientists like him to help science to flourish and “this can be achieved by exchanging knowledge and collaborating” (see Chapter 6). I also found the influence of professional training among the participants in the C&S transfers. A commonality among most of them is that they are currently engaged in the host country or previously employed in the home country in occupations in either government or non-for-profit type of organisations (NGOs) where they have or had extensive exposure in dealing with development issues

that directly affect people's well-being such as income insufficiency, food security, environmental degradation, human rights, and indigenous rights, among others. This experience, I surmised, developed in them the values of helping and sharing—consciously or unconsciously—particularly for the home country.

For example, Dencio, Jose and Len were all previously employed in the Philippines in NGOs and generally identified themselves as 'development workers' when I asked them of their previous occupation during the interview. At present, only Len remained in the NGO sector, working in a similar job that he used to do in the Philippines which is managing development programmes for rural communities in the Pacific. When he started exchanging information with Jean on project management approaches, it was not his original intention to help. He said:

“I didn't have that consciousness to help. With Jean, my intention was just to keep in touch until our discussion began to focus on certain technical aspects of our work and our respective offices. With my workmates, I just wanted to tell them how things are done in the Philippines not to make any comparison but I just wanted to share, that's all. It was very casual, then later on it somehow hit me that yes, it probably is useful, especially when they began to ask more questions and get my suggestions.”

Meanwhile, Jose immediately got employed as senior lecturer in RMIT University after getting his PhD degree. In contrast with Len, incorporating the Philippines in his work has always been a conscious decision for him as his means of giving back and of acknowledging the wealth of knowledge that he got there that has helped inform his work.

“And so the strong connection to the Philippines that I have really comes from the grassroots environmental work that I was doing. So I still acknowledge that a lot of the most important things that I know now, the perspective I have of development work comes from that. And so for me, even in my teaching and in my research, that perspective goes back to the Philippines. And I continuously acknowledge that and it grows and it flourishes but it goes back there. And so for me I cannot teach without bringing the Philippines...the home country or the soul of my work is actually the Philippines. It's being sentimental but also it's just being able to acknowledge that a lot of my 'aha'

moments really comes from the farmers, the fisherfolk, the women, the indigenous people I have worked with. They embraced my work and they were generous in giving that knowledge to me. And for me, that's the core of what I do in development work. If I can get students to begin to acknowledge that there are other ways of learning and there are other forms of knowledge, I think is an important contribution. It's important to share that experience not just through telling them but also by taking them there."

Meanwhile, Dencio is now employed in the government as a quarantine expert. However, he always had a conscious desire to help the Philippines but it was something that he had not been able to do at once for reasons I analysed in the previous section to be the effect of the host country's acceptance of his knowledge and skills. His comments which demonstrate his constant drive to help the home country is worth revisiting:

"I've always been looking for an opportunity to go back to the Philippines to do these things, skills exchange, transfer of knowledge. But I have been stuck here because of my reality in Australia."

In both Lita and Tilda, I also posit that their professional orientation has induced their motivation to transfer knowledge. Both of them used to work in the Philippine government as legislative officers assisting senators in drafting bills by providing expertise in policy research and analysis. They also got employed in government jobs in the host country: Lita as a lawyer (now retired) and Tilda as an Evaluation Officer of a government ministry for programmes to promote the rights and welfare of Maori, the indigenous people of New Zealand. At some point, Lita was also appointed member of the NSW Legal Advisory Council which made her directly exposed to issues faced by migrants especially women such as domestic violence and racial discrimination. These experiences, I surmise, not only helped sustain the values of helping and sharing that were incalculated in them through their profession but also kept their sentimental ties with the home country alive.

In the B&T cases, we also observed the influence of professional orientation in the nature of their motivation to transfer knowledge. We saw this in the case of the Australian migrant who was running an online business events management company. He had strong sentimental ties with the Philippines as manifested by his involvement in affairs with the

Filipino communities in Victoria. He was even a staunch activist in his student days in the Philippines actively joining rallies and demonstrations. However, he hired web designers and programmers from the Philippines partly because it was more cost-effective, from a business point of view, rather than employing local workers from Australia. This behaviour was also demonstrated by Liza in the cultural and social transfer. She hired a young graduate from the Philippines to be the managing editor of the Filipino newspaper she is producing. Her profession as a writer/publications manager is not a business-oriented one in which profit-maximisation, in the economic sense, is a priority objective. However, she is applying her publishing knowledge and skills in an activity which is also a business endeavour (newspaper publication) where cost effectiveness and efficiency are of paramount importance. As her comments show, her motivation to hire someone from the Philippines is partly rooted on the rationality of taking advantage of the cheap but competent human resources in the home country:

“There are so many creative people in the Philippines, and we can pay less to them which we cannot do here with the Australians. I also find them more efficient and sometimes, they do not charge you for extra work unlike there when you have to pay for every extra work that they do for you. There is also a culture of respect; they are generally quick in work schedule and deadlines.”

The effect of knowledge transfer intermediaries

As earlier stated, knowledge transfer intermediaries fall under support factors in the analytical framework. They comprise information and communication technologies and transportation technologies, policies and programmes and organisations in the host and home countries that facilitate the production of knowledge transfer.

Five of the 11 cases prominently demonstrated the effect of knowledge transfer intermediaries. The effect of information and communication technology (ICT) particularly the Internet is apparent in three cases. Liza, Tilda and Len did not travel to the Philippines but were able to engage in knowledge transfer through ICT. These cases again demonstrate that knowledge transfer can occur without the physical return of the diaspora to the home country as ICT can substitute for face-to-face communication.

Liza, editor-in-chief of *The Philippine Times*, a community newspaper in Victoria that caters to the Filipino-Australia community, trained her managing editor based in the

Philippines through emails, online chat and Internet voice tools. She hired the fresh graduate in 2008 to work in the paper and progressively coached her on newspaper production through these modern communications tools which also served as their means of contact in managing and coordinating the day-to-day operation of the newspaper. They had also not met in person.

Tilda, senior evaluator at the Ministry of Maori Development in Wellington, also used ICT for initially informing the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) about a business facilitation programme that could potentially help the indigenous communities in the Philippines given its success with the Maori entrepreneurs in New Zealand. She also contacted her lawyer-friend who works in an NGO through email.

It was also through Internet communication, particularly email, that Len, a programme officer of Caritas New Zealand, exchanged information about project management strategies with his friend and ex-colleague in the Philippines. The transcripts of their email exchanges which Len shared with me showed they discussed appraisal, monitoring and evaluation frameworks and strategies to achieve efficiency in project management based on the experiences of their respective organisations.

Meanwhile, two of five cases where knowledge intermediaries are present showed how host country programmes facilitated the production of knowledge transfer. Ria, a Filipino-Australia in Canberra who migrated in her teens, engaged in a literature residence in various universities and arts organisations in the Philippines through a fellowship award from Asialink, a non-academic centre based at the University of Melbourne which seeks to promote understanding of the countries of Asia and Australia's role in the region. She received 10,000 Australia dollars which enabled her to travel to the Philippines and conduct a workshop on creative theatre practice for high school students, poetry reading and meeting and discussions with theatre groups. Her knowledge transfer took place only 30 years after she migrated to Australia. This late onset may be attributed to her weak ties to the Philippines being a 1.5-generation migrant.

Dencio, a quarantine officer working for the Australian government, was also able to return to the Philippines and share his skills with a farm school as an environmental education expert through sponsorship of the Volunteering for International Development in Australia (VIDA) programme. He was able to become involved in knowledge transfer

14 years after migrating to Australia and, as discussed in the earlier section, he himself admitted that he would not have that opportunity if not for the VIDA programme which paid for his trip as well as covered his living expenses while in the Philippines. VIDA is one of four volunteer programmes of the Australian government through the AusAid, its overseas aid programme. It is managed by AusTraining International. The other volunteer programmes are the Australian Youth Ambassadors for Development, Australian Business Volunteers and the Australian Volunteers International. VIDA started in 2005 and began sending Australian volunteers to the Philippines in 2006. According to its country manager in the Philippines, the low turnout of volunteers to the Philippines is one of its major challenges. Since 2006, VIDA only had 20 volunteers and only seven of them are Filipino-Australians. More volunteers prefer neighbouring countries such as Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia and Cambodia.

“As far as recruiting volunteers for the VIDA is concerned, we have one of the lowest outcomes in terms of getting volunteers to apply. Usually our success rate is only around 30 percent. Our analysis is this. In terms of Australia, the image of the Philippines is poor. This is because there is no knowledge at all of the Philippines or if people have the knowledge, it’s a negative image. What they know of is the war in Mindanao and the kidnappings of foreigners. It’s what the Australians know because that’s also what the Australian media pick up and write about.”

The above comment by the country manager shows that although knowledge intermediaries are present to facilitate knowledge transfer from the host country to the home country, certain factors come into play such as the conditions in the home country. We also saw this in the previous chapter. This again suggests the interrelated nature of the different factors that influence knowledge transfer production.

Moreover, it can be observed that the two cases of knowledge intermediation discussed above differ from those found under the B&T transfers where programmes or organisations of the home country served as knowledge transfer intermediaries. In those cases under B&S, the Philippine government through the consular offices and their investment office in the home country facilitated the flow of capital, knowledge and skills and technology from the host country to the home country. However, in the C&S transfers where these two cases were found, the intermediaries were programmes and

organisations in the host country, which again suggests the crucial role that the host country plays in enabling knowledge transfer. The VIDA programme also works closely with local host organisations in the Philippines—mostly NGOs—in developing volunteer assignments based on the technical needs for capacity building that they have communicated to the country office. This demonstrates how knowledge transfer becomes a mutual endeavour of both home country and host country organisations. Engaging the participation of home country organisations in the identification of their knowledge needs may also enhance the effectiveness of the transfer—an insight that I will discuss in more detail in the next section.

Usefulness of the C&S knowledge transfers: collaborators' views

As with the previous chapters, I determined the usefulness of the knowledge transfers by interviewing the participants' collaborators. They were the individuals they shared their knowledge or skills with, who facilitated these transfers or who acted as their co-resource persons. The usefulness of the knowledge transfers is used as a measure to determine how it facilitated the diaspora's participation in the development of the home country. Such usefulness as further explained in the framework also depends on two home country factors: its willingness to receive knowledge and its ability to use and value knowledge. I based this assumption on the concept of absorptive capacity proposed by Cohen and Levinthal (1990) who described it as the ability of a firm to recognise the value of new information and assimilate it. While the present study does not deal specifically with knowledge flows across firms, I subscribe to the concept's relevance in analysing the usefulness of diasporic knowledge transfers to the home country.

Five collaborators of the C&S knowledge transfers agreed to be interviewed. A summary of their involvement is provided in Table 8.4, but it is recommended to refer to the summaries of the cases in Appendix 8 to have a good understanding of them.

Table 8.4. The collaborators in the C&S knowledge transfers who participated in the study

Collaborator	Involvement in the knowledge transfer
Angie	She is the university graduate whom Liza hired in 2008 to be the managing editor of <i>The Philippine Times</i> . She learned about the vacancy through a friend of hers whose aunt is based in Victoria, Australia, where the print edition of the newspaper is circulated.
Nina	She is the Principal of the Gelacio I Yason Family Farm School in Mindoro, Philippines, where Dencio conducted his volunteer work as environmental education specialist under the Volunteering for International Development from Australia (VIDA) programme.
Fran	She is the Executive Director of the Centre for Environmental Concerns-Philippines which hosted some of the study tours facilitated by Jose.
Mara	She is a personal friend of Tilda whom the latter emailed for advice on the person to contact for her and her boss' planned visit to the Philippines to introduce the Maori Business Facilitation Service (MBFS) model. Mara is one of the lawyers of <i>Panlipi</i> , an organisation which advocates for the development of indigenous peoples and communities through legal assistance, legal education and institutional capacity building.
Jean	She is a personal friend and previous co-worker of Len at the Foundation for Philippine Environment (FPE). Len and Jean exchanged information on project management tools and approaches being used in their respective offices. Jean works as Executive Assistant for FPE, a non-for-profit organisation and fund facilitator working with and assisting rural communities in carrying out programmes for biodiversity conservation and sustainable development.

The willingness of the collaborators as recipients of the knowledge and skills transferred by the diaspora was seen in all cases except in one. Angie, Nina, Fran and Jean all expressed positive feedback when asked about their insights on the usefulness of the knowledge transfers. In all four cases as well, their ability to use the knowledge shared by the participants also appears to be present.

A clear example is Angie whose willingness to receive knowledge from Liza is apparent in her comment. She appreciated its usefulness in enhancing her writing skills and also its relevance to her future plans.

“She taught me a lot about newspaper production. I am happy because I’d like to put up my own community newspaper someday. And writing is my passion,

too. She taught me about the type of English that's used in Australia. One of the very first thing she told me was forget the usual American English because I'm writing for Filipino-Australians who are using British English. She had to check me a few times regarding spelling and the way you write time or tell time in Australia, so it was like I learned to switch from one language to another because here in the Philippines, we use American English. It's useful for me also because from time to time, when writing articles, I would correspond with British or Australians, so I get to apply those skills. Then, in dealing with different kinds of people, because she would instruct me from time to time to do a feature or interview someone and I usually do it by phone because most of them are based in Australia or if they visit the Philippines, then I interview them here. Or I sometimes call the Department of Foreign Affairs here the Philippines or the Department of Labor and Employment to clarify or verify my article. So I learned to deal with them as professionally as possible.”

In the case of Len, his openness to share knowledge was also matched by his friend, Jean's willingness to learn new knowledge. This facilitated the exchange of knowledge between them. Such receptiveness for sharing and learning also ensures the usefulness of the knowledge transfer/exchange. Len said:

“Jean's office, which is my former office, is an evolving organisation and so is Caritas, and learning is an evolving process. I think that is also the reason why my colleagues in Caritas showed interest in what we do in the Philippines in terms of development work. They also want to learn from us in the same way that we also want to learn from them.”

Len's comment was corroborated by Jean:

“Yes, sharing ideas with other organisations is very welcome to us...in fact, FPE is working with other funding organizations like the Peace and Equity Foundation, Foundation for Sustainable Society, FSSI, the PTFCs. We are a growing organization *at gusto naming ma-experience yung ginagawa ng ibang* (we want to experience what other) funding organization are doing so we are

also looking at the possibility of having our staff assigned to other funding organization as part of training or exposure.”

Their responses suggest that both their organisations regard sharing of ideas and learning from others as important. Cummings and Teng (2003) called this ‘learning culture’ and they highlighted its importance to facilitate organisational learning in general, and knowledge transfer in particular. Similar cultures and value systems, they explained, allow for a smooth working relationship between the knowledge transfer parties.

In a similar vein, Goh (2002) asserted that co-operative and collaborative culture as important prerequisites for successful knowledge transfer between individuals and groups. The case of Jose and Fran demonstrates this point. The integration of study tours and student internships in the BA international studies curriculum shows that Jose’s organisation, the RMIT University, views learning as a process of absorbing and assimilating new ideas from external sources. Fran’s organisation, the Centre for Environmental Concerns (CEC)-Philippines, has the same culture that upholds cooperation and collaboration for learning. Such beliefs are visible in its organisational profile: “At the global level, CEC-Philippines engages in information sharing, international networking, cross-cultural exchanges, and solidarity initiatives on common environmental issues and concerns” (<http://www.cecphils.org/who-we-are>). I surmise that their similar cultures contributed to the usefulness of the knowledge transfer for both parties. Fran who heads CEC-Philippines commented on its benefits to the home country as a whole and to the host country as well:

“These study tours are helpful to the Philippines because we learn from them and they also learn from us—in terms of useful environmental practices which may be of used here in the Philippines. Australia is a developed country and the Philippines can also learn a lot in terms of how Australia protects the environment. I believe they can also bring our advocacy on Australian mining operations here, if they understand where the local people are coming from; to bring about better policies for Australian mining corporations overseas, like demanding more accountability or perhaps running after bad mining companies.”

The culture of sharing is also visible with the other organisations that Jose's university has partnered with in the conduct of the study tours and student internships. These are Miriam College and the University of the Philippines-Diliman, both academic institutions. The presence of a learning culture which values international cooperation and collaboration with other organisations is not surprising in their case given their nature as learning institutions. What is significant is the way knowledge transfer has evolved into a more systematic exchange of knowledge between them and the RMIT University through the formal agreements facilitated by Jose for the reciprocal exchange of their student interns.

In hindsight, those agreements demonstrate the strategic alliance that the concerned parties have forged among them for their mutual benefit. Similar to the concept of learning culture, the role of strategic alliances for facilitating knowledge transfer is explored in more detail in the field of organisational management and innovation studies where the focus are workers and firms. However, it undoubtedly has valuable significance to migration studies particularly in analysing knowledge transfers involving diaspora members and the home country. Inkpen (1998:69), among others, underscored the learning opportunities created when entities with "different skills, knowledge bases and organisational cultures" join together as "organisation learning is both a function of access to new knowledge and the capabilities for using and building on such knowledge". In a more specific tone, Gulati (2000:203) cited what these opportunities are: "access to information, resources, markets, and technologies; and the advantages from learning, scale and scope economies".

Meanwhile, the case of Dencio and Nina not only demonstrates Dencio's willingness to share knowledge and Nina's receptiveness to receive and absorb it. More importantly, it provides a deeper look into the knowledge transfer process. First, it demonstrates that the receivers of knowledge in the home country are not passive. They carefully analyse what is transferred and discern whether it is useful or not. Second, knowledge transfer involves the negotiation of each other's sets of knowledge, beliefs and practices. Third, knowledge transfer to be beneficial entails dialogue and consultation between the parties to match needs and expectations. These insights can be gleaned from the following comments of Nina:

"He brought his own knowledge and skills and it was a rich contribution to our programme. But we also have our own experiences and they become

richer with the outside knowledge that comes in. But we don't automatically accept them, we also evaluate them, analyze which ones are useful to our needs but definitely what he shared with us was a big help. And we dialogued with him, it's not top-down or just mere passing of information, for me, that is not good. And he is also not pushy or imposing, he always wanted us to have a dialogue. The consultative nature of our interaction enriched both the process and content." (Translated from "*Merong siyang dala-dalang knowledge at skills niya, mayaman na contribution iyon dito sa programme, at syempre kami dito, meron rin kaming sariling experience na taglay pero yumayaman siya dahil merong outside na kaalaman na pumapasok. Pero hindi naman automatic na tinatanggap lahat yon, ini-evaluate din naming yon, ina-analyze din kung ano ang useful sa aming pangangailangan pero definitely sa karanasan namin malaking tulong yong binigya niya. Saka andun naman yung dialogue with him, kase hindi naman siya yung top-down lagi, yung ibinabagsak lang na ganoon, pangit kase yun. Hindi naman kase din siya yung mapilit or imposing na tao, gusto nya dialogue kami at consultative at yun ang nagpapayaman ng kaalaman at proseso.*")

Ensuring relevance of the knowledge being transferred is critical for the success of knowledge transfer as a development strategy. In the case of Dencio and Nina, this was made possible not only through the efforts of both parties to make the process as participatory as possible but also through the assistance of a knowledge intermediary, the VIDA programme which arranged and sponsored Dencio's volunteer work as environmental education specialist in the farm school headed by Nina. As previously discussed in the earlier sections, the VIDA programme works closely with local host organizations in the Philippines in developing volunteers assignment based on their technical needs for capacity building. Its country manager for the Philippines briefly described the process as follows:

"All the assignments are developed in country. I work with organizations to develop the assignments of volunteers. Our country office here, for example, builds them based on the requests of our partner organizations. They are the local organizations which host the volunteers. We have some old ones that we have been working with for many years already but we always try to look for

new ones to partner with. If AusAid has partner organisations that we can partner with, we do that, but we work very independently from AusAid.”

The critical role played by knowledge intermediaries is demonstrated in the above case. The VIDA programme presents an ideal case of knowledge intermediation which can serve as a guide for other existing intermediaries to follow or for host and home country governments that are thinking of creating similar programmes. The programme assisted not only in facilitating knowledge transfer but also in ensuring its usefulness by matching the knowledge sources’ assistance with the receiver’ needs.

The lone case where the attempt to fully transfer knowledge failed was that of Tilda, a senior evaluator in a New Zealand government ministry who tried to broker a business model/programme for indigenous peoples with the Philippine government. The motivation of the diaspora to transfer knowledge was highly apparent with Tilda but this was not matched by the home country’s willingness to receive it, as demonstrated by the non-response of the commissioner of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples whom she emailed to introduce the programme and to explore the possibility for further discussion in the Philippines with her former boss in the ministry. However, the usefulness of the knowledge transfer, if implemented, was acknowledged by Mara, her lawyer-friend working with indigenous communities whom she emailed for advice on a good person to contact in the NGO sector after her attempt to coordinate with the Philippine government failed. Mara said:

“It would have been useful had it been pushed through. The Philippines can learn a lot from New Zealand’s experience in protecting the Maori’s welfare. There’s a lot that we have to do here for our own indigenous peoples in terms of promoting customary laws, protecting ancestral domain and indigenous justice system. They can help in our advocacy for protecting the welfare and uplifting the quality of life of our indigenous peoples.”

The non-success of the knowledge transfer in Tilda’s case may be suggesting that ICT tools alone may be inadequate for introducing new ideas and innovation. It has to be augmented by face-to-face interaction to promote trust and shared understandings which will facilitate the assimilation of new knowledge, a point which I also raised in the earlier sections following the argument of Hossain and Wigand (2004) that virtual collaborations

would be more effective if augmented by face-to-face communication to establish higher levels of trust especially if the participants are geographically distant from each other.

Conclusion

This chapter provided a nuanced understanding of knowledge transfer by demonstrating that migrants are carriers of particular types of knowledge for development that go beyond the mainstream types of scientific and business knowledge. They are also carriers of cultural and social knowledge which has yet to be fully explored in published literature on knowledge transfer due to the strong emphasis on scientific and technological jobs under the new knowledge economy (Williams 2006).

The usefulness of this type of transfer was also demonstrated in the chapter. It was clearly shown to be influenced by the diaspora's willingness to transfer and share knowledge and how such willingness matched the home country's own willingness to receive, use and value it. The presence of a shared learning culture between the diaspora's organisation in the host country and their collaborators in the home country was found to facilitate knowledge transfer.

The results supported the findings in the two previous chapters on the facilitating effects of the host country's acceptance of diaspora capital and those of social capital and knowledge transfer intermediaries in the production of knowledge transfer.

However, for this type of knowledge transfer, the effects of social capital appeared to be more prominent than in other kinds of transfer. Social networks which were formed before their settlement in the host countries were clearly seen to have provided the opportunity or ability to be involved in knowledge transfer later on. This could be attributed to the nature of cultural and social knowledge being more subjective and location-specific as compared to mainstream scientific and technological knowledge whose application is not bound by location. Cultural and social knowledge also has a personal element to it just like the diaspora novels and plays that Loida and Ria have produced. These creative works highlight the experiences of the Filipino diaspora in Australia as interpreted by the writers. The subjectivity, location-specificity and personal character of cultural and social knowledge, therefore, makes it more dependent on social networks particularly those built on similar backgrounds, interests, ethnicity or culture. This could also explain why the

motivation to help the home country appears to be the strongest among the participants involved in this type of transfer.

There were more transfers of this type of knowledge (11) compared to business and trade knowledge (6), and just a little less of it compared to scientific and technological knowledge (13). This suggests that cultural and social transfers are relatively spontaneous in character. Again, this could be linked to the nature of this type of knowledge being less proprietary or exclusive unlike scientific or business knowledge. Thus, I imagine that there have been many knowledge transfers of this type of knowledge that have occurred and created positive developmental impacts both on home and host countries but little has been said or written about them because of the greater importance given to the mainstream types of knowledge. The information provided in this chapter hopefully has filled that gap.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

Introduction

Knowledge transfer and circulation has been studied and promoted by scholars in migration studies as a novel process for understanding how to capitalise on the knowledge of the skilled diaspora so as to alleviate the negative impacts of skilled outmigration on developing countries (Meyer et al. 1997; Meyer and Brown 1999; Saxenian 2002a; Brown 2003; Hunger 2004; Xiang 2005; Zweig et al. 2008). However, there is still a lack of consensus among migration scholars on its ability to make a difference. Some scholars have criticised optimistic accounts of knowledge transfer because there is limited evidence of its actual benefits (Lowell and Gerova 2004; Lucas 2004; Parthasarathi 2006). Indeed, only a few successful examples can be found, notably those involving India and China, whose successful experiences have received much attention both in the academic and policy spheres (Hunger 2004; Saxenian 2005; Zweig et al. 2008), and those involving Taiwan and South Korea (Meyer and Brown 1999). However, their success has been attributed to both the particular initiative of the skilled diaspora and to the structural and institutional readiness of these countries to absorb and utilise the skills of their diaspora (Meyer and Brown 1999). This leaves doubts about whether the achievement of the skilled diaspora in these countries can be replicated in other developing countries with less developed research and development (R&D) infrastructure and poor governance systems—or those with lower absorptive capacities. Further studies of different diasporic groups are needed to fully interrogate the viability of this concept to effect change in developing countries with high levels of out migration, especially given the growing size of all migration flows from developing countries, including the highly skilled.

My choice of the Philippines as the focus of this study is driven by a desire to contribute to addressing the critical development issue of the increasing outmigration of highly skilled people from my home country. With its large population and high level of skilled outmigration similar to India and China, the Philippines is an excellent choice for examining the viability of this concept. The Philippines is less developed than both

Taiwan and South Korea, which is important given a critical argument raised by Dawson (2008) that the success of these two countries in enticing their expatriate professionals to return is attributable to their higher level of economic development which enabled them to absorb the high-level skills of their returning professionals. The Philippines has been cited in the literature as potentially unsuitable for this 'brain gain' to take place. Lucas (2004) noted that the return option may not be feasible for countries such as the Philippines, Vietnam and Albania because of the unattractive pay structures for local workers. This erroneously assumes that economic motives are primary in decisions to return. Hunger (2004) meanwhile argued that while the Philippines and Mexico have the potential to achieve 'brain gain', this is problematic because of their volatile economic and political climates which lowers their attractiveness to foreign investments, and in turn, reduces these countries' ability to absorb their returning professionals. A deeper analysis of the Philippine case can make a timely contribution to these debates.

As destination countries, New Zealand and Australia provide equally useful case studies for the study of the flow of highly skilled migrants from developing countries. Both countries have similar development statuses and embarked on neoliberal approaches to social and economic policies in the late 1980s. These included immigration reforms which allowed skilled migration from non-traditional source countries like the Philippines. Previously, highly skilled people from the Philippines usually went to the US and Canada. Both New Zealand and Australia are therefore emerging as new sites of knowledge circulation and can offer new and valuable insights that can further inform academic and policy debates on the skilled migration and development nexus.

By further examining conceptual and practical issues in knowledge transfer, this study fills some key research gaps. While it is important to analyse the size and nature of skilled migration and its impacts on development, it is also critical to understand the key actors—the skilled migrants. This study provides new insights into their multiple lives, motivations and sentiments, but more importantly, it explores how these aspects influence diasporic practices such as knowledge transfer.

A unique feature of this study is that it demonstrates the importance of 'knowledge' beyond that described as scientific and economic. Once there is a better understanding of the complex nature of 'knowledge', then it becomes possible to analyse knowledge transfer and circulation differently. The overemphasis on science and technology, and

business and trade knowledge in the current literature paints a limited reality that allows only certain types of knowledge and certain types of highly skilled occupations to emerge as contributing to development. The study's inclusion of cultural and social knowledge in the analysis corrects this limitation and enriches the understanding of the relationship between knowledge and development. It is important to acknowledge that knowledge comes in different types—scientific, technological, business, economic, cultural and social, to name a few—and they all contribute to development in different ways.

This study stresses the importance of analysing knowledge transfer and circulation by looking at different types of knowledge and how their particular characteristics and those of the different types of highly skilled migrants who carry these knowledges may affect the ways in which knowledge is transferred. Williams (2006:32) noted that the importance of migrants and return migration in knowledge transactions is often highlighted in the literature yet “there is little analysis of the exchanges, or the social situatedness, of knowledge.” Existing studies also ignore the possible effects of different types of knowledge and the orientation of different skilled professions on the effectiveness of knowledge transfer. Iredale's (2001) view that each professional arena has a unique situation and therefore the need to differentiate by profession when examining skilled migration is relevant to consider in investigating the concept of knowledge transfer. Highly skilled migrants demonstrate a common set of behaviours, but it is also crucial to recognise that they are also a heterogeneous group composed of members whose actions and thinking may differ from one another.

Knowledge transfer: a viable development strategy?

The overall research question that this study has tried to answer is: How viable is knowledge transfer as a development strategy for capitalising on the relevant knowledge and skills of the highly skilled Filipino diaspora in New Zealand and Australia and for facilitating its participation in the development of the home country?

The cases of knowledge transfer that I present here provides some evidence that the highly skilled diaspora has some use to its home country. This means that **knowledge transfer and circulation can contribute to development strategies and the Philippines can benefit from skilled migration**. While the negative consequences of skilled migration cannot be ignored, the outward flow of highly skilled migrants has positive outcomes for

home countries beyond their financial remittances. As the different cases in this research show, skilled migration increases the intellectual, social and economic capital of migrants making them better equipped to help their home countries. It allows them to enhance their existing knowledge and skills, acquire new ones, and build professional and social networks which they can transfer to their home countries through various activities. Migration—both low skilled and high skilled—will remain a continuing phenomenon so it is important to understand how to harness its benefits. The skilled diaspora is a new set of development actors who have emerged at a certain time through a range of global processes—the advent of the knowledge economy in the late 1980s which highlighted knowledge as an important resource in development; improvement of higher education in many origin countries; the rapid advances in information and communication technology (ICT) spurring a strong demand for ICT professionals; trade liberalisation policies and various innovations in global operations that have facilitated the transfer of production activities to more cost-effective locations for transnational companies; and the opening up of places to go to through more lenient immigration policies especially for skilled people.

However, knowledge transfer and circulation is a complex process. As my research shows, the skilled diaspora does not necessarily engage in knowledge transfer immediately on arrival in a new country. Some migrants are able to engage in knowledge transfer immediately but it takes several years for others to do so. Successful knowledge transfer depends on certain factors/conditions that work in a complex, intertwined manner.

For instance, my research shows that knowledge transfer is facilitated when there is an ease of acceptance by the host country of the skilled diaspora's skills and education. Labour policies that constrain the acceptance of the diaspora's skills and education hamper the onset of their knowledge transfer activities to their home country. Issues of unemployment and deskilling, or being relegated to lower status and lower paying jobs, affect economic and professional stability. The lack of stability makes them less capable of transferring knowledge because knowledge transfer requires not just intellectual capital but also social and economic capital. This points to the need for carefully aligned labour, education and migration policies in host countries for all migrants, including highly skilled migrants.

Host countries gain from the knowledge transfer of migrant professionals to their home country and therefore they should ensure a suitable environment for highly skilled

migrants to utilise their knowledge. Hugo (2007:28-29) makes a significant point regarding the role of host countries in harnessing the developmental impacts of migration:

“The focus in the migration and development literature is largely on what less developed origin countries can do to enhance the contribution of their expatriates to economic and social development at home. However, since OECD nations espouse a wish to encourage and facilitate the progress of less developed nations, it is important to ask whether there are some policies and programs relating to migration and the diaspora which can facilitate and enhance their positive developmental impacts in origin areas.

...It would seem that there are things that receiving nations can do, which at worst, can reduce the negative effects of brain drain, and at best, can have positive impacts on economic and social development in origin nations.”

Knowledge transfer links both home and host countries together, thereby increasing the flows of ideas, technology and economic capital. Easing the uptake of migrant labour by host countries through better labour policies and suitable settlement strategies to assist migrants will help to facilitate knowledge transfer to countries of origin. It can also result in a more productive and content skilled diaspora that is appreciative of its host country and eager to contribute to its development. Host countries can view the act of facilitating knowledge transfer as their way of helping sending countries reduce brain drain.

Furthermore, my research shows that the viability of knowledge transfer and circulation rests in part from the strong cultural and emotional attachment of the diaspora to its home country. It validates the veracity of the transnationalism and diaspora concepts in explaining why knowledge transfer and circulation can take place. Migrants maintain linkages that span national borders (Basch et al. 1994; Wong and Satzewich 2006) while remaining deeply committed to their origin countries (Sheffer 1986), and these traits, to a significant extent, facilitate the production of knowledge transfers to their home countries. This ‘embedded connectedness’ of migrants with their home country is a window of opportunity that a home country government should take advantage of.

The viability of knowledge transfer is also influenced by a profession’s training or orientation. There are certain skilled professions such as scientists and academics in which knowledge exchange and collaboration is valued and embedded in their professional

training. Some professions are also service-orientated as exemplified by the doctors and the ex-military in the research. Some have a strong development orientation due to the influence of their profession as development workers. This is another ‘window of opportunity’ that the home country government could capitalise on. These professions are just waiting to be tapped. Knowledge transfer intermediaries such as programmes for facilitating diaspora participation are important for promoting knowledge transfer. These programmes should target expatriates in the different professions and not just those who are involved in science and technology occupations. To successfully tap the diaspora, these programs should have suitable manpower, adequate budget and relevant institutional linkages, particularly if dealing with significant numbers of migrants scattered worldwide.

Another important finding from the research is that the different types of knowledge that migrants carry and transfer to others have particular characteristics and these have a bearing on their transfer. Cultural and social knowledge is less exclusive and proprietary than scientific and business knowledge so its transfer is more spontaneous and less dependent on knowledge intermediaries to generate. The subjectivity, location-specificity and personal character of cultural and social knowledge also makes it easily transferrable through social networks. Meanwhile, business and trade transfers are less spontaneous and more difficult to produce. This is because they are highly sensitive to home country conditions due to the greater risks involved in their production which entails both diaspora capital (knowledge and skills plus financial resources) and social networks. This characteristic makes the transfer of this type of knowledge also easily hampered by unfavourable conditions in the home country such as corruption and red tape in government, inefficient infrastructures, unstable politics, and public order and security problems. On the other hand, while often proprietary, scientific knowledge has a tendency to flow easily because of the value of knowledge exchange and collaboration that is embedded in the scientific and academic professions. This characteristic makes scientific knowledge transfers also easy to produce.

As already mentioned, favourable home country conditions can entice the skilled diaspora to transfer knowledge to the home country. The motivation of the diaspora to transfer knowledge to the home country is influenced by home country conditions. Poor governance can be a disincentive to knowledge transfer. Certain professions particularly those in business and trade are highly sensitive to personal incentives, particularly monetary returns, due to the greater risks involved in these activities, and they are

therefore sensitive to adverse home country conditions. Hunger's (2004) view that the Philippines' unstable economic and political climate is a hindrance to achieve brain gain is a valid point since the Philippines will find it difficult to encourage knowledge, as well as financial, transfers and investments from the diaspora, particularly from the business and trade sector, unless conditions improve. It is important to remember that knowledge transfer should also be a win-win situation for the diaspora.

Moreover, home country issues like inadequate social services and poor resourcing for R&D should not be passed on to the diaspora for solution. The diaspora members should feel they are partners for development and not 'milking cows' for social and financial remittances. Providing good health services to the general population, particularly to remote villages, promoting R&D research in the country and encouraging science and technology personnel to remain in the country through better incentives and career opportunities are tasks that the home country government itself should work on.

On the usefulness of knowledge transfers to the home country, the research finds it is affected by the willingness of the receivers in the home country to receive, value and use the knowledge transferred by the diaspora. Such willingness is facilitated by the presence of a learning culture in both the home and host countries.

As the research shows, for successful knowledge transfer to take place, the skilled diaspora's openness to share knowledge should be complemented with the receiver's willingness to receive and use that knowledge. The presence of a culture and value system in the home and host countries that give importance to knowledge exchange and collaboration can facilitate knowledge transfer. It is not enough that expatriate professionals are willing to share their knowledge and skills; the receivers should also be receptive to learning and collaboration. The receivers' resistance to knowledge exchange and collaboration with the skilled diaspora may be resolved by home country governments by disseminating the positive impacts of international collaboration particularly those involving expatriate professionals and stressing the importance of recognising the diaspora as new partners in development.

Suggestions for future research

The advantage of a qualitative research design through a case study approach has proven to be a wise choice in the study considering its aim of deeply investigating a process and a

phenomenon. The richness of the data gathered through the semi-structured face-to-face interviews from the limited sample in the three study areas confirms the value of qualitative research in development studies.

The use of ethnic media to access the skilled diaspora particularly in Sydney and Melbourne which have large populations of Filipino migrants was a critical part of my methodology. A press release in a Filipino newspaper in Melbourne and radio and TV guesting on two Filipino programs in Melbourne and Sydney helped promote the research to the wider Filipino community. It also established the authenticity of the research and myself as a researcher. Similar or related research on migrant groups may also benefit from tapping into the ethnic media in research promotion and participant recruitment.

Moreover, this research has clarified some of the most important theoretical aspects of knowledge transfer. They include, the identification of the effects of different types of knowledge and of the orientations of different skilled professions on the success of knowledge transfer; elaboration of the impact of host country factors, particularly labour policies, on the ability of the skilled diaspora to engage in knowledge transfer; and the analysis of the impact of home country conditions such as poor governance on the motivation of the skilled diaspora to transfer knowledge. This study points to the need to undertake research that analyses the specific effects of migration, labour and education policies both in the home and host countries that contribute to successful knowledge transfer. Such research would further refine the critical arguments this study has presented and contribute to relevant and workable policy tools for harnessing the benefits of skilled migration.

Additionally, it has provided a nuanced case study of the complex process of knowledge transfer and its potential as a brain-gain strategy both for host and home countries, with a particular focus on participants in different employment sectors. Further analytical insight would have come from a comparative study of the level of diasporic engagement between the participants in New Zealand and those in Australia. In particular, it might have allowed for more probing of the effects between different policy configurations particularly in terms of migration and labour policies in two similar host countries which are also different in terms of the size of their diasporic communities and extent of economic opportunities. A comparative study of the knowledge transfer practices of different skilled ethnic groups and the effects of home country, host country, diaspora and

support factors on their involvement could also yield useful findings. Such a study would greatly assist in validating the outcomes of the present research and reveal the extent to which the effects of the different factors match or vary across ethnic groups.

Additionally, future research on knowledge transfer might take a more quantitative methodology with a larger sample size to facilitate probing for the relative roles and effects of individual attributes such as socioemographic characteristics, training, and knowledge and skills on the skilled migrants' transnational and diasporic practices. A good example is the research of Guarnizo et al. (2003) on the transnational political activities, whether electoral (e.g., membership in a political party, monetary contributions to these parties, involvement in political campaigns) or nonelectoral in nature (e.g., membership in a hometown civic association, monetary contribution to civic projects in the community of origin, regular membership in charity organisations in the home country), of three Latin migrant groups (Dominicans, Colombians and Salvadorans) in four US metropolitan areas. The authors studied the type, scale and intensity of their political engagement in their home countries and the individual and social factors that shape their participation. Participation in transnational politics was found to increase significantly during adulthood and declined as persons become elderly. Drawing a profile, the authors concluded that in general, the persons most likely to engage in political transnationalism are well connected, well established, educated and male. Findings like these on the effects of individual and social attributes would significantly contribute to further understand how knowledge transfer works.

Finally, more studies on the transfer of social and cultural knowledge by skilled migrants are recommended. The scarcity of research and documentation of this type limits the understanding of knowledge and knowledge transfer. It would be useful to know the extent to which transfers of attitudes, approaches and ways of doing things are occurring between the skilled diaspora and the home country, how receptive the individuals are in the home country to these knowledge flows, and what the outcomes are. A more detailed and ethnographic approach would be an ideal methodology. A good example is Peggit Levitt's *The Transnational Villagers* (2001), which took an indepth investigation of the social remittances (norms, practices, identities and social capital) that circulate between Jamaica Plain, a Boston neighbourhood, where many Boca Canasteros settled, and Boca Canasta, a village in the Dominican Republic (Levitt 2001). With Levitt's research

dealing with ordinary migrants, future studies with skilled migrants as the focus of investigation could significantly fill existing research gaps.

Some policy implications

The results of this thesis have useful policy implications for governments and other actors involved in the policy formulation and implementation processes. While these were written primarily in the context of the Philippines, New Zealand and Australia, they are clearly applicable to other home (sending) and host (receiving) countries. Some of these policy implications are discussed in this last section with a few examples mentioned on how they may be carried out.

For home countries

First, it is vital to promote strong links with the diaspora. The research has confirmed the embedded connectedness of migrants with their home country and the value of social and professional networks in facilitating the production of diasporic knowledge transfers. These are both windows of opportunities that home countries should capitalise on. A practical way of doing this is tapping into diaspora knowledge networks. They are defined by Ancien et al. (2009:23) as “overseas networks that mobilise the skills, expertise, contacts, knowledge, business acumen, and financial and political resources of diasporians as a collective resource to benefit the local and global diaspora as well as the homeland.” Based on the typology developed by O’Neill (2009), the authors distinguished between four types of knowledge networks: global knowledge networks (those that link global regions with the home country, including trade missions, business forums, mentoring and advice); specialist knowledge networks (sector-specific networks such as those in ICT, law and biotechnology); professional knowledge networks (networks of professional and highly skilled expatriates); and transnational business networks (networks that aim to build economic ties between the diaspora’s host country and their home country).

For sending countries, a critical initial step to establish good relations with their diaspora through their networks is recognising their existence and potential contribution to development. Coming up with a databank of these diaspora knowledge networks would be a useful starting point. In the case of the Philippines, it seems doubtful how organised the government is on this matter. A look at the website of the Commission on Filipinos

Overseas (CFO) shows that such a database does not exist. Another useful information resource would be a database of expatriate professionals such as scientists and engineers to facilitate tapping of expertise. The Balik Scientist Program (BSP) has been able to come up with such a resource through the years that it has been working with return scientists. But a really laudable effort is the Brain Gain Network (BGN), a professional knowledge network which is a private sector initiative. BGN is a network of professionals and organisations whose aim is “to encourage cooperation among highly skilled, expatriate Filipino professionals and students, and Philippine-based professionals, students, and corporations through advanced technologies, fostering high-technology entrepreneurship in the Philippines and other forms of technology transfer” (<http://www.bgn.org//about>).¹²

Additionally, a government-initiated and managed-website specifically intended for Filipino skilled expatriates to promote goodwill between them and facilitate communication is highly recommended. The databases of diaspora organisations and of knowledge networks can be a part of that website. Currently, such type of a website does not exist. Although the CFO website has information on diaspora involvement programmes, it is not explicit in encouraging diaspora participation. A website dedicated to the Filipino diaspora can send the message that the home country considers them as partners in development. Relatedly, a good strategy for fostering communication between the diaspora and the home country is coming up with regular updates in the form of newsletters and magazines. Ancien et al. (2009) discussed some good examples in their paper, which include Overseas Indian (<http://www.overseasindian.in>), a monthly e-magazine being produced by the Indian government for its diaspora; ScotlandNow (<http://www.friendsofscotland.gov.uk/>), a quarterly e-magazine by the Scottish government; and The Irish Emigrant (<http://www.emigrant.ie/>), a weekly news summary which is being produced by an independent organisation.

Second, home country government should endeavour to improve the quality of information given to their emigrants to prepare them for the challenges ahead, more

¹² Its main activity is to build a database of expatriate Filipinos for facilitating communication and cooperation among its members. Its website has a blog section which contains numerous articles written by its members on topics such as the S&T sector, anticorruption initiatives, and Philippine education to name a few. It also has a discussion section where members can comment and discuss issues among them.

specifically with respect to labour market integration issues. A critical finding of the research is the connection between the diaspora's successful integration in the host country, especially in terms of positive labour outcomes, and their ability to engage in knowledge transfer for the home country. To facilitate successful integration, it is imperative to prepare the migrants while they are still in their home countries so they can anticipate the challenges and plan ahead on how to address them. Sadly, departing migrants are not usually given an honest picture of the difficulties that they will face in the new country by their immigration agents who expectedly would not divulge unfavourable stories. And even if information is available, many a times, migrants just ignore them as their perspective is clouded with so much hope for a better life overseas due to depictions of positive images of migration in the media. Home countries, particularly their governments, have a responsibility to inform and educate their departing emigrants.

In the case of the Philippines, the government through the CFO performs this task through the conduct of country-specific predeparture orientation seminars (PDOS) which are compulsory for all departing permanent immigrants. Topics usually covered in these seminars include travel regulations, immigration procedures, cultural differences, settlement concerns, employment and social security concerns and rights and obligations of Filipino migrants.

Nevertheless, while such a programme exists, there is a need to continuously improve its quality and ensure that it does reflect the real issues that migrants will face overseas and to suggest strategies on how they can be addressed. Notably the CFO has been exerting efforts to improve the quality of the PDOS and one way that it is doing this is by coordinating with diaspora organisations in the host countries. One of my research participants in Australia was Minda, coordinator of the Victoria branch of the Center for Philippine Concerns Australia (CPCA), a non-for-profit civic organisation whose main objective is to advocate for the rights and welfare of Filipino immigrants and to promote their well-being and successful integration in Australian society. The CFO and CPCA have been coordinating closely for years to improve the PDOS for departing immigrants to Australia. Minda has travelled thrice to the Philippines to personally discuss with CFO officials the situation and challenges affecting Filipino migrants in Victoria. This example reinforces the value of tapping into diaspora networks. They have first-hand information on the situation of migrants and may have also encountered similar difficulties in the past.

Departing emigrants could learn significantly from their insights and experiences, particularly on how they were able to cope with the challenges of settlement and integration as new migrants. This is an important resource which home country governments as well as nongovernment organisations working with migrant groups should manage to integrate into their programmes.

Third, home country governments should extend to its diaspora the right to retain one's citizenship and to continue participating in its electoral processes (the right to vote and the opportunity to stand as a candidate). These would help homeland sentiments alive. According to Wayland (2006), dual citizenship may help the remittances to keep flowing in, increase the migrants' interest in development projects, and encourage those who have accumulated wealth overseas to invest in their home country. All of the study areas of this research recognise dual nationality.

In terms of the Philippines as the sending country focus of this study, it is clear that the Philippine government has to exert more effort to promote dual citizenship. Only 22 percent of the New Zealand and Australia sample are dual citizens. When asked in the interviews why they did not opt to take dual citizenship, some participants related that there are certain issues of the law that still unclear to them. These include the possibility of double taxation and the fear that reacquiring Philippine citizenship may jeopardise their host country citizenship. These issues obviously reflect the lack of adequate information by the diaspora on the provisions of the law to be able to make an informed decision. This may be attributed to deficiencies in information dissemination by the Philippine government. A practical way of addressing this is by enhancing the role of its embassies and consulates as formal channels between the diaspora and the home country with a strong advocacy role for promoting diaspora engagement and inclusion.

And *fourth*, it is imperative for a home country to come up with a diaspora engagement programme. The nature of the programme will actually depend on the kind of long-term relationship that it wants to have with its diaspora. Gamlen (2007) developed three hypothetical scenarios for envisioning state-diaspora relations based on the works of Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004). While he framed these scenarios in the context of New Zealand which is increasingly becoming a migrant-sending country, the usefulness of his concept greatly extends to other settings. In the first scenario, the home country views itself as a transnational state and thus considers its diaspora a part of it. The government

exerts a conscious effort to integrate the diaspora into its formal economic, political and sociocultural spheres. In the second scenario, the home country is a strategically selective state. “It encourages some form of long-distance economic and political nationalism but tries to selectively manage what emigrants can and cannot do” (Gamlen 2007:17). In the third scenario, the home country is a disinterested and denouncing state, which ignores the diaspora and does not consider it as part of the homeland.

As a significant labour-exporting country with nearly 9.5 million Filipinos overseas as of 2010 (Commission on Filipinos Overseas 2011) and remittance flows of US\$20.11 billion in 2011 (Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas n.d.), the Philippines would greatly benefit if it would cultivate a strong relationship with its diaspora where it sees itself as a transnational state (first scenario). Having a comprehensive diaspora engagement programme is critical to achieve this.

The Philippines can learn from China’s success in tapping the knowledge, economic and social capital of its expatriate professionals. The key to its success is not only attributable to its comprehensive and well-supported diaspora programmes but also to the presence of a clear diaspora policy (see Chapter 3 for details). In contrast to China, the Philippines has no clear and stated policy for encouraging return migration or diaspora participation (Wescott 2006). Existing programmes to engage the Filipino diaspora are therefore not anchored on a policy agenda which is needed as a guiding principle for consolidating and coordinating all activities and ensuring their sustainability.

The weakness in the Philippine case is not only in its lack of a diaspora policy but also to inadequate government support. Its return scientist programme (BSP) has been effective in encouraging expatriate scientists to undertake short-term return migration for development projects but it is underutilised. In my interview with the BSP head, she attested to the programme’s underperformance due to the government’s limited support which is evident in its inadequate manpower and small budget. Its linkage with some consular offices and embassies abroad, which are supposed to help in promoting the programme, is also weak. The absence of any scientist or engineer in the research sample from New Zealand who have participated in the BSP, despite the country’s increasing number of S&T professionals from the Philippines, is an indication of the programme’s lack of promotion in New Zealand. One of the participants in New Zealand, a doctor, said he has never heard of the BSP.

It is noteworthy that the government recently launched the “Diaspora to Development” (D2D) programme which is to be managed and implemented by the CFO (see http://www.cfo.gov.ph/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1359:diaspora-to-development&catid=144:socio-economic-development). While this effort appears to be long overdue, the comprehensiveness of the D2D can be considered an indication that the Philippine government is increasingly realising the merit of engaging its diaspora for development. A notable feature of the programme is its wide scope that aims to reach migrant professionals from different fields of expertise which could highly intensify diaspora participation. As this research shows, other professions are just waiting to be tapped. There are certain professions which are service-orientated and in which the knowledge exchange and collaboration is valued and embedded in their professional training. These are clearly windows of opportunity for the home country.

For host countries

First, there is a need for host countries to look beyond statistics and evaluation reports proclaiming the success of migration policies and settlement programmes and make a more in-depth investigation of the actual situation of migrants. For example, a recent major government report prepared by Hawthorne (2011) indicates that the two-step migration model adopted by New Zealand and Australia, whether it is the work-to-residence pathway or the study-migration pathway, has been successful, judging from the labour market outcomes of new migrants. Using longitudinal survey data and comparing the results in the two countries for the period 2005-2006 with a sample of 10,000 migrants in Australia and 12,202 migrants in New Zealand, the study found a high percentage of skilled principal applicants in both countries in paid employment at 18 months post-migration (85% in Australia and 87% in New Zealand). It also showed that only 18 percent of skilled principal applicants to Australia experienced unemployment at 18 months post-migration, with the figure for New Zealand significantly lower at 7 percent. While evaluation reports are useful to gauge success, positive outcomes tend to dissuade policymakers from looking deeper into the situation on the ground. The fact remains that the devaluation of skilled migrant workers’ human capital is a continuing phenomenon as extensively discussed in Chapter 2. As New Zealand migration scholars Ip and Friesen (2001:234) commented in a paper, “Despite being touted as non-racial, the government’s immigration policy itself can be viewed as a form of institutional racism. In particular, the

lack of support offered to new migrants has been an issue, especially for those whose first language was not English and who were sold an idealised version of the real New Zealand.” Improving settlement strategies for migrants, while necessary, however, is not enough. There is a need to bring the discourse of deskilling into the immigration and labour policy spectrum.

Second, host countries should recognise that migrants may have transnational loyalties. Dual citizenship has traditionally been viewed as a political form of bigamy, devaluing the meaning of citizenship and weakening migrants’ loyalty to the country to which they emigrated (Mazzolari 2006; Faist and Gerdes 2008). However, there is increasing broader acceptance of dual citizenship.¹³ This may be attributed to growing evidence of the benefits of accommodating dual citizenship which should be of particular interest to migrant-receiving countries (Foner 2001; Escobar 2004; Mazzolari 2006, 2007; Faist and Gerdes 2008). These studies noted better economic integration in the host countries among migrants who have dual citizenship. A quantitative study by Mazzolari (2006, 2007), for example, found that Latin American immigrants in the United States who retained their origin-country citizenship were more likely to naturalise, had experienced relative employment and earning gains and were less reliant on welfare. The higher rate of naturalisation among dual-citizen migrants is also consistent with studies in the European Union as reported by Faist and Gerdes (2008). These authors surmised that dual citizenship provides positive psychological effects on migrants, which facilitate their successful integration in the host country, such as having the sense of belonging in both countries and being freed from the agony of giving up one’s citizenship which for many is essential to their identity.

And *third*, which applies to both host and home countries, the portability of social security rights such as old-age pension and other entitlements should be allowed. Emigrants should be permitted to retain their rights to formal social security systems in their country of origin as well as to the benefits from these systems, and should also be entitled to the social security benefits in the country of destination, even after they depart, whether temporarily or permanently. The portability of social security benefits has been extensively analysed by Sabates-Wheeler (Sabates-Wheeler and Macauslan 2007; Avato

¹³ For example, aggregating the findings from several studies, Blatter et al. (2009) noted that from 189 countries they analysed, 73 fully accept dual citizenship and 87 have positive attitudes towards it.

et al. 2010; Sabates-Wheeler and Koettl 2010) who emphasised its significance in ensuring the well-being and security of migrants and their families. Colleo and Branca (2008:5) noted that portability is important to “promote labour mobility” and to help foster the role of migrants as “agents of development for their home communities”. Both home and host countries should endeavour to promote social security portability given its important economic and social implications which have significant positive repercussions to the knowledge transfer argument. As Pasadilla (2011:2-3) explained:

“If labor-receiving countries are keen to see foreign workers go back home, portability of social security would help facilitate such a politically desirable outcome. On the part of labor-sending countries, they also benefit from circular migration flows through enhanced human capital of and increased investments from returning migrants. With portable social security, returning migrants minimize the burdens on their home countries’ social services. Significantly, for regions that aim at deeper economic integration like the ASEAN, social security portability can facilitate a more orderly labor movement within the region, foment greater social cohesion and more “buy-in” for the integration efforts.”

Social security portability is promoted through international conventions, in particular the 1982 ILO Convention No. 157 on the Maintenance of Social Security Rights (ILO n.d.). However, it was only ratified by the Philippines, Spain and Sweden (Holzmann et al. 2005; Colleo and Branca 2008). Another tool which is considered more valuable (avoids double coverage) and more advantageous for migrants (results in the totalisation of period of contribution of the workers over two or more different countries) (see Holzmann et al. 2005 for details) is through bilateral agreements.¹⁴

¹⁴ The Philippines has concluded bilateral social security agreements with Austria, Belgium, Canada and Quebec, France, Spain, Switzerland and the UK; these provisions include the equality of treatment, the totalisation of pension contributions and exportability of pensions (Holzmann et al. 2005). In the absence of a bilateral agreement, Philippine migrant workers can choose to stay covered on a voluntary basis under the Philippine pension system and the public health insurance system (Holzmann et al. 2005). New Zealand has social security agreements with Australia, the UK, Netherlands, Ireland, Greece, Canada, Denmark, and Jersey and Guernsey. These provisions stipulate the payment of New Zealand pension and other benefits to its citizens residing overseas and/or the use of their residence in New Zealand to help them qualify for benefits or pensions in another country covered by the agreement (see New Zealand Government 2008 for details). As for Australia, it has bilateral agreements with New Zealand, the UK, Italy, Canada, Spain, Malta, the Netherlands, Ireland, Portugal, Australia, Cyprus, Denmark, Germany, USA, Chile, Croatia, Slovenia, Belgium, Norway, Switzerland, Korea, Greece, Japan, Finland, Poland, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Czech Republic and Slovak Republic (see Australian Government 2012 for details).

Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview materials for Filipino migrants in New Zealand and Australia



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CONSENT FORM

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

*Title: Home country – diaspora ties for development through
knowledge transfer*

Researcher: Sheila V. Siar
Centre for Development Studies, University of Auckland, New Zealand

This is to confirm that I have read the Participant Information Sheet and have understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions, and I was satisfied with the answers and clarifications made by the researcher. Hence, I am giving my consent to take part in this research. Furthermore, I understand the following conditions and options are made available for me:

- I may withdraw from this study during the interview or at any time within two weeks after the interview and consequently, all the information I have provided will be destroyed (shredded or burned).
- I understand that all information provided may only be reported or published in a way that will not identify me as its source.
- I understand that there may be some risks of my identity becoming known in the final report or any publication related to this research.
- All interview materials (i.e. notebooks, tapes) will be kept in a safe place at the researcher's residence in Auckland City from May 2009 to April 2010, and on University of Auckland premises, in a locked cabinet, thereafter for a period of six years. This Consent Form will be stored separate from the interview materials, but will also be kept in a safe place at the researcher's residence and on university premises at the same time duration as the interview materials.
- I understand that the research data will be destroyed (shredded or burned) after the six-year safekeeping period.

I agree to be audiotaped.

Yes

No

(SIGNATURE OVER PRINTED NAME)

Date:

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS
COMMITTEE ON 13 MAY 2009 FOR 3 YEARS. REFERENCE NUMBER 2009/095

**Home country – diaspora ties for development through knowledge transfer:
The case of highly skilled Filipino migrants in New Zealand and Australia**

This questionnaire is part of a PhD research project at the Centre for Development Studies, University of Auckland. The purpose of this in-depth research is to investigate the extent to which highly skilled Filipino migrants in New Zealand and Australia are transferring their knowledge and skills to their home country, the Philippines, and how these knowledge transfers are facilitating their participation in home country development. Thank you very much for your support and cooperation in this research.

Name: _____

City/Region: _____

A. Sociodemographic profile

1. What town or city in the Philippines did you come from?

2. Age _____

3. Gender ____ Female ____ Male

4. Civil status

- ____ Never been married
- ____ Living with a spouse/partner
- ____ Widow/widower

5. Religious affiliation

- ____ Christian
- ____ Islam
- ____ Other
- ____ None

6. Highest level of education

7. Please check your immigration approval category

- ____ Skilled migrant
- ____ Business owner/investor
- ____ Family sponsored
- ____ Work permit
 - ____ With arranged employment
 - ____ Without arranged employment

8. What was your last occupation prior to your arrival in New Zealand or Australia?

9. What is your current employment status in New Zealand or Australia?

- A paid employee
- Self-employed and not employing others
- An employer of other person in my own business
- Working in a family business or family farm without pay
- Not employed

10. What is your current job? (If you are working for a company or you own one, please indicate your position/title and the name of the company.)

101. Is this job related to your education/training or skills?

- Yes
- No

11. How did you get that job?

- Applied to an employer
- Through relatives or friends
- Through a private employment agency
- Had a job offer before I came to New Zealand or Australia
- My employer transferred me to New Zealand or Australia
- Other (please state _____)

12. Have you studied in New Zealand or Australia or are you currently studying for a degree, diploma or certificate?

- Yes
- No

12.1. If your answer is yes, please state the course or programme that you attended or the degree/certificate/diploma that you earned.

13. Annual income level (please check)

- \$5,000 or less
- \$5,001 - \$10,000
- \$10,001 - \$15,000
- \$15,001 - \$20,000
- \$20,001 - \$25,000
- \$25,001 - \$30,000
- \$30,001 - \$35,000
- \$35,001 - \$40,000
- \$40,001 - \$50,000
- \$50,001 - \$70,000
- \$70,001 - \$100,000
- \$100,001 or more

B. Life in New Zealand or Australia

14. How long have you been residing in New Zealand or Australia?

- Less than 6 months
- 6 to 24 months
- More than 2 years to 5 years
- More than 5 years to 8 years
- More than 8 years to 12 years
- More than 12 years to 15 years
- More than 15 years

15. Have you become a New Zealand or Australian citizen?

15.1. When? _____

15.2. How did you feel when you became a citizen?

16. Are you a dual citizen? Yes No

17. If you have a partner and/or kids, are they living with you? Yes No

18. In your life as a migrant in this country, when did you start to feel secure and happy?

- Within 6 months after I arrived
- After 6 to 24 months
- After 2 to 5 years
- After 6 to 8 years
- After 9 to 11 years
- After 12 to 15 years
- After 15 years

19. Do you think your life now is much better than when you were in the Philippines?

Yes No

Why?

20. Do you belong to any group or association in New Zealand or Australia and what is the name of the group or association?

- A religious group _____
- A sports club _____
- An ethnic association or one that has ties to your cultural heritage as an Asian or a Filipino _____
- A professional association (e.g., New Zealand Medical Association) _____
- A service organisation (e.g., Rotary) _____
- Other (please state) _____

21. What is/was your position in these organisation/s or club/s?

Name of organisation/club

Position (officer/member)

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

C. Ties with the Philippines

22. What are your sources of information about the Philippines? (please check all relevant items)

Filipino newspaper (please state name/s)

Other newspapers in New Zealand or Australia (please state name/s)

Radio (please state name of program/s) _____

TV (please state name of program/s) _____

Internet

Family/relatives living in New Zealand or Australia

Family/relatives living in the Philippines

Family/relatives living elsewhere

Friends living in New Zealand or Australia

Friends living in the Philippines

Friends living elsewhere

Filipino association where I belong (please state name) _____

Other _____

23. From the time you came to New Zealand or Australia, have you returned to the Philippines to visit?

Yes

No

If your answer is yes:

24.1. How many times? _____

24.2. What was the purpose of these visits? _____

24.3. Average length of time you stayed there? _____

24. Do you keep in touch with people in the Philippines?

Yes

No

24.1. If yes, with whom do you keep in touch with?

Family

Friends

Business associates

Other (please state) _____

25. Do you keep in touch with people other than those in the Philippines?

Yes

No

25.1. If yes, with whom do you keep in touch with?

- Family
- Friends
- Business associates
- Other (please state) _____

26. How do you keep in touch with people in the Philippines and elsewhere?

- Email
- Texting/SMS
- Internet chat
- Social networking sites (Facebook, MySpace, etc.)
- Telephone
- Regular mail
- Other (please state _____)

27. What particular aspects of the Philippines do you miss?

- Food
- People
- Places
- Customs and traditions
- Other (please state _____)

28. Since moving to New Zealand or Australia, what values, practices or traditions related to your being a "Filipino" have you been able to maintain?

29. What values, practices or traditions have you not been able to follow or sustain?

30. If you are a member of an ethnic association, has that association been helpful to you in (a) settling in this country (e.g., finding accommodation, job) and (b) making you feel connected to your roots?

Settling in this country (e.g., finding accommodation, job)

- Yes
- No

30.1. Making you feel connected to your roots

- Yes
- No

31. Do you send money (financial remittance) to your immediate family or relatives in the Philippines? How frequent?

- Yes
- No

36. Did you initiate these knowledge transfers? Which ones did you initiate?

<u>Knowledge transfer</u>	<u>Own initiative (Yes/No)</u>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

36.1. For the one ones that you did not initiate, how did you get involved in these knowledge transfers? Was it through your project or work, through your organisation/club, through your family members/relatives, you were invited by your friends or colleagues, you found out the information in an advertisement, etc.? Please explain.

37. What time in your life in New Zealand or Australia did you become involved in these knowledge transfers? (Please tick appropriate box)

Knowledge transfer	Within 6 months after I arrived	After 6 to 24 months	After 2 to 5 years	After 6 to 8 years	After 9 to 11 years	After 12 to 15 years	After more than 15 years
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							

38. What means of communication did you and the people in the Philippines (those you have exchanged your knowledge/skills with or to whom you have transferred or shared your knowledge/skills) used to connect/communicate?

_____ E-mail

_____ Internet chat

_____ Texting/SMS

_____ Regular mail

_____ Telephoning

_____ Visiting the Philippines

_____ Others (please specify _____)

39. What was your motivation for engaging in these knowledge transfers?
- Economic
 - Social (e.g., gain friends, contacts, connections)
 - Philanthropic (feeling of social responsibility to help home country)
 - Emotional and cultural attachment with home country
 - Others (please specify _____)

40. What benefits did you anticipate or expect when you decided to engage in these knowledge transfers?

41. Were these benefits met or achieved? Which ones were achieved? Can you cite any tangible benefits achieved?

Yes, all of the benefits I expected were achieved (please specify what they are).

Yes, but only some of them were achieved (please specify which ones were achieved).

None of the benefits I anticipated were achieved.

42. What did you contribute to these knowledge transfers? (e.g., advice, expertise, financial capital, networks, etc.)?

43. What barriers/problems did you encounter in these knowledge transfers (e.g., financial capital, contacts, difficulty to coordinate) and how were these resolved?

Barrier	How was it resolved

44. In general, do you think these knowledge transfers were worth your time? Why?

Yes
 No

Why?

45. Do you think these knowledge transfers are helpful to the Philippines? In what way are they helpful? If the answer is no, why are these transfers not helpful?

- Yes
 No

Why?

46. Do you see yourself being involved in these transfers on a regular basis?

- Yes
 No

47. Would you recommend to your fellow migrants to be involved in knowledge transfers for the home country?

- Yes
 No

48. This research is also intended to determine the impact of these knowledge transfers on the collaborators and on the home country. Would you be willing to refer me to your collaborators (or recipients of the transfer) in the Philippines so they can also participate in this research? Interviewing them would be a great help to me in coming up with a full picture of how knowledge transfers to the home country by overseas Filipinos are making an impact on economic and social development of sending countries.

- Yes
 No

49. Would you be willing to make yourself available for a follow-up interview (phone or email) regarding the knowledge transfer(s) that you have initially discussed or described in this interview. It would really be a great help if you could provide more details to your responses. Also, in case I need some clarification regarding your responses, would it be alright if I contact you again?

- Yes
 No

50. Please provide any feedback or comment that you may have about this interview or research.

-MARAMING SALAMAT PO-

Appendix 2. Interview materials for collaborators in the Philippines



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The University of Auckland
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CONSENT FORM

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS

*Title: Home country – diaspora ties for development through
knowledge transfer*

Researcher: Sheila V. Siar
Centre for Development Studies, University of Auckland, New Zealand

This is to confirm that I have read the Participant Information Sheet and have understood the nature of the research and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions, and I was satisfied with the answers and clarifications made by the researcher. Hence, I am giving my consent to take part in this research. Furthermore, I understand the following conditions and options are made available for me:

- I may withdraw from this study during the interview or at any time within two weeks after the interview and consequently, all the information I have provided will be destroyed (shredded or burned).
- I understand that all information provided may only be reported or published in a way that will not identify me as its source.
- I understand that there may be some risks of my identity becoming known in the final report or any publication related to this research.
- All interview materials (i.e. notebooks, tapes) will be kept in a safe place at the researcher's residence in Auckland City from May 2009 to April 2010, and on University of Auckland premises, in a locked cabinet, thereafter for a period of six years. This Consent Form will be stored separate from the interview materials, but will also be kept in a safe place at the researcher's residence and on university premises at the same time duration as the interview materials.
- I understand that the research data will be destroyed (shredded or burned) after the six-year safekeeping period.

I agree to be audiotaped.

Yes

No

(SIGNATURE OVER PRINTED NAME):

Date:

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS
COMMITTEE ON 13 MAY 2009 FOR 3 YEARS. REFERENCE NUMBER 2009/095

Home country – diaspora ties for development through knowledge transfer: The case of highly skilled Filipino migrants in New Zealand and Australia

This questionnaire is part of a PhD research project at the Centre for Development Studies, University of Auckland. The purpose of this in-depth research is to investigate the extent to which highly skilled Filipino migrants in New Zealand and Australia are transferring their knowledge and skills to their home country, the Philippines, and how these knowledge transfers are facilitating their participation in home country development. Because I want to fully investigate the effects of those knowledge transfers to the development of the home country, I am also interviewing the migrants' collaborators in these transfers, which include you.

Name: _____

City/Region: _____

A. Sociodemographic profile

1. Age _____
2. Gender _____
3. Civil status _____
4. Religious affiliation _____
5. Highest level of education _____
6. Currently working _____
 - 6.1. If yes, please state your occupation _____
7. Annual income level
 - ____ P50,000 or less
 - ____ P50,001 to P100,000
 - ____ P100,001 to P150,000
 - ____ P150,001 to P200,000
 - ____ P200,001 to P250,000
 - ____ P250,001 to P300,000
 - ____ P300,001 to P400,000
 - ____ P400,001 to P450,000
 - ____ P450,001 to P500,000
 - ____ More than P500,000

B. Involvement in knowledge transfer

8. Please provide details of the knowledge transfer activity (or activities) described by _____ (migrant's name) who related you were the one he/she has exchanged/shared his/her knowledge or skills with.

9. How did you become involved in that knowledge transfer? Who initiated it?

10. What means of communication did you and _____ (migrant's name) use?

11. What was your motivation for engaging in that activity?

12. What benefits did you anticipate or expect when you decided to engage in that activity?

13. Were these expected benefits met or achieved? Which ones were achieved? Please cite any tangible results.

14. What did you contribute to or share in the knowledge transfer (e.g., advice, expertise, skills, financial capital, networks, etc.)?

15. What barriers or problems did you encounter in the knowledge transfer and how did you and _____ (migrant's name) resolve them?

16. In general, do you think the knowledge transfer you were involved in was worth your time? Why?

17. Do you think knowledge transfers by overseas Filipinos to the home country are helpful to the Philippines? In what way? Please give concrete examples.

18. Please provide any feedback or comment that you may have about this interview or research.

-MARAMING SALAMAT PO-

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 13 MAY 2009 FOR 3 YEARS. REFERENCE NUMBER 2009/095

Appendix 3. Description of the S&T knowledge transfers

Sharing scientific knowledge

Vic: After living in Australia for 22 years and wanting to work in the Philippines which he had not done before, Vic applied to the Transfer of Knowledge by Expatriate Professional (TOKTEN) programme of the UNDP. At that time, he was an engineering professor in New South Wales. He returned to the Philippines in 1992 as an expatriate scientist under the TOKTEN programme. He stayed for five months and gave short courses to professional civil engineering bodies and to a tertiary university, and initiated a research project which was later on implemented by a foundation of the same university. When he was nearing retirement, Vic took a long leave of absence and went back to the Philippines in 1997, as a return scientist under the Philippine government's Balik Scientist Program (Short-Term Expert). Feeling the three months were not enough and given the availability of a full-time teaching position, he extended his stay and taught courses in the engineering department of the same state university which is his alma mater. At one point, he also served as chairperson of the department. (In 1998, he finally obtained his retirement from the Australian university where he used to teach.) After seven years teaching in the Philippines, Vic went back to Australia in 2004 to reunite with his family. In 2009, already widowed, he returned to the Philippines, again through the return scientist programme of the Philippine government, and spent three months giving lectures and talks to tertiary institutions.

Nes: He is a general practitioner in Victoria who conducted his own research on the efficacy of virgin coconut oil (VCO) for controlling diabetes. This was after a visit in the Philippines where his friend who works in a large research company told him about it. Back in Australia, Nes also noticed that most of his diabetic patients who visited the Philippines significantly reduced their glucose levels and he found out that all of them were taking VCO. He therefore conducted his own small study, involving 20 to 25 of his patients, a mix of Filipinos and Australians. From that study, he confirmed the efficacy of VCO. Shortly after, he attended a class reunion in the Philippines and was overheard by his friend telling their classmates about the small research on VCO he conducted. Right there, he was invited to present his findings to fellow doctors in a medical conference which coincidentally was to take place while he was still there. After the conference, some people from the Philippine media approached him and requested him to appear in their programmes to talk about VCO. Nes was a guest in four TV and five radio shows in the Philippines.

Tem: A food scientist in Victoria, Australia, Tem returned to the Philippines in 2008 as a return scientist under the government-sponsored expatriate programme (BSP). For three months, he gave training and seminars on food fortification to various groups. These fora were sponsored and coordinated by the Department of Science and Technology (DOST) which hosted his BSP stint and which is also the same government office that facilitates the conduct of the BSP. He went back to Australia after the completion of his BSP stint and wanting to go back again to the Philippines to share his skills, he applied as a volunteer under Australia's Volunteer for International Development Assistance (VIDA). For one year in 2008-2009, Tem served as a livelihood coordinator of the local government of Bacoor City where he trained trainers of food-based livelihood programmes. He also helped in refining the training modules. Simultaneously while a

VIDA volunteer, he also taught food technology subjects at the University of Santo Tomas (UST). After his VIDA involvement, he decided to remain in the Philippines a little longer so he can be with his aging parents. He applied for a longer BSP assignment of two years. This new stint allowed Tem to continue teaching at UST. The DOST also continued to tap him in their training programmes and seminars on food fortification as a resource speaker.

Anton: For the past 10 years, Anton, a practicing psychologist and senior lecturer of a university in New Zealand, has been giving free lectures and workshops to different medical schools in Metro Manila each year when he visits the Philippines. He always contacted his colleagues prior to his visits to explore the possibility of giving lectures. In one of these lectures, he shared a questionnaire he developed to help doctors diagnose patients with sleep problems. At one point, in 2006, Anton also gave away free of charge to some medical schools a psychiatry assessment teaching software which he had developed. The software is being sold in the US and in New Zealand. He also shared in his lectures a website initially designed to help university students handle stress. He developed the website along with some colleagues in the New Zealand university where he is employed.

Zeny: A medical doctor and registered health practitioner in sonography in Auckland, Zeny reported two informal knowledge transfers between her and colleagues who are based in Manila. The first was an informal referral about a patient who was suspected to have gastric ulcer because of epigastric pain and vomiting. Zeny advised her doctor friend to defer CT scan and ultrasound and go for endoscopy and/ or Barium meal first to establish whether the diagnosis of a gastric ulcer was correct. Abdominal CT scan and ultrasound would help later on if a gastric ulcer was proven to be malignant to determine the extent of the pathology. On another occasion, Zeny shared her knowledge and skills with a friend who was a practicing obstetrician and perinatologist in Philippines who visited her in Auckland. She discussed with her how fetal assessment is performed in New Zealand, following the Australasian Society of Ultrasound in Medicine protocols and guidelines. This is exemplified by taking a close look at the brain and its structures. She discussed how the cerebellum is measured and its significance to the fetal growth and morphology. Another part which was discussed and not being examined in detail in the Philippines is the fetal heart. Zeny gave her friend some photos and diagrams of fetal parts that should be demonstrated in a detailed fetal anatomy scan at 18- 20 week gestation, hoping this would improve fetal assessment in the Philippines if it was followed. She also promised her friend she would train her in 3D/ 4D ultrasound if their hospital acquired the appropriate equipment. In April 2012, Zeny is scheduled to join a medical mission in Lubang Island, Occidental Mindoro, where she had her rural practice after finishing her postgraduate medical internship in the Philippines.

Tery: He is a former military personnel who migrated to Australia with his family in 1986 due to the unstable economic and political conditions in the Philippines. As well as being an active community leader in the migrant community in Victoria, Tery has been keen on technology transfer. In 1996, he co-founded the Asia-Pacific Resource Reuse and Development Corporation (APRRDC) with a former colleague in the military, an ex-colonel. Their aim was to promote agri-based livelihood enterprises in the Philippines. Whenever he hears of new technologies from Australia that are relevant for the Philippines, he presents this to his business partner in APRRDC and together they plan on how it can be promoted in the Philippines. What they usually do is collaborate with

agricultural colleges and universities for the testing and promotion of these technologies as these entities have the experimental farms and the students to train. Two of the agricultural technologies from Australia that he tried to promote in the Philippines are ostrich farming and boer goat raising. What he and his business partner envision is the commercial farming of boer goats and ostrich which have very good economic returns. Australia is one of the biggest exporters of ostrich and he hopes the Philippines can also be in the same league in the future given that it has the space to raise ostrich and it is also even more economically viable to raise ostrich in a tropical country like the Philippines where there is no winter so the ostrich can produce more eggs than what it can normally lay in Australia. Sometime in 1998, Tery and his business partner conducted trainings on ostrich farming for agricultural universities such as the Central Luzon State University and Bicol University in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture. Then, in 2006, he and his business partner started the boer goat raising project in partnership with agricultural colleges in the Philippines such as the Pampanga Agricultural College, Tarlac Agricultural College and Pangasinan Agricultural College.

Sharing scientific knowledge and facilitating the creation of a diaspora knowledge network

Gary: In 1994, he migrated to Australia as a skilled migrant with an offer of employment from the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO). A year later, Gary established STAC-Melbourne. STAC stands for Science and Technology Advisory Council, an alliance of scientists, IT professionals, engineers and graduate students in the S&T field to promote S&T advancement in the Philippines by way of knowledge sharing and collaboration (see footnote 4 in Chapter 1 for additional details). Before coming to Australia, he had been a member of STACNET, the virtual counterpart of STAC. When he arrived in Victoria, he found that there were also one or two other people who were STACNET members. Realising they could constitute the core group to form a STAC chapter in Melbourne, Gary presented the idea to them. He and his fellow STACNET members got together and in 1995, they formally organised STAC-Melbourne, with him as the founding president. The activities of STAC were mostly visits to the Philippines to give presentations of the members' studies as well as meetings with fellow researchers for possible collaborative work. Part of the objectives of STAC-Melbourne which this senior scientist tried to promote was improving the engineering education in the Philippines. Gary visited several Philippine universities offering engineering education, including his alma mater where he obtained his bachelor's degree, to look at their curriculum and talk to university officials. After 2000, STAC became less active until it died down. Apart from his involvement in STAC-Melbourne, Gary also worked with the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) which allowed him to make regular visits to the Philippines from 1995 to 1998. He received funding from the Australian Agency for International Development (AUSAID) to develop a network of experts in Asia-Pacific in certain topics. He talked to a lot of people in government and universities and institutions such as the Philippine Institute of Volcanology and Seismology and also made a number of presentations for them.

Sharing scientific knowledge and facilitating scientific linkages

Ted: A 1.5-generation migrant in Australia, Ted is a research fellow at the University of Melbourne. Since 2009, he had participated in the Philippine government's Balik (Return) Scientist Program two times where he shared his studies and insights in restoration ecology focusing on the postmining environment.

He delivered lectures to Philippine universities and conducted meetings with academics for possible joint projects with his university in Australia. He also sponsored a specialised training on phytoremediation for a lecturer in a Philippine university whose PhD topic is his area of expertise. He currently serves as this lecturer's external thesis adviser. In 2010, he returned to the Philippines to provide a plenary lecture in a bioremediation conference and also conducted a training workshop. He has also been instrumental in obtaining three AusAid grants to collaborate with Filipino academics.

More details of his knowledge transfer to the Philippines are given in Appendix 4.

Sharing health knowledge and brokering health expertise

Jenny: Since 2008, the Philippine Australia Medical Association (PAMA) has been conducting medical and surgical missions to remote areas in the Philippines. Although PAMA has been existing for 17 years, it was not involved in this type of activity and mainly focused on fundraising for donations which it sends to the Philippines. The idea for a medical mission started when Jenny, a new migrant, recommended it to her fellow PAMA members. Since then, she has been in the forefront in organising these medical missions, utilizing her contacts in the Philippines such as her former colleagues in the University of the Philippines where she graduated and a local chapter of Rotary Club in New South Wales where she is an officer, for personnel, financial and institutional support.

Appendix 5 provides further details of her knowledge transfer activities.

Brokering health expertise and equipment

Mina: An executive director at the Department of Health and Aging in Victoria, Mina has been helping to send audiology experts and hearing aids for deaf children in the Philippines since 1994. With her Italian audiologist husband also rendering support, she is using her extensive contacts in Australia in the audiology field to invite experts to share their skills and to gather used hearing aid from hospitals which can be sent to the Philippines. The recipient of these efforts was initially a mission school for the deaf established by an Italian priest and which was in need of not only hearing aids but also experts to calibrate these hearing aids and train the teachers. Beginning 2000, the couple decided to change their focus of not just helping a single school but the wider community by sending the equipment to the Philippine Society of Audiology (PSA) whose president she knows personally. Mina and her husband thought they could help more people in this way because the PSA conducts regular medical missions in remote areas. The couple also linked the Australia-based experts who are interested to share their skills in the Philippines through lectures and training to the PSA for possible collaborative activities.

Linking Filipinos to S&T opportunities

Rey: A research scientist at the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO) in Victoria, Rey used his position to bring three students from the math department of the University of the Philippines (UP) to do their internship as part of their master's programme. These students came in 2002, 2004 and 2005. With funds from CSIRO and additional budget given by UP where these students were also working as part-time instructors, they were able to do their internship at CSIRO for three to four

months. Rey finished his university degree at the UP and also served as a faculty member of the math department before he moved to the United States to pursue his masters and PhD degrees. Through the years, he kept in touch with his friends and colleagues in the math department and would pass on to them information on career opportunities such as the aforementioned internship opportunities. Each time he goes to the Philippines every three to four years, Rey also gives free lectures in the said department as well as in the De La Salle University where one of the students who spent his internship at CSIRO is now the dean of computer science.

Advising thesis students

Leo: An assistant professor in computer science in a New Zealand university, Leo served as an informal thesis advisor to his former student in the Philippines who is taking up her master's degree in physics. The student contacted him in early 2008 as her research is very much related to his field of specialisation which is color object recognition. He forwarded to her articles and monographs that could assist her in her research and as of July 2009 when the interview was conducted, he has continued to provide research advice to her as needed. In addition, around the same time in 2008, Leo assisted a Filipino researcher who expressed interest to do her PhD in same New Zealand university where he teaches. He has never met her; she was just referred to him by another PhD student in New Zealand who met her in an international conference in 2007. Leo provided informal advice to the said researcher in terms of what possible PhD research she can undertake in New Zealand since she is also majoring in computer science. He will be one of her supervisors should her plan to study in New Zealand pushes through.

Nilo: He availed of the return scientist programme of the Philippine government in 2007. At that time, he was based in the United States where he was working as a senior scientist for a private research company. His expatriate engagement in the Philippines was hosted by the Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU), and it was during that activity that he met the dean of the chemistry department who told him about their PhD 'sandwich programme', a scheme in which PhD students do part of their research in a partner overseas university. When Nilo moved to Australia in 2009 after successfully landing a job as associate professor, he talked to his department head about the possibility of participating in the ADMU's PhD sandwich programme by hosting PhD students from the Philippines to do part of their research in the Australian university. His boss supported the idea and he contacted the dean of the chemistry department. So far, two PhD students have left for Australia to conduct their theses with Nilo as their supervisor.

Appendix 4. The case of Ted: Transmitting scientific knowledge and enabling scientific linkages

For Ted, the experience he had as *balik* (return) scientist in the Philippines was out of the ordinary. He felt he received a great deal more than what he had given.

“There are lots of intelligent people in the Philippines and the knowledge they shared with me is precious, but the opportunity to be able to reciprocate to my country of birth is doubly rewarding.”

Ted is a restoration ecologist and a post-mining reclamation expert. He is a research fellow at the University of Melbourne where he also earned his PhD in botany with phytoremediation as his area of expertise.

A 1.5-generation migrant, he actually has little association with the Philippines. He left his birth country with his parents and two siblings, a younger sister and brother when he was 16. An affluent family, the economic uncertainty in the Philippines in the 1970s was not a serious concern for the Doronilas but the repressive political situation was. It was the martial law era, a time when those who were vocal against the excesses of the government—oppositionists, journalists and students—were persecuted by the military under the authoritarian leadership of Ferdinand Marcos.¹

His parents returned to the Philippines in 1985. He and his siblings, however, remained in Australia. They visited the Philippines regularly after that but the purpose of these visits was mainly to see their parents and relatives.

It was in 2003 that Ted began meeting fellow researchers in the scientific community in the Philippines. It was again a personal trip that brought him back to his birth country and not in any way professionally or academically related. His father suffered a stroke. At that time, he was doing his PhD and when his supervisor, a noted English botanist who did research in the Philippines found out he was visiting his family, he prodded Ted to visit the curator of the National Herbarium where he had worked in 1986. The herbarium staff invited him to make some presentations at the De La Salle University about his research. He met some contacts in these lectures.

Becoming a *balik* (return) scientist

In September 2008, he returned to the Philippines and delivered some lectures at the University of the Philippines, De La Salle University and Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU). These lectures, however, were not the original purpose of his trip. Another family-related event, the launching of his father’s autobiography, brought him back to his birth country but he described it as “serendipitous” for it was during this trip that he found out about the Balik Scientist Program (BSP).

On the last day of his lecture at the Ateneo de Manila University, the chair of the environmental science department approached Ted and asked if he has ever considered becoming a return scientist. The ADMU has had several expatriate scientists but not in the environmental science department.

Ted had never heard of the programme before. Interestingly, that same day that he was there, he saw in a newspaper webcast an interview with a scientist from the United States

who did a BSP stint. Ted was touched by Dr. Leah Tolosa's appreciation of the gratefulness of the Filipino collaborator and this made an impression on him.

He emailed the US-based scientist to gather more information about the programme. At the same time, the chair of the environmental science department of ADMU referred him to the head of the BSP. The department also offered to host Ted on his return as an expatriate scientist. What followed was a series of communication between the BSP head and Ted on his forthcoming short-term BSP assignment in the Philippines. Taking time off from his job at the University of Melbourne also did not pose any difficulty for Ted. His research group leader readily approved his application for a five-week leave of absence as it was also an opportunity to explore research partnerships. The chief investigator had very positive and happy memories of supervising Filipino doctoral candidates several years ago and had been invited to be a keynote speaker at a chemistry conference in the Philippines the previous year.

In February, Ted returned to the Philippines as an expatriate scientist under the BSP. He delivered 11 lectures, attended 20 meetings and joined two fieldtrips.² In these activities, he shared his studies and insights in restoration ecology focusing on the post-mining environment. Ted's expertise is suited to the Philippines given the presence of certain areas where the soils had been polluted by mining activities. Mining not only disturbs the soil profile and processes. It also releases toxic heavy metals that contaminate the air, soil and water, which heavily impacts on living organisms and humans. Ted had been involved in various projects at the University of Melbourne and Curtin University of Technology for 20 years on post-mining restoration.

“People like me study the relationship of plants and animals and the environment, which in this case is the mining environment. We try to create the conditions wherein the ecosystem can go back to its original healthy state. As a botanist, we research on specific plants that could aid in restoring the environment. The Philippines, according to the world's experts, has probably the richest flora of metallophytes but no one there has really studied it.”

Metallophytes are plants that can tolerate high levels of heavy metals such as lead. Because they can easily absorb the metals left in the soil, they are a natural and cheap solution for restoring areas damaged by mining. According to Ted, the last time metallophytes were studied in the Philippines was in 1986 by his PhD supervisor in Melbourne. Hopefully more studies can be done in the Philippines on the various metallophytes that are naturally present in the environment. These plants may also have a good export potential for useful natural products (e.g., pharmaceutical agents). The meetings that he had with the research groups in the universities that he visited were actually intended to explore possible research collaborations on studying metallophytes.

In July 2009, Ted came back on another BSP stint for two and a half weeks. One of the activities he conducted was meeting a team of experts from the University of the Philippines Los Baños Institute of Biological Science (UPLB-IBS) to discuss the possibility of a joint project with the University of Melbourne on *Themeda triandra*, known in Australia as 'kangaroo grass', which grows abundantly in Nueva Ecija in northern Philippines.

Moreover, it was a UPLB scientist who did the pioneering work on an important grass species *Microlaena stipoides*, closely related to domestic rice, as her PhD research at the University of New South Wales many years ago. Ted and this scientist, who is now the dean of UPLB-IBS, had been communicating via email for many years but it was only through his visits to the Philippines as an expatriate scientist that he got to meet her finally.

Ted initiated the development of a project proposal for the propagation of *Themeda triandra* which can be used to revive the *lahar* (mudflow)-affected areas in northern Philippines. This species is drought and frost-tolerant and a nutritious pasture for grazing livestock. It would also be interesting to promote the economic potential of this plant species in the export market, he added.

His BSP involvement also enabled Ted to sponsor the training of a lecturer of the environmental science department of Ateneo in Melbourne. This lecturer is doing her PhD in phytoremediation which is Ted's area of expertise. He made it a point to send her articles related to her research and had been informally advising her work.

Ted used the savings from his BSP stint in 2009 to help her attend a highly specialised training in phytoremediation at the University of Melbourne in October 2009.

“I don't want to take the money back to Australia. I promised that all my *Balik Scientist* money has to be spent in the Philippines. So, I told her, we have enough money to purchase a plane ticket for you to come to this training which would benefit not only you but the Philippines in terms of the research that both you and I are doing because you can help to explain more to those in the Philippines the importance of what we do.”

Motivation for involvement

He felt that what he had done to his birth country was a natural thing to do.

“Scientists like me have an obligation for science to flourish and this can be achieved by exchanging knowledge and collaborating. I am a scientist, I have a natural curiosity for learning. I love what I'm doing and I love sharing with others because you know, that is an attribute of being a good human being.”

Ted perceived Filipino scientists as “very dedicated” despite the fact that “it is very frustrating to do science over there because they are so extremely underfunded.”

The big disparity of the situation in Australia and the Philippines, he said, as far as research and development is concerned, made him realise the privileged position of scientists like him who are in developed countries and the need that has to be addressed to help fellow scientists in less-auspicious settings.

“Just talking to all my peers over there, I really felt for them. They asked me to evaluate four different grant applications and I was so surprised that the money that they would possibly get is so little compared to the capacity and the investment of human resources that they would allot in the project. The equipment, it's so underfunded. I think it is very frustrating. And so I felt I

should do something to help in some way and also to make people aware of that.”

Whenever he came across relevant publications, he emailed these to his network of contacts in the Philippines. In 2008, Ted sent used but still functional lamps worth more than 5,000 Australian dollars to the environmental science department of ADMU. These lamps were used for analysing metals and were just normally thrown away. He talked to his supervisor in the laboratory if they could just send them to the Philippines.

A next shipment is in the offing. It was box full of his PhD supervisor’s works in the Philippines, his handwritten notes from his research which were the genesis of the most important papers that he contributed to the field of phytoremediation. It was passed on to Ted when he was doing his PhD. Rather than keeping these materials, Ted felt that these should be returned to the Philippines where they belong.

He makes another visit to the Philippines in Oct 2010 to provide a plenary lecture at the 1st National Bioremediation conference convened by the National Academy of Science Bioremediation Remediation Research team headed by Prof Asuncion Raymundo then in January 2011 to conduct a training workshop on phytoremediation technology for effective post-mining closure strategies. He is supported in this endeavour by the Crawford Fund.

Ted has also been instrumental in obtaining three AusAid grants to collaborate with Filipino academics: an Australian Leadership Fellowship Award for an important Filipina anthropologist and museologist; a Public Sector Linkage Programme for Curriculum Development for Environmental Science Capacity Building with the ADMU environmental science department and just recently an Australian Leadership Award PhD scholarship for a young academic from UP Diliman Institute of Biology to do her doctoral training with him at the University of Melbourne. Though it would be inadequate just to compare the net financial gain of this capacity building, it would suffice to say that it would be \$290,000 for the Crawford fund and the three AusAid-funded programmes. The real value is the human capital created by these links.

¹ The Philippines underwent a state of martial law beginning 21 September 1972. It was lifted on 17 January 1981.

² The different activities were held at the ADMU Environmental Science Department, Philippine National Herbarium, UP Dilliman Institute of Biology and Institute of Chemistry, UP Los Baños Institute of Biological Sciences, Philex Mining (head office and in Padcal), Rusina Mining (Makati and on site in Acoje, Zambales), Australian Embassy, Mines and Geosciences Bureau, and UP Diliman School of Engineering.

Appendix 5. The case of Jenny: Transmitting health knowledge and brokering health expertise

The Philippine Australian Medical Association (PAMA), an organisation of Australia-based Filipino medical practitioners, has been in existence since 1992. Activities were limited to participation in medical missions by some members and donations of medicines and medical equipment of small-scale such as gloves and hospitals to a few hospitals in the Philippines. Beginning in 2008, it started to regularly hold medical and surgical missions to the Philippines each year. The idea came from a new PAMA member who migrated to Australia in 2005. Since then, this doctor has been leading these missions, in terms of planning, fundraising and implementation, utilising her contacts in the Philippines and Australia.

“I know the hardship in the Philippines that is why I left. I want to take part actively in making life better for other people. And then also the benefit for myself, knowing that I am fulfilling the goal I set to myself. Otherwise, I will feel guilty.”

This, Jenny immediately said when I asked her of her reason for initiating these missions. Jenny came from humble roots in Southern Luzon, Philippines, the second of five children. Her mother is a government employee while her father transports goods. She financially struggled to finish medicine and had to rely on the support of many benefactors, including relatives, and other people whom she did not know. The missions are her way of giving back, albeit indirectly, to the people who helped her earn her degree, she said.

Providing health assistance to poor people through these missions was actually something that Jenny had already been doing while in the Philippines. After getting her medical degree, she opted to work in a provincial government hospital in the same province where she originated. Later on, she got transferred to remote areas in Southern Luzon such as Sampaloc, Quezon and Polilio Island. Other doctors would have chosen to work in private hospitals in the city but not Jenny. She decided to take the less prestigious and less comfortable route for four years. It was also during this period that her frustration with the government grew because she witnessed in her own eyes the neglect being experienced by poor people in the remote areas. Eventually, she decided to leave the Philippines but not just for her own personal gain.

“Having worked there I have seen the difficulties of poor people, they cannot afford the medicines and then they literally die in front of me. And I was trying to help, with my idealism high to upgrade the quality of health services in the Philippines. So requesting this and that, fundraise for this and that, but what happened, nothing, no support from the government and because of corruption, we cannot get what we want. All the supplies you need come from the government so you need to buy from them but what they will give you are not brand-new equipment so I said, this is enough. I have asked a lot of people already. So that made me think to just leave the country to put myself in a better capacity to serve. So my going away is not just self-serving but so I can serve others.”

Aside from working in government hospitals in the rural areas while in the Philippines, Jenny had also participated in several medical missions as a volunteer doctor through the

University of the Philippines (UP) Pahinungod, a programme of the premier state university in the Philippines that promotes volunteerism among its faculty members, students, alumni and employees to share their skills to the less privilege. It was in UP's Diliman campus where Jenny obtained her pre-medicine course (BS Psychology).

“During my volunteering days in the Philippines, I met all these Filipino groups who organised the medical missions. And I said to myself, if I'm going to work overseas, I'm going to organise my own medical mission.”

Arriving in 2005 on a work permit, Jenny immediately joined PAMA and the Rotary Club in Gosford West. Being new in the PAMA and unsure of the possible response of her co-members, she proposed the idea of a medical mission in 2007. She used her first two years in the organisation to establish rapport with them. During that time, however, she organised her first medical mission—in Vanuatu which was the nearest Pacific Island that she can go to. Her choice of the Pacific rather than the Philippines was prompted by the close proximity between Australia and the island state. She collected medicines from some pharmaceutical companies in Australia and brought these to Vanuatu. Language, however, had been the major barrier she encountered during her stay. Most of the people cannot speak English which made it difficult for her to know their conditions and the possible help that she can extend. Conducting the medical mission in the Philippines was really the best thing to pursue, she thought.

Enjoining people, mobilising resources

She proposed to her co-members in the PAMA to call the activity “Balikbayan medical mission”. “Balikbayan” is a contraction of two Filipino words “balik” (go back) and “bayan” (hometown) or going back to town (or homecountry).

Using funds donated by members from their annual charity event, the first mission was held in 2008 in Polilio, Quezon, where she last worked. The Australian group consisted of 10-15 people. There were only two doctors—herself and another doctor— plus the doctor's family, and a couple of nurses and some people who are not health professional but willing to help. The limited support she got from Australia, however, was compensated by the assistance provided by local volunteers in the Philippines through the UP Pahinungod with whom Jenny had volunteered in the past. When the plan for a medical mission had been firmed up, she immediately contacted UP Pahinungod to request support. The 30 volunteers were doctors and nurses from the Philippine General Hospital (PGH), the largest state-run and state-funded tertiary hospital in the Philippines which also serves as teaching hospital of UP Manila. It was in the PGH that Jenny studied and trained as a doctor.

In their next Balikbayan medical mission, they got more support from Australia and the Philippines and therefore were able to implement a more extensive one. PAMA partnered with Ugay Australia, an organisation of Filipino-Australians from Gubat, Sorsogon Province, which Jenny and her group selected as site of the second mission. Gubat is the third largest town of Sorsogon and located at the southeastern part of Luzon island. It is 12 hours by land from the Philippine capital of Manila. Air travel is also possible through Legaspi City, the capital of Bicol Region which includes Sorsogon province.

All in all, their group included 10 volunteers from Australian and 30 from UP Pahinungod.

As detailed in an article reprinted in PAMA's projects website, GraceGiving.net.au, funding for the mission came several sources: (1) PAMA's dinner-dance fundraising ball which provided the funds for the purchase medical, surgical and dental supplies ; (2) Ugay-Australia which shouldered the volunteer's airfare, food and accommodation in Gubat; (3) UP Pahinungod which partly subsidised the cost of surgical and anaesthetic supplies; (4) Rotary Australia World Community Services which covered the Australian participants tax insurance and tax deductibility for expenses; and (5) Rotary Club of Adamstown-New Lambton which donated funds for the procurement of the pneumonia vaccines.¹

The volunteers from Australia paid their airfares to the Philippines.

The entire mission ran for four days, from 13 to 17 April and serviced four towns: Gubat, Prieto Diaz, Barcelona an Bulusan. The group gave out free medicines; medical, paediatric, ophthalmological, gynaecological consultations; performed dental extracts; pap smears; conducted minor surgeries, including circumcision, and major surgeries such as cataract extraction, goiters, the repair of hernias, cleft palate, and gynaecological surgeries. Health education classes (such as on basic life support, first aid, women's and dental health) were also held in the last two days.

If there was one case that Jenny cannot forget, she told me it was that of a patient who had a myoma.

“She had a watermelon-size uterine myoma and been carrying that for so long since *wala syang pera* (she had no money). So, we performed a major surgery on her during the medical mission.”

Three other missions were held in 2010 with Jenny still leading them as PAMA's health project coordinator. These missions were all held in Southern Philippines, namely, Dumaguete City, San Jose (Antique) and General Santos City. They were again supported by PAMA funds, UP Pahinungod, the Rotary Australia World Community Service (RAWCS) and various Rotary chapters in Australia such as the Rotary Clubs of Gosford, Blacktown, and Narellan. An important feature of the 2010 missions is that they got the support of the Rotary Clubs in the different areas where these missions were held (such as the Rotary Clubs of Dumaguete South, Antique and General Santos City). Jenny's membership in the Rotary Clubs in Australia and her position as director of the international committee of the Rotary Club of Adamstown-Lambton enabled her to mobilise Rotary support both in the Australia and the Philippines with ease. Wherever she works, she joins the Rotary Club in the area.

Barriers/constraints

Planning and implementing the missions were not without problems. While sourcing of funds was a big challenge, the management component was a big task. Jenny was involved in the entire process—from pre-mission activities of soliciting financial, material and human resources in the Philippines and Australia, the selection of and visits to potential sites, coordinating with sponsors, volunteers and the officials in the community, to the actual conduct of the missions.

If there was one thing that Jenny was always concerned about, it was the rapport of the volunteers from Australia and the Philippines. “Will they click?,” she mused. For Jenny, good relation among them is important for the missions to succeed.

In their second mission held in 2009, a slight tension brewed between the two groups but it was something that was settled immediately. Jenny opted not to divulge the full details.

“We had a bit of an argument, there was no rapport among the volunteers. Next time, I will try to make sure that every volunteer will be oriented about the goals of the project so we all stand in the same level. Service above self,” she said candidly.

Jenny also hopes to make each mission better than the last one.

She had a big smile on her face while saying that she feels happy because she is doing something to help her fellow Filipinos particularly those that are in need of medical support. However, what she has done is not enough, she said.

“You just scratch the surface. The need in the Philippines and in any third world country is so big that if you think about it, you’re not even doing anything. But you feel relieved thinking that at least you’ve done your little part.”

According to Jenny, leaving the Philippines actually helped her to achieve her goal of helping the country. Being in Australia and earning more than what she was receiving in the Philippines as well as having more contacts put her in a better capacity to help.

She admitted feeling exhausted at times in doing the missions but that feeling is just temporary. “When you’re already into the cycle, you cannot get out of it. You already are committed”.

¹ http://www.gracegiving.net.au/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=78:mission-accomplished&catid=42:press-releases&Itemid=63, Accessed 20 September 2010. The article is reprinted from the *Philippine Herald Community News*, Blacktown May 2009.

Appendix 6. Description of the B&T knowledge transfers

Outsourcing

Emer: In 2006, he formed Scenovia, a business events management company which specialises in online management of conferences and awarding events. He has eight staff, five of whom perform the technical functions of web design and programming. All five of them are based in the Philippines. He recruited them through the Internet. Management and coordination is done via email and Skype. He has met only two or three of them and only once or twice during the few times he visited the Philippines.

Further details of this case are given in Appendix 7.

Providing information on market opportunities

Joel: A marketing manager in Auckland, he tried to help his brother-in-law in the Philippines to sell his tuna products in New Zealand. His brother-in-law owns the second largest canning factory in the Philippines. Joel introduced his products to Progressive Enterprises, an Australian-owned food retailer company operating in New Zealand under brand names “Countdown” and “Foodtown”. Progressive was receptive to the proposal but before the distributorship could materialise, an industrial dispute between Progressive and its employers took place in August 2006 which put business negotiations on hold. The agreement did not materialise. As his brother was still keen to have a business in New Zealand, he linked him up to a broker in Wellington. This broker was able to find for him a company where he could invest in, a Kiwi-owned salmon processing facility in the South Island. The owner has also expressed interest to open a similar facility in the Philippines

Dan: Back in 1994 when he was working as a purchasing manager for Telstra, Australia, he recommended to one of their suppliers of printer ribbons (who was based in Australia) to set up a manufacturing plant in the Philippines. Dan was able to convince this supplier (an Australian and his business partner, a Scottish) that it is beneficial to set up a business there because labour is cheap, the Philippines is close to Australia, and the Philippine government gives incentives to foreign investors in the form of tax holidays. He introduced the Australian and Scottish to the Philippine consul-general in Sydney and relayed their intention to set up a business in the Philippines. They had a meeting wherein the consul referred them to the trade-attaché in Australia who subsequently advised them of the key people to contact in the Philippines like those in the Board of Investment (BOI). Dan accompanied the business partners to the Philippines and even went with them to their meetings with the BOI. As he could only stay for three days in the Philippines because of his work in Australia, he introduced them to his friends so they can have people to go to in case they need help or additional information. They were able to put up the business and from what Dan learned later, it was able to employ about 15 Filipinos.

Linking host and home country businesses

Fred, Adan and Paul: Fred is a managing director of a health food company, Adan is a business development manager, and Paul is a lawyer. They are all based in Auckland. In 2008, they set up the the Philippines-New Zealand Business Council. Based on its by-laws, the Business Council’s main objectives are to “provide relevant, accurate and specialist industry and country specific information about the Philippines to New Zealand

and about New Zealand to the Philippines” and to “develop facilitate, and promote business and bilateral trade among Philippine and New Zealand-owned companies located in the two countries” (Philippines-New Zealand Business Council 2009). The idea for the creation of a business council came from Fred who presented it to Adan and Paul and their fellow Filipino friends in one of their social gatherings. It was prompted by the need for an entity that could promote business and trade between the two countries as the Philippines has no trade attaché in New Zealand. The business council was formally registered in 2009. The members have implemented two major activities so far which were both aimed at creating awareness on business opportunities in the Philippines. The first activity was an investment seminar for Kiwi business people held in 2008. The resource persons were a lawyer in the Philippines and a businessman. The second activity was also an investment seminar held in 2009. The resource person was the director of the Philippine Economic Zone Authority, the Philippine government agency which is tasked “to promote investments, extend assistance register, grant incentives to and facilitate the business operations of investors in export-oriented manufacturing and service facilities inside selected areas throughout the country” (Philippine Economic Zone Authority 2011).

Operating a business in the Philippines

Jaime: He is a business migration and industry skills manager at the Department of Industry and Investment in Sydney. He travels at least three to four times a year to the Philippines to oversee and visit his bag business.

Exploring business opportunities in the Philippines

Sammy: He is an IT systems manager in Auckland. Sometime in 2003, he explored a reseller venture for distributing software for the design and printing industry. The venture, however, did not push through. He also tried to get one of the software companies in the Philippines to set up a sales office in Auckland. The plan was put on hold, however, because of the recession.

Appendix 7. The case of Emer: Tapping home country skills through outsourcing

In 2006, Emer founded Scenovia, a small web development and graphic design company which specialises in online management of business events such as conferences and awards. Scenovia may be an Australian company but its technical and creative pool is located in the Philippines. All of Emer's nine web developers and designers are Filipinos.

Setting up Scenovia did not come easy for Emer. He gradually built it through years of professional networking as well as personal training on the management and technical aspects of web development.

Coming to Australia

Emer arrived in Melbourne in 1993 with his Australian fiancée whom he met in the Philippines during an international student conference. Since then, he has made Australia his second home together with their three children. Settling in was not too difficult for Emer as his wife's family was very welcoming and supportive. But like other migrants who were new in a foreign country, he yearned for the Philippines especially during the first years of his life in Australia. During his early stages of settlement, he found support and camaraderie in the Filipino Youth and Students Association of Victoria (FYSAV), a youth organisation where he became active in building awareness on the issues facing young Filipino migrants in Victoria. At the same time, he found fulfilment in being involved in migrant issues. He co-founded the Melbourne chapter of *Migrante International*. *Migrante* is a civic Filipino organisation devoted to advocating for and defending the rights and welfare of overseas Filipino workers, and raising public awareness of their situation in the host countries. Emer enjoyed participating in community and civic affairs, particularly those concerning the Philippines. These include organising seminars, lobbying, and providing direct support for Filipinos who encounter problems with their settlement and employment in Australia. Emer also produces the organisation's bi-monthly publication and maintains the group's website "These things make me feel close to the Philippines and give me the feeling that I am still able to do something for my fellow Filipinos." Each year, he attends the Philippine Fiesta, an annual two-day Filipino festival in Melbourne that showcases Philippine food, products, and entertainment to celebrate the Filipino culture.

During his student days, he was a staunch activist, with the streets as his classroom. He joined demonstrations and rallies to protest against tuition fee increases, corrupt politicians, and human rights abuses. "You know I believe in the law of karma that when I do something good to others, it will come back to me."

Spearheading an online community

It was the same philosophy in life along with his interest in communities and the power of the Internet that prompted him to found www.philippines.com.au in the year 2000. Intended for the Filipino-Australian community, Philippines.com.au members can post and browse for jobs, advertisements of products and services particularly those that cater to the needs and tastes of Filipinos such as restaurants offering Filipino cuisine, money remittance companies, cargo services from Australia to the Philippines, and real estate in the Philippines. Emer wanted the site to serve as a platform for providing basic information to the Filipino-Australian community especially for the new migrants and to connect people together especially ethnic Filipinos in Australia. One of the features of the

website is a facility whereby registered members can participate in online forums, post their profiles, and receive short messages from fellow- members. The success of the website is demonstrated not only by its membership which has grown to more than 18,000 in 10 years and is now the leading online social networking tool for Filipinos and aspiring migrants to Australia. Some of these members are Philippine based and have found the website useful because of the migration tips and advice they are getting from fellow members who are already in Australia. The site statistics also show it is actively used by members judging from the presence of members online and the number of forum posts and topics that increases each day. Emer added that some members who are based all around Australia are now holding regular “meet-ups” or face-to-face meetings and are now building physical communities of people helping one another.

Emer used his own funds to establish and maintain the website. In the beginning, he did the updating and upkeep by himself but had to pass it on to a web technician later as he also had a full time job. During the first two years, he did not require payment for the posting of advertisements. Later on, to pay the salaries of his staff, he required Australian –based commercial companies who wished to advertise through the website to pay a minimal fee. He exempted Filipino-Australian based community organisations, however, because they are not-for-profit entities.

Setting up Scenovia

The experience with www.philippines.com.au taught Emer basic knowledge of running internet-based activities. It also gave him hands-on experience on the concept of niche marketing through the Filipinos in Australia. Gradually as well, his network of Australian companies and community organisations grew through those that had asked him to have their products and services be advertised in the website.

It was with the success of www.philippines.com.au that the idea of coming up with an online business caught his mind. The events industry was a strategic choice as it offered a wide array of potential customers such as hotels, airlines, technology providers, transport companies, and tourism companies, to name a few. These customers need service providers to advertise and manage their business events such as annual conferences and industry awards.

Emer knew that the professional networks he built through the Philippine website were not enough for the business he had conceived. The events and meetings industry is a much wider niche market. By joining industry associations, he met owners and officers of different business companies belonging to those associations and they became his clients later on. He became cognizant of the various business events conducted by these associations. At one point, he became active at the branch level of Meetings and Events Australia (MEA), the largest national association in Australia of individuals and companies involved in the meetings and events industry. He also attended the annual conferences of MEA where he gradually built his network of business contacts and clients.

Scenovia was established in 2005 with MEA as its first client. To promote the company, Emer offered MEA to do its website for free (www.mea.org.au). The website provided Scenovia the much-needed exposure. His portfolio of clients and projects steadily grew, which now include Ernst and Young, Austrade, Tourism Australia, Department of Premier and Cabinet NSW, Department of Health (Victoria) and NSW Health, to name a few.

Scenovia's services encompass organising email promotion for business meetings and events, managing speaker registration and call for papers for conferences, and nomination of candidates for industry awards.

Emer's initial focus for Scenovia was supporting major conventions but he made the decision to shift to servicing industry awards in 2009 to penetrate this untapped market (<http://www.eawards.com.au/index.php>). He later founded a company called eAwards, which grew to a size that he himself had not imagined would happen. Today, eAwards is considered the market leader for Awards automation process in Australia with 70 government and industry association clients in its portfolio. Part of his long-term plans for eAwards is to penetrate outside markets such as New Zealand, United States, United Arab Emirates, Canada and United Kingdom. "In three years' time, we anticipate that our market opportunity in Australia would reach a plateau, so we are now thinking of building a global presence that would see us through to becoming a multi-million dollar company in 2020."

To support his expansion plans, he hired two more staff in 2009 as business development managers. When Scenovia started, he did the administration, sales and marketing single-handedly and was only aided by a finance staff who assisted him in the financial and administration aspects of the business. Today, he has a total of 12 employees, three of whom are based in Australia and the rest are all in the Philippines. Emer anticipates that by the end of 2011, the size of the team working full-time from the Philippines would grow to 20.

Tapping home country skills

Emer had always wanted to hire Filipinos for Scenovia. When he was conceiving the business, he was set on staffing it with web developers and designers from the Philippines:

"Well, for me it is really a sound business decision because it is cheaper. But aside from that, I know how the Filipinos work. I trust they will deliver. Their skill set is very high. Cost and work discipline are what I considered the most. And I also know that by employing Filipinos, I can also help the Philippines by helping to support their family and in sending their children to school."

Emer recruited his Filipino staff only by advertising the vacancies in the Internet. He relied on the resumes and samples of work they submitted and recommendations from their referees. He interviewed them all through phone or Skype. He met only two of them in person and only once or twice when he visited the Philippines. He has a project manager who coordinates and oversees the work of the developers and designers. It is him who directly reports to Emer.

"We operate on the basis of trust. I don't ask my project manager about the whereabouts of the staff, it's his job to know, but also because I trust them. They are able to meet the standards of the clients and follow the deadlines. I have not experienced any problems with them."

He has not had a single staff that left Scenovia for better pay and benefits in another company:

“I think this is because they are well-compensated. My project manager earns around 40,000 pesos a month plus benefits. The programmers and designers receive a fairly similar package. I do not have a physical office in the Philippines so all of them are working from home which they find convenient because they can do other things as well. There was one occasion when one of my staff’s wife delivered a baby and because he did not have money to pay the hospital bills, I shouldered the expenses and it was not a loan but my way of showing support to my staff who was in need at that time. I have been also helping the children of my two developers in their education since 2007 by sending the equivalent of around 30,000 pesos each year. One of them is in Grade 4; the other is in college. That’s alright with me. I earn more here. I have the capacity to help.”

Emer felt it was just alright to be generous to his staff because the success of the business depends on them:

“I try as much as I can to make them feel secure in the company. I always tell them that as the company grows, they will also grow. *Nakasalalay sa kanila ang business ko* (My business depends on them). We co-exist. I value them because they are the engines of the economy and my business. Without them, *wala ako dito* (I will not be here).”

As part of his incentives, Emer is also planning to sponsor them to a holiday trip to Australia and to the most trusted and loyal of all to bring them to work and live with their families permanently in Australia. This way, they can also see with their own eyes the companies they are assisting for their business events. The trip can also provide them direct exposure, however brief it is, into the culture in Australia which is Scenovia’s main market at present.

Aside from being able to help their families by giving them a job, Emer believed he helped to influence his employees to maintain good work ethics and to become aware of the business environment in Australia.

“Scenovia deals with almost all states in Australia and almost all industry sectors. Through the websites they do to promote their events, they become knowledgeable of these companies and their services and how things are done here in general.”

If he had encountered hassles with outsourcing, these were not coming from his Philippine-based employees, he said. A major concern for him is the technical infrastructure in the country which warrants significant improvement. The erratic nature of the Internet connection often affects their work schedules. Emer also finds the numerous non-working holidays in the country a disincentive to business.

“Although it’s somewhat irritating, I have to honour these holidays and give my employees time off during these days.”

Despite these kinks, however, he had no regrets outsourcing in the Philippines.

“It’s cost effective. My employees are committed. And I’m able to help. *Bakit pa ako kukuha ng tauhan sa iba?*(Why should I get workers elsewhere ?).”

Appendix 8. Description of the C&S knowledge transfers

Transmitting cultural knowledge and serving as a cultural bridge

Loida: She is a creative artist who shares stories about Philippine culture and societal issues through her literary works such as poetry and novels. She has been living in Australia since 1991. A senior lecturer at the University of Wollongong in New South Wales, Australia, where she also earned her doctorate under a Government of Australia scholarship in 1993, she has published numerous short stories, novels, and books on poetry which are mostly about the Philippines. Her audiences are mostly Australians and Filipino-Americans in the United States and her works have also been used as study pieces at various universities in the United States, Australia and the Philippines. Occasionally, she goes to the Philippines to give workshops on creative writing on the invitation of Philippine universities and cultural organisations. She has an ongoing transnational project which began in 2009 and which involves her Philippine home city, Legaspi, and Sydney, Australia. The three-year project which aims to promote cultural understanding will engage first-year students in the two countries in storytelling about their respective homes and their experiences.

Further details of her story are given in Appendix 9.

Ria: She migrated to Australia in her teens in 1975 with her parents and two siblings to escape from the political upheavals in the 1970s which became a threat to her family's security. She currently works as a rehabilitation specialist for the Commonwealth Rehabilitation Service. She is also a creative writer and has produced poetry pieces and plays. In 2005, she did a three-month literature residence in various universities and arts organisations in the Philippines through a fellowship award from Asialink, a non-academic centre of the University of Melbourne and an initiative of the Myer Foundation which seeks to promote understanding of the countries of Asia and of Australia's role in the region. One of Asialink's programmes is supporting cultural and artistic exchanges through artist residences, touring exhibitions, writers' tours and exchange projects. With her Asialink award, Ria facilitated several workshops for Filipino high-school and university students on creative theatre practice and writing stories. She also organised a poetry reading and the reading of her play which was attended by Filipino writers and poetry enthusiasts.

Providing skills training

Liza: She arrived in Melbourne in 1997 through family sponsorship. Apart from working full-time as a disbursement officer in an educational institution, she has been the editor-in-chief since 2000 of *The Philippine Times*, a monthly Filipino newspaper which is widely circulated in the Filipino communities of Victoria. In 2008, she hired a fresh young graduate in the Philippines, Angie, to work closely with her as managing editor, a role which was needed to be filled given the increasing popularity of the newspaper and the launching of an online edition. Although a very good writer, the young graduate had no substantial experience in newspaper production. Amid their physical distance, Liza progressively trained Angie through emails, online chat and Internet voice tools which were also their means of communication and coordination in running the day-to-day operation of the newspaper.

Sharing skills and assisting in capacity building

Dencio: He has been living in Victoria, Australia, for more than 15 years. In 2008, he took a break from his work as technical officer of the Australian Quarantine Inspection Service (AQIS) to work as environmental education specialist for one year at the Gelacio I Yason Family Farm School in Mindoro, Philippines, a technical high school servicing poor students. The post is a volunteer position which he obtained by applying to the Volunteering for International Development from Australia (VIDA), a programme of the Australian government which is managed by AusTraining International, an international development organisation that manages bilateral and multilateral projects throughout Asia, the Pacific, Africa and the Middle East. An agriculture graduate in the Philippines with a postgraduate diploma in land and conservation management which he obtained in Australia, Dencio taught a course on organic farming in the farm school and was also directly involved in cultivating a three-hectare piece of land to cultivate organic crops. He worked closely with the school principal in improving the school curriculum which is highly focused on educating students on sustainable agriculture practices. He assisted the school in getting VIDA's long-term commitment to provide specialist volunteers by helping the school management to develop a five-year development plan and corresponding areas of expertise needed to implement their enhanced curriculum.

Advocating for Filipino migrants' rights and welfare

Lita: She arrived in Sydney in 1973. A single mother at that time, the economic insecurity in the Philippines in the 1970s, aggravated by the unstable political conditions, prompted her to leave her daughter to the care of her parents to find a more stable and rewarding job overseas. She worked for several years in the Philippines as a technical analyst in the Philippine Senate, providing her expertise on policy research, development and analysis to a top-ranking senator. While in Sydney, she found work initially as a teacher. She studied Law at the University of Sydney and became the first Filipino practicing lawyer in New South Wales. While pursuing her private practice, she got appointed as a member of the New South Wales Legal Advisory Council which made her acquainted first-hand with the problems faced by Filipino migrant women in the province particularly issues of domestic violence and racial discrimination. She began communicating these issues with the Philippine embassy in Sydney and Philippine-based agencies such as the Department of Immigration and the Commission on Filipinos Overseas and providing them with recommendations on appropriate support mechanisms for these migrant women. Her involvement was temporarily interrupted when her second husband, whom she met several years later after migrating to Australia, was posted to New York and she joined him there. When she returned to Australia, she resumed her private practice and also became actively involved in providing free settlement and legal advice to migrant Filipinos in New South Wales. At one point, she also became the president of the Philippine Community Council, the federation of all Filipino organisations in New South Wales. Lita also regularly writes for a column in a Filipino community newspaper where she continues her advocacy for advancing Filipino migrants' rights such as absentee voting and dual citizenship.

Exchanging data and information with Philippine officials regarding the settlement of migrants

Minda: She arrived in Melbourne in 1992 on spouse visa. An editor in a publishing company in the Philippines who holds a degree in social work, she works in two jobs in

Australia—as a psychology teacher in a Technical and Further Education (TAFE) college and as a coordinator for Centacare, a non-for-profit organisation supported by the Catholic Church and delivers services such as family counselling, employment assistance programmes, health and wellbeing services and support for migrant settlement. For more than 10 years now, she works part-time as a coordinator for the Victoria branch of the Centre for Philippine Concerns Australia (CPCA), a non-for-profit civic organisation organised by a group of Filipinos in 1991. At one point, she also served as its chairperson. CPCA's main objective is to advocate for the rights and welfare of Filipino immigrants and to promote their well-being and successful integration in the host country. CPCA has a settlement programme developed especially for newly arrived migrants. The Centre is implementing this programme in close coordination with the Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), the Philippine government agency tasked to formulate policies and programmes to promote the interest and well-being of Filipinos overseas. One of its programmes is conducting country-specific pre-departure orientation seminars which are compulsory to those leaving the country to settle permanently abroad. Topics covered to prepare them for their life abroad include travel regulations, immigration procedures, cultural differences, settlement concerns, employment and social security concerns and rights and obligations of Filipino migrants. Apart from assisting newly arrived and older migrants, part of CPCA's activities is providing the CFO with information on the situation of migrants in Victoria, particularly on settlement and integration issues that affect them and how best the Philippine government could respond. Minda has travelled to the Philippines thrice to represent the CPCA in migration clinics or consultations with CFO officials whereby she not only shared information on the situation and problems affecting Filipino migrants but also her and CPCA's recommendations on how these can be addressed.

Facilitating study tours and internships from Australia to the Philippines and vice-versa

Jose: He first came to Melbourne, Australia, in 1994 under a Government of Australia scholarship. After finishing his masters degree, he returned to the Philippines to fulfil his service obligation which was part of his scholarship contract. Two years after, he went back to Australia to pursue his PhD and decided to stay after getting his degree. While working towards his PhD, he assisted in conducting several study tours to the Philippines particularly in community development practices. Having worked extensively in several nongovernment organisations on development projects on environmental education while he was in the Philippines, he had knowledge on the most relevant places to visit there and the agencies/organisations to link up with. When he got a job as a senior lecturer at the RMIT University in Melbourne and assigned as coordinator of internships and field studies for the BA international studies programme of the university, he continued to promote the Philippines as a learning laboratory on development tools and approaches particularly in the areas of community development, community environmental education and environmental sustainability. He developed and conducted study tours and student internships in the Philippines in cooperation with universities and NGOs, in particular the Centre for Environmental Concerns (CEC) for which he was instrumental in putting up the centre's environmental education programme while he was still working in the Philippines. CEC and RMIT partnered in three study tours organised by Jose. CEC hosted the attendees by providing seminars on environmental education and also bringing them to different sites such as farmers groups and urban poor groups. Jose also facilitated in developing formal agreements between the University of the Philippines and RMIT as

well as Miriam College and RMIT for the reciprocal exchange of students for internship opportunities.

Brokering or sharing development tools and project management models/strategies

Tilda: She arrived in Wellington, New Zealand, in 2005. After working as a part-time carer for two months and numerous applications to other companies for a more relevant employment, she was employed by the Ministry of Maori Development (Te Puni Kokiri) as a Senior Evaluator who is in charge of reviewing the ministry's programmes and projects. The job has substantial policy component, an area that she is comfortable with given her experience as senior legislative staff in the Senate of the Philippines for 12 years before migrating to New Zealand. Her main area of expertise in policy development is indigenous people's law; she was a senior member of the research policy team of the Philippine senator who authored the Indigenous People's Rights Act of 1997. When she started working for the Ministry, she was first assigned at the Maori Business Facilitation Service (MBFS), a major programme of the Ministry which aims to assist aspiring or existing Maori entrepreneurs to plan and carry out their business plans by providing business mentoring, coaching and problem-solving services and assistance in identify funding sources. In 2007, she discussed with her boss the possibility of bringing to the Philippines the MBFS model. MBFS is one of the Ministry's flagship programmes and a highly successful one, which has assisted an estimated of 8,000 Maori small business entrepreneurs (TPK website, <http://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/in-print/kokiri/kokiri-21-2011/maori-business-facilitation-service---10-years-on/>). Tilda hoped to see a similar programme implemented in the Philippines for its indigenous peoples. Her boss readily agreed to go to the Philippines if there was an opportunity. She contacted via email a commissioner of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) whom she met in the past. NCIP is the Philippine government agency which is mandated to formulate and implement policies and programmes for the recognition, protection and promotion of the rights and well being of indigenous peoples and communities. After sending a follow-up email and still no response, she contacted a lawyer-friend of her who works at Panlipi, an organisation of lawyers and indigenous peoples' advocates for the development of indigenous peoples and communities through legal assistance, legal education, institutional capacity building and resource management planning, to name a few. Tilda asked her lawyer-friend for advice on whom she can contact best for the planned visit of her boss about the MBFS model. Her friend gave her the name of another lawyer and she emailed her, but again, she did not get any reply. Feeling frustrated, she put the plan on hold but with the intention of implementing it in the future.

Len: He arrived in New Zealand in 2007 and currently works as Programme Officer for the Pacific of Caritas New Zealand located in Wellington. His job takes him to Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Fiji, Tonga and Samoa to assist communities in planning and implementing development and humanitarian projects. In 2009, he started to casually relate to his former work colleague and friend in the Philippines the work system in Caritas. Although the email was intended as a mere catch-up, this fuelled their exchanges about project monitoring tools and approaches in Caritas that appear to be similar to the ones used in his former office (and his friend's current office) as well as those that are different but could be applicable to their present offices. These include their appraisal, monitoring and evaluation frameworks and ways to achieve efficiency in project management. His work colleagues in Caritas were also curious about his experiences in

development work in the Philippines and were particularly keen on learning about the development tools and approaches of his former office that could be applied in Caritas.

Further details of his story are given in Appendix 10.

Promoting Philippine tourism

Mela: She migrated to Australia in 1988 with her husband. She first worked as a sales staff in a computer company. Three years later, she decided to venture into cafe retail management as a franchisee. In 2007, she put up her own cafe. Apart from her full-time job, Mela has been a volunteer broadcaster of 3zzz for more than 10 years now. 3zzz is the largest ethnic community station in Australia. Mela produces and broadcasts a Filipino programme where she provides news about the Philippines and discusses topics and provide commentaries on issues about the Philippines and Australia that may be of interest to Filipino-Australians not only in Victoria but also in other parts of Australia as 3zzz can be heard across all the country and the rest of the world through internet broadcasting. In 2005, she produced a travel magazine called *N Touch Philippines* which she considered as her personal advocacy for promoting Philippine tourism among *balikbayans* (Filipino returnees) and Australians. The magazine, which cost her \$6,000 per issue to produce, featured less popular, noncommercial but equally beautiful places in the Philippine as well as information on accommodation options for budget travellers which are seldom mentioned in travel brochures. She distributed the magazine for free to Filipino shops and during the Philippine Fiesta, an annual Filipino event in Victoria attended by Filipino-Australians and highlights the different aspects of Filipino culture. She intended the magazine to be a regular publication but had to stop after a second edition due to prohibitive cost of production which she financed from her personal funds.

Sharing knowledge and experience on how to improve Philippine tourism

Gina: She has been living in Auckland, New Zealand for more than 20 years. She works as a business lecturer in a polytechnic college. In 2006, she went to the Philippines on holiday and got involved, by chance, on several activities related to Philippine tourism. On a casual visit to a friend who is now the dean at the University of the Philippines-Baguio, she got invited to give a special seminar to share his insights on how to improve Philippine tourism through marketing using her knowledge about New Zealand. Gina has ample knowledge about the tourism industry in the Philippines having worked as director of a regional office of the Philippine Department of Tourism for many years before migrating to Auckland. While in Baguio, she also got an invitation from the Hotel and Restaurants Association of the Philippines (HRAP) to give a talk in their annual congress on how to improve the Philippines' hospitality industry and the recommendations that she can share based on what she has seen in New Zealand. During her initial years in New Zealand, she enrolled in a hospitality training course to enhance her skills. In the same trip to the Philippines, she was also invited by a former colleague of hers in the tourism department to participate in a Dive Congress, a seminar about marine tourism organised by the department. In that forum, she shared about New Zealand's efforts on protecting the environment which she believes are relevant to the Philippines.

Appendix 9. The case of Loida: Transmitting cultural knowledge and serving as a cultural bridge

Loida is what the arts and humanities field calls a creative artist. Her works are about Philippine culture and issues which she poignantly relates through novels, short stories, plays and poetry. In *The Solemn Lantern Maker* published by Murdoch Books (Australia, 2008) and Random (USA, 2009), she tackled child pornography and prostitution, social status, terrorism and government corruption with the grim poverty of Manila's slums as her setting.

Apart from her literary works, Loida visits the Philippines at least once a year to serve as resource person in lectures and workshops on creative writing. She also gets invited to give talks about her books. When I interviewed her in December 2009, she has just returned from the United States and Spain where she performed her play *River, River*, which she adapted from her short story about militarism in her native home region. One of Loida's most famous plays is the *Cantata of the Warrior Woman*, which she wrote in English and Pilipino. She has performed the *Cantata* in the Philippines, France, China and Australia. It is a dramatic retelling of the legend of Mount Mayon, an active volcano in Loida's home province of Albay in the southern part of the Philippines. Mount Mayon is admired for its beauty but feared for its destructive power. In the *Cantata*, Loida tells the story of Princess Daragang Magayon and her struggle to assert her value in a world which treats women as simply a commodity that can be an item of war booty exchanged by powerful men. Instead of simply accepting her fate, she decided to fight for her freedom and that of her tribe.

Writing as homecoming

A Senior Lecturer at the University of Wollongong, Loida came to Australia more than 15 years ago to study for a Doctorate of Creative Arts (DCA) in the same university under an AusAid Equity and Merit Scholarship. The *Cantata* was the creative component of her doctorate.

Since 1991, Loida has made Australia her 'second home'. In my interview with her, she always referred to the Philippines as her 'first home' and emphatically related how she has always worried about the first home.

“We are living dual lives, yes all the time. I remember one Australian writer saying we write of things we worry about. And what I worry about is the Philippines. I write about migrants here too but still in connection with the Philippine situation. I often write in connection with the Philippines because there is a cause to worry about. With the political instability, the economic instability, the militarism, the political strife, the corruption, there's a lot to worry about.”

Then, she classified her first home into a small one, which is her family, and a big one, which is the country. All her family members are living in the Philippines. They are mostly residing in Albay, one of the poorest provinces in the Philippines and where insurgency is still a pressing problem. Living mostly a solo life for many years, the first few years after migration had been particularly difficult for Loida. It was writing that helped her cope with loneliness. “Writing is a ritual of homecoming for me. Each time I

write, I go home.” Loida was one of the fast-rising figures in the Philippine literary scene before she left for Australia.

While overseas, apart from finishing her DCA and living as an academic in Wollongong, Loida has produced three books of poetry, a monograph of lecture series, a book of short stories, and two novels.¹ These were released by various publishing houses in the Philippines, Australia and the United States. She has received several awards for them. Her collection of short stories, *White Turtle*, received the 2000 Steele Rudd Award for Best Collection of Australia Short Stories and the 2000 Philippine National Book Award. Her collection of poems, *Summer Was A Fast Train Without Terminals*, was short-listed for Australia’s *The Age* Poetry Book Award. In 2006, her novel, *Banana Heart Summer*, received the *Gintong Aklat* Award (Golden Book Award) from the Book Development Association of the Philippines, and was shortlisted for the Australian Literature Society Gold Medal.

Most of her works are about the Philippines.

“The things that always inspire me are still stories about home. I came to Australia when I was 31 years old so I already had a fully formed sensibility and vision. As a writer, my imaginary has been informed by my sensibility which is highly *Pinoy*² but is also enriched by my life as a Filipino migrant in Australia. So, my sensibility is no longer fully *Pinoy*, it’s enriched by the second home. The Filipino in me has never left the first home but it is now composed of a different texture with a more layered sensibility. That for me is what I give back.”

Her readers are mostly Australians and Filipino-Americans in the United States. Her works have also been used as study pieces at various universities in the United States, Australia and the Philippines. Loida’s works affect the Philippines in a unique way.

“Through the book that I produce, I show the foreign readers what’s really happening in the Philippines so they could look at it more objectively. I know I am different from the others that you interviewed because you said you talked to businessmen and scientists. They are directly giving back to the Philippines; in my case, I am indirectly giving back. I am involved in the production of knowledge—but where is my audience? It’s the people here in Australia, in the United States, and readers from other parts of the world and then those in the Philippines, so I also return the knowledge. Whatever I do here will have, I hope, some impact on the Philippines because I am educating foreign readers about the Philippines.”

Home project and The Transnational Story Hub

She described an ongoing transnational project that directly involves participants in the Philippines. Dubbed as the “home project”, it is a linkage among three secondary schools, two in her home city, Legazpi, and one in Sydney. First-year students from the two countries are supposed to collaborate in a storytelling project about their respective homes. This project has experienced various constraints, so she decided to build on it with a more manageable though expanded version: the “Transnational Story Hub”. In this project, local story-makers from her first home city, Legazpi (Philippines), her second home city, Wollongong (Australia), and in Vigo (Spain) imagine each other’s cities using

various creative genres: the sound story, creative writing, and new media. This is a three-year research project that will create and investigate a collaborative space for local story-makers to negotiate cultural differences while inspiring global relationality.

The project has just begun. Loida will be giving the first workshops in November 2010 in Wollongong and Vigo then in January 2011 in Legazpi, in order to facilitate the collaboration of the story-making teams in the three cities. She has research partners in the Philippines and Spain. For her, the project proposes a constructive approach to alterity/Otherness, which has been imagined often in an adversarial framework, especially in the context of global politics. She says, “With the global war on terror, the Other is now imagined as terrifying. Our relationship with our cultural Others has become premised on suspicion and, at worse, hostility. Can we propose another way of relating?” For the project, Bobis raises these key questions:

“Can the Self and the Other be imagined in creative, intersubjective play, where differences collide and are navigated within a collaborative framework? Can a transnational solidarity be achieved in story-making with one’s cultural Others? Can we facilitate a ‘grassroots theorising’ that values the contribution of local cultural producers (the story-makers) towards the ‘thinking through’ of local cultural production in national and transnational contexts?”

“Giving back”

For Loida, writing about home and highlighting the plight of the oppressed and marginalised whose voices are seldom heard is her way of “giving back”.

“For me, it’s a social responsibility to the home country. I like to think that even in my writing, I am giving back something to accentuate the human spirit which is often buried under the weight of master narratives, like colonisation, foreign policy, and globalisation. Master narratives like these make the small human stories disappear, and for me, whenever I write, the master narrative is always a difficult challenge. Through my stories, I want to show how the master narratives impact the “small lives” who are always struggling in the margins. For example, *The Solemn Lantern Maker*—it’s about the street children in Manila and child prostitution caused by poverty, which, in turn, is caused by government corruption, dispossession, and economic inequity, and in the case of the novel, even militarism. Another issue that I tried to tackle in the story is the assassination of political journalists which is a reality in the Philippines. Journalists get killed because of their work. I am neither a social worker nor a journalist nor a businessman. I do not have heaps of money to make an economic impact on impoverished lives. If I put my talent to good use to create some social or political awareness and educate people through my works, I feel I’m doing my small part. And not just in the Philippines but around the world, where the same social issues are repeated time and again. I want people to think about how the big narratives railroad small small lives.”

She also tries to help financially through her literary works whenever there is an opportunity. While doing the research for *The Solemn Lantern Maker*, she learned about the harsh conditions of the street children living near Malate Church.

“I told myself, I take stories from them so I also should give something back. What do my stories mean to them when they cannot even read? What can it do for them? Then I found out that the Malate Church has a street children feeding programme. I then asked my friend to find out more information about it and to connect me to the parish who runs it.”

Loida decided to donate 1,000 dollars of her royalties from the novel. She also talked to her publisher if he could match her donation. Her publisher readily agreed and altogether, she was able to donate 2,000 dollars or the equivalent of 80,000 Philippine pesos. The money was able to fund about 70 percent of the feeding programme for a year.

She feels a sense of personal satisfaction from writing about her home country and interacting with colleagues and readers from the Philippines.

“I keep learning there all the time, not only when I research, but when I go there, say, to give a lecture. The questions and the input they give me make me think. They keep me grounded and they serve as a reminder that I have a responsibility to where I came from. Even those who critique me—I think about why their reaction has been like that—so all these different knowledge sources help me to interpret reality and interrogate the ‘realities’ that I create in my stories. And each time, I am able to see the world and myself in a different way. I am keenly aware of my privileged position, which is now physically outside my first home—this is where I’m living, thinking, and writing from, and I have to be very careful about how I imagine and represent the life that I left behind. Respect for that life and a great deal of self-reflexivity are crucial in my profession.”

At the same time, she is appreciative of Australia, her host country, for the higher education and other professional opportunities that were opened to her.

“The economic independence that I gained here has allowed me to give more even financially to my parents. It makes a big difference and I would not have written and produced those works if, until now, I’m still struggling to earn money. I think a lot of migrants, mostly the successful ones, would say that we are able to give more money and more knowledge now that we are here and more settled, particularly economically. As we know, economic independence, especially for women, is a problematic concern back home.

“With regards Australia, my second home, ‘giving back’ to it is, for me, as important. I do this primarily in my job as creative writing lecturer. I do not just tell stories; I help others tell their own stories. Telling stories about ourselves and others—imagining this interconnection of lives—I think this is one of the ways in which we can keep living decent human lives.”

¹ *The Solemn Lantern Maker* (novel), 2008; *Banana Heart Summer* (novel), 2005; *A Novel-in-Waiting* (lecture series), 2004; *Pag-uli, Pag-uwi, Homecoming* (trilingual poetry collection), 2004; *Summer was a Fast Train without Terminals* (poetry collection), 1998; *Cantata of the Warrior Woman Daragang Magayon / Kantada ng Babaing Mandirigma Darayong Magayon* (bilingual epic poem for performance), 1997, 1993; *Ang Lipad ay Awit sa Apat na Hangin / Flight is Song on Four Winds* (bilingual poetry collection), 1991, 1990.

² An informal name referring to the Filipino people. Used in another context, it can also mean the male Filipino and its opposite “Pinay” being the female Filipino.

Appendix 10. The case of Len: Sharing knowledge and experience on project management tools

Len is what many calls in the nongovernment organisation (NGO) sector a development worker. Since 2007, he has been working for Caritas New Zealand International Programmes Team starting as a temporary Programmes Support Officer and later on as a permanent Programme Officer for the Pacific. Caritas New Zealand is part of Caritas Internationalis, one of the largest nongovernment aid and development agencies in the world. It works among poor communities in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Pacific, in partnership with local organisations and Church structures, towards poverty alleviation and improving the socioeconomic conditions of the poor.¹ His job involves assisting partners in planning and implementation of development and humanitarian projects in Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Fiji, Tonga and Samoa.

Len arrived in New Zealand in February 2007 as a tourist. Enthused by a former classmate in secondary school to visit, he took time off from his job and postgraduate studies. He eventually liked what he saw in New Zealand—the relaxed pace of life and the pristine, natural landscape—and decided that he would like to stay. For this to happen, he needed a job.

One evening, while walking down Queen Street in central Auckland, Len saw a newspaper that someone just casually threw away. He picked it up and thoughtlessly read it on the bus. In a corner of a page was an advertisement for a temporary position of Programme Support Officer in Caritas New Zealand in Wellington. The position was a good fit, he thought. For more than 15 years, Len was involved in programme management in a number of NGOs in the Philippines. Although the position in Caritas was only for five months, Len knew he needed local experience to get a job in New Zealand. He applied and got accepted. Before his contract expired, his current position was advertised and the management even raised the position level to Programme Office for the Pacific and made it into a permanent position. Len got the job and it enabled him to be granted a permanent resident visa.

In mid-2009, Len casually related to his former work colleague and friend, Jean, the work system in Caritas. Len worked for many years in the same NGO where Jean continues to work, the Foundation for Philippine Environment (FPE), one of the biggest and highly respected NGOs in the Philippines. FPE works in promoting biodiversity conservation and sustainable development among poor rural communities through capacity building and people empowerment.² Similar to Caritas, it also provides grants to community organisations for development projects.

Len and Jean's communication was intended as a mere catch-up. They would email each other occasionally. Len was always keen to know the latest buzz about his former office, their common friends and the Philippines while Jean was interested to know about his new life in New Zealand. Later on, mixed with personal updates, Len began sharing with Jean his observations about the project monitoring tools and approaches in Caritas that appear to be similar to the ones used in FPE as well as those that are different but which could be applicable to their present offices.

Being a new staff, his work colleagues at Caritas were also curious about Len's experiences in development work in the Philippines. Bit by bit, he related to them how

things were done there. Len was only too glad to share because they showed genuine appreciation for his experiences and insights.

One of the things Len noticed was how similar Caritas' appraisal, monitoring and evaluation (AME) framework was to his former office's (FPE) project development, monitoring and evaluation (PDME) framework. They only differ in names. However, he observed that his former office's monitoring framework was richer in scope.

“When I started to work here, the first thing I asked my colleagues is the monitoring framework they are using. We have that in the Philippines. Here, their AME framework is patterned after the logical framework approach. That's their monitoring tool. But what I'm really concerned about is determining the impacts at the project or programme level so you would see the linkage of the different projects to the overall objective of the programme. In my former office, we also have explicit indicators on how far we should involve ourselves in building the capacity of the communities and when it is time for us to take the backseat and let the community organisations run the show. Here they don't have that in their framework.”

His colleagues in Caritas showed interest on how his former office does capacity building work. As an example, people's organisations, which they call 'partners', are taught about how to develop project proposals.

“Based on my experience there, we really sit with our partners and assist them on how to write their proposals but without compromising the sense of ownership and the essence of empowerment. But here, our interaction with them is less face to face. We just wait for their proposals to come in then we do desk review and relay our feedback to them through email or phone call.”

His colleagues also wanted to know how they train their partners on financial management. They were surprised to hear that Len's former office has this kind of activity as Caritas does not have a similar programme for their partners.

One of his work colleagues in Caritas, the Programme Officer for Asia, was particularly keen on learning more about the development tools and approaches that are used in his former office. Len gave her some inputs on a framework that she is developing for the Asia programme.

Meanwhile, if there are aspects of Caritas' work that Philippine NGOs like his former (and Jean's) office can learn from, it is the efficiency side of programme management. He and Jean have had several email exchanges on this. Jean, who works directly with the executive director as executive assistant, was very interested in getting tips from Len on how her organisation, FPE, could save on management costs.

An activity in Jean's office that is a significant expense is the yearly project proposal review. This is conducted to evaluate big project proposals or those amounting to more than 2,000 US dollars. The Project Development Committee (PDC), which is composed of the board of directors and consultants from different fields of expertise, reviews the proposals. The office spends for their airfare, hotel accommodation and food, and honorarium. Ten days before the review, copies of the project proposals are also mailed to the PDC members so they can come prepared with their comments. An electronic copy is

also sent as a backup. Project review is also highly formal, with slideshow presentations for each project. Although it is expected of the PDC members to have read the proposals, this is seldom the case. They would still often ask questions that are explicitly answered in the proposals. Most of them come unprepared, which lengthens the process. The whole review is usually held for two days.

As he had described to Jean in one of his emails, Caritas' system is more efficient, both in terms of time and money. He wrote:

“Our project review is completed in half a day by the Development and Relief Committee (DRC) (which is the counterpart of the PDC). The DRC is composed of representatives from the board of directors and consultants with specialised fields and programme development background in areas such as gender, community development, and microenterprises, to name a few. The DRC meets four times a year and its approval is sought for projects of more than NZ\$50,000.00. During the meetings, the DRC members are always ready with their comments. We email them the project documents a week before the meeting. The meeting goes only for four hours with an average of 10 project proposals being reviewed. We don't do Powerpoint presentations, we just go straight to the point by saying what is the project all about, what is it that the partners intend to do, why we are seeking approval and for how much. We assume they had enough time to go through the appraisals/proposals, so during the discussion, we give more time to questions and clarifications. We really don't keep them long as they usually have a return flight to catch so there's also no need for hotel accommodation.”

Len was not concerned with helping Jean or his work colleagues when he started sharing bits and pieces of his experiences and insights.

“I didn't have that consciousness to help. With Jean, my intention was just to keep in touch until our discussion began to focus on certain technical aspects of our work and our respective offices. With my workmates, I just wanted to tell them how things are done in the Philippines not to make any comparison but I just wanted to share, that's all. It was very casual, then later on it somehow hit me that yes, it probably is useful, especially when they began to ask more questions and get my suggestions.”

It helps, he said, that both their organisations are learning organisations and thus are open to share their experiences with their contacts and friends in development work.

“Jean's office, which is my former office, is an evolving organisation and so is Caritas, and learning is an evolving process. I think that is also the reason why my colleagues in Caritas showed interest in what we do in the Philippines in terms of development work. They also want to learn from us in the same way that we also want to learn from them.”

¹ Based on the profile of Caritas New Zealand published in its website (<http://www.caritas.org.nz/?sid=3>).

² Based on the profile of Len's former (and Jean's present) office in its website (http://fpe.ph/cms/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=56&Itemid=53).

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