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The Educational Dimensions of Filipina Migrant Workers' Activist Identities

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The University of San Francisco

THE EDUCATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF
FILIPINA MIGRANT WORKERS' ACTIVIST IDENTITIES

A Dissertation Presented
to
The Faculty of the School of Education
International and Multicultural Education Department

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements of the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
Rowena M. Tomaneng
San Francisco
May 2017

ABSTRACT

The Educational Dimensions of Filipina Migrant Workers' Activist Identities

There are 10.4 million Filipino/a migrant workers worldwide, with the large majority of Filipina migrants working in traditional gendered labor such as domestic work, care giving, nursing, teaching, and factory work (Ruiz, 2013). Because of the private nature of household work, Filipina migrants are vulnerable to mental and physical abuses from their employers in addition to labor exploitation. While researchers recognize migrants' agency and acknowledge migrants as political and social actors, few studies connect Filipina migrant workers' activist identities to the political education they receive from grassroots organizations in the Philippines, United States, and other countries. Consequently, the purpose of this qualitative study is to research the roles that political education, critical pedagogies, and community organizing play in developing a social justice mindset among Filipina migrants who are members of the Filipino Migrant Center (FMC), Long Beach in Southern California. FMC engages in organizing low-income members of the Filipino community around issues and concerns affecting them, provides services, and conducts research and educational work. This study investigates the experiences of six Filipina migrant workers and three staff members involved with the FMC in order to examine the issues that Filipina migrants face, and the ways in which political education and the practice of activism developed their sense of empowerment and ability to transform the negative conditions of their lives. The study links FilCrit pedagogy, transnational feminism, and social movements as theoretical sites that can teach us how Filipina migrant workers engage in learning the socio-historical and political dimensions of their lives, and how to take action against social injustice.

SIGNATURE PAGE

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

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May 12, 2017

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to David and Felix. You have been with me from the beginning of this journey, providing your love, understanding, and support every step of the way. I am always inspired by your kindness, consideration of others, and outrage when injustices happen. These are indeed the times that try one's soul but with you and Felix at my side, I am confident I can keep pushing forward with my equity and social justice work within and beyond educational institutions.

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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Introduction

In 1998, a dictionary in Greece was reported to have defined a Filipina (or 'Filipineza') as a "domestic worker from the Philippines or a person who performs non-essential auxiliary tasks." This definition caused a major controversy and debate within the Philippine government because it raised attention to the government's ongoing practice of exporting Filipino/a human labor and services as a revenue generating enterprise for the nation. A few years later, Realuyo (2002) published "Four Million," a poetic tribute to the harsh realities of overseas Filipina migrant workers' lives. Part IV of this poem, titled "Filipineza," alludes to the 1998 controversy and interrogated the popular global image of Filipinas as domestic workers by crafting a powerful and poetic counter story. In the poem, the narrator, a maid, voices,

If I became the brown woman mistaken

For a shadow, please tell your people I'm a tree.

Or its curling root above ground, like fingers without a rag,

Without the buckets of thirst to wipe clean your mirrorlike floors (Realuyo, 2002).

In the above passage, the metaphor of a tree with strong roots is used to represent the Filipina maid; she is confident and powerful, refusing to be a shadow, refusing to be defined only as a domestic worker.

Philippines Migrants Rights Watch (2011) also presents counter narratives of the experiences of overseas Filipina workers. The migrant workers included in the volume requested false names to be used. These stories speak of sexual harassment and abuse,

prison-like conditions due to lack of vacation, wage theft, and forced additional labor outside of signed contracts. For instance, while working in Saudi Arabia, Jean Rosario narrated facing sexual harassment by her employer while living in a prison-like environment. She described her employers holding back her salary of \$200 per month and having it remitted directly to the Philippines. Rosario was not allowed to have days off nor leave the property (Philippine Migrants Rights Watch, 2011). Sally Lopez spoke of being a caregiver to an elderly woman in Singapore but was also expected to be a maid and cook for an additional 15 people who lived in adjoining condominium units owned by her employer. She also left her only son with a family that began to mistreat him, so she had to transfer him to an orphanage (Philippines Migrants Rights Watch, 2011). Marizen Santos, another worker, wrote a letter to her parents thanking them for their sacrifices so she could pursue higher education abroad. While in school in New York, she worked as a domestic and babysitter to fund her education and experienced the challenges of migrant workers. She closed her letter in the following way:

We are a sociological imagination, Ma and Pa. We are a product of labor migration. Our family story is personal and public at the same time; our story is the story of countless OFWs [Overseas Filipino Workers] and their families told in different ways and experienced in different settings but they are the same. But let our story be not only a part of a tapestry of stories of millions of OFWs and their families. Let our story and that tapestry influence change for the better, even how small. (Philippine Migrants Rights Watch, 2011, p. 95)

Santos's voice is powerful and inspiring as she names the OFW experience as rooted in

the commodification of Filipino bodies within the global economy. She also underscores the need for taking collective action for social change and strengthening of Filipino communities.

These Filipina migrant stories and my personal experiences ground my dissertation research interest in studying the lives of Filipina migrant workers in the United States. This topic is significant to me because I have family members who have been or are currently OFWs in Saudi Arabia, Australia, England, Germany, and Taiwan. Through social media, I am given a window to what my cousins are experiencing: long work hours, dangerous work conditions, loneliness for their families, and yearning for homeland. One of my female cousins, for example, was even kept prisoner in her employer's household. She was not allowed to go outside of the residence and she was also denied food on a regular basis. Fortunately, she was able to escape through the aid of a neighbor who took pity on her.

Since 2001, I have also served as a community advocate and organizer for Filipino immigrant and migrant workers in Santa Clara County, California. In this experience, I became familiar with political education and activist curriculum and delivered various workshops ranging from digital literacy, public speaking, Philippine history, Filipino American history, and activism. Within the context of Philippine colonial history and globalization, I want to study the ways that the intersection of race, class, and gender oppressions impact the lives of Filipina migrant workers and how they come to choose a life of political activism for social justice and human rights. More specifically, I am interested in how a decolonizing education, grounded in the praxis of activism, may play a role in an individual's transformation—from oppressed and silenced

victim to empowered change agent.

Background and Need

Ruiz (2013) estimated a total of 10.4 million Filipino/a migrant workers worldwide. The Center for Migrant Advocacy (2012) reported to the U.N. Commission on Migrant Workers that overseas Filipino/a workers (OFWs) are employed in over 238 countries. They have continued to play a central role in the Philippine's Labor and Employment Plan in the creation of jobs and over 20 billion dollars remitted annually to the national economy. The Philippine Labor and Employment Plan (2011) also documented the high percentage of women migrants working in traditional gendered labor such as domestic work, care giving, nursing, teaching, and factory work:

It is of interest to note that majority of OFWs were women workers. Statistics revealed that three-fifths (61.6%) of annual deployment of new hires over the past nine years were women who had to leave their homes and endure years of separation from their families... women were dominant in three (3) major occupation groups: services (55.7%) e.g., domestic workers or caregivers; professionals and technical 13 workers (27.7%) e.g. nurses and teachers; and production and related workers (11.2%) e.g. factory workers (pp. 12-13).

Additionally, the largest percentages of Filipino/a migrants work in East Asia, Western Asia, Southeast Asia, Australia, Europe, and North America. In 2012, the demographics of Filipino/a migrant workers showed 330, 040 working in Saudi Arabia, 259,546 working in United Arab Emirates, 131, 180 working in Hong Kong, 172, 690 working in Singapore, 104, 622 working in Qatar, 38, 407, working in Malaysia, and 25,261 working in Italy (Center for Migrant Advocacy, 2014). The Migrant Policy Institute (2014)

estimated about two million Filipino migrants reside in the United States with over 360,000 Filipino migrants in Canada. In America, the majority of Filipino migrants are working in major urban cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego, San Jose, New York, Honolulu, Chicago, and Las Vegas (<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/international-migrant-population-country-origin-and-destination>).

The feminization of migrant labor from the Philippines is alarming from a gender and rights perspective. The United Nations (1993) upheld, “Women are entitled to the equal enjoyment and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field” (<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm>). These rights include the right to physical and mental health and the right to positive work conditions free from discrimination and mistreatment. However, because of the private nature of domestic/household work, Filipina migrants are vulnerable to mental and physical abuses from their employers. Take the recent story of three Filipina domestic workers who escaped employer abuse and forced labor in Kuwait (Migrant-Rights.org, 2015). The women reported that their employer had taken away their passports, verbally and physically abused them on a regular basis, denied their leaving the employer’s home, and denied phone use to contact their families (<http://www.migrant-rights.org/2015/04/three-filipina-domestic-workers-flee-abuse-and-forced-labor-in-kuwait/>). Additionally, experiencing sexual harassment and even sexual assault are not rare instances for Filipina migrants.

Statement of the Problem

While researchers recognize migrants' agency and acknowledge migrants as political and social actors, research is limited that connects Filipina migrant workers' activist identities to the political education they receive from grassroots organizations in the Philippines, United States, and other countries. Transnational feminist scholars, for example, provide a deep analysis of the problems of gendered migration and labor in relation to uneven global economic development (Mohanty, 2003; Parreñas, 2001; 2005; 2008; Rodriguez, 2010). These scholars argue that the majority of the jobs created by globalization for women are temporary, low-wage contractual work with poor working conditions. They also highlighted women migrants' struggles with sexual violence and harassment. However, these studies give a limited view on how Filipina migrant workers have responded to the economic, political, and social inequities of their lives.

Other studies on migration and labor have focused on the impact of U.S. colonialism, globalization, and the role of the Philippine State (Fujita-Rony, 2003; Rodriguez, 2010; Baldoz, 2011). For example, Rodriguez (2010) argued that it was under U.S. colonialism that Filipinos/as became equated with cheap labor. While the United States was establishing the Philippine colony in the early twentieth-century, the agricultural industry in the western United States and the newly acquired Hawaiian territory recruited Filipino workers in response to a labor shortage due to anti-immigrant sentiment against Chinese and Japanese workers. Baldoz (2011) further examined the intersection of American imperialism and Filipino immigration histories, focusing on the impact of empire on Filipino migration, race relations, and American law. For example, Baldoz analyzed the nativist attempts to restrict Filipino male laborers from entering the

United States due to fear of wage competition and the desire for racial purity. Studies such as this also documented that Filipino migrant workers protested wage inequity, poor living conditions, and the brutal violence directed toward them, but further exploration is needed on the educational practices that developed their oppositional consciousness.

Educational perspectives have centered on the inclusion of decolonizing education in the teaching of Filipino/a American students in high schools, colleges, and universities (Daus-Magbual, 2010; Tintiangco-Cubales, 2007; 2009; Viola, 2009; 2014). These studies analyzed the impact of ethnic studies curriculum, student leadership development, and activism in raising students' political consciousness. This research were primarily qualitative investigations, providing students an avenue to tell their stories and be heard by a broader audience while at the same time demonstrating to other educators the value of an ethnic studies-based pedagogy. Viola (2014), for example, located the experience of one high profile Filipina American activist, Melissa Roxas, within a FilCrit pedagogy which is rooted in the idea that Filipino/a lived experiences within colonial, neocolonial, and imperialist contexts are transformative sites of knowledge production. FilCrit pedagogy is also informed by "the transnational praxis of those who actively and humbly witness, learn, and challenge the barbaric consequences of a global capitalist system that is impeding human potential" of a diasporic Filipino community (Viola, 2014, p. 22). Roxas was exposed to activism through participation in grassroots organizations and received critical pedagogy rooted in Philippine and Filipino American studies curriculum. Additional Filipino/a American activist experiences need to be analyzed to explore the transformational potential of using FilCrit pedagogy.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the educational dimensions of Filipina migrant workers' activist identities within the context of their involvement in a community-based migrant center. Specifically, this dissertation researches the roles that political education, FilCrit pedagogy, and community organizing play in developing an activist and social justice mindset among Filipina migrant workers who are members of the Filipino Migrant Center (FMC) Long Beach in Southern California. FMC engages in organizing low-income members of the Filipino community around issues and concerns affecting them, provide services, and conducts research and educational work.

Research Questions

The overarching research question for this study is: "How do Filipina migrant workers learn to be activists?" Five related sub-research questions include:

1. What are the human rights issues experienced by Filipina migrant workers that inspire them to be activists?"
2. How do Filipina migrant workers characterize their motivation for participating in community-based migrant centers?
3. In what ways do community-based migrant centers play a role in Filipina migrant workers learning activism?
4. How do Filipina migrant workers perceive and experience the political education and activist curriculum they receive from community-based migrant centers?
5. In what ways does FilCrit pedagogy play a role in Filipina migrant activist identities?

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

As discussed in the introduction, the purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the educational dimensions of Filipina migrants' activist identities in relation to political education, community organizing curriculum, and the praxis of activism. When analyzing the narratives of Filipina migrant activists, the dissertation utilizes three perspectives in its theoretical and conceptual framework: FilCrit pedagogy will serve as the primary theoretical lens, followed by transnational feminist theory and social movement theory. These three theories share a concern for social justice, human rights, analysis of power, and the potential for individual, community, and state government transformation. Applying these theories allow multiple perspectives to be used to interpret the data collected through participant oral interviews, participant observations, written documents, and visual artifacts. More importantly, these three theoretical lenses will most likely provide a fuller portrait of how Filipina migrant workers develop self-agency and why they become activists.

Filipino/a critical pedagogy

Filipino/a critical (FilCrit) pedagogy argues for the inclusion of a decolonizing education and praxis in relation to developing a Filipino/a American identity committed to social change (Daus-Magbual, 2010; Tintianco-Cubales, 2007; 2009; Viola, 2012; 2014). FilCrit pedagogy draws from critical pedagogy and the seminal work of Brazilian Educator, Paulo Freire (1970), whose educational model centered on consciousness raising, dialogue, reflection, and praxis - that in the expansion of these individual acts, collective action for social transformation can take place. Through adoption of a Filipino/a critical pedagogy approach, individuals will undergo Freire's (1970) process of

conscientization, gaining an awareness of the economic, political, and socio-historical conditions that have impacted Filipino/a lives and communities.

FilCrit also builds upon Philippine Studies, which examines the social, economic, cultural, and political impact of Spanish and United States colonialism on the Filipino people. The existing scholarship (Agoncillo & Alfonso, 1969; Constantino, 1970; 1975; Enriquez, 2004; Shaw & Francia, 2002; Schirmer & Shalom; 1998) consistently argues that Spanish colonialism and American colonialism negatively shaped the Philippine economy and political institutions, hindering industrial growth. The scholarship also explores the ways in which Filipino/a identity was shaped by the western education provided by Spanish priests and American teachers. Constantino (1970) and Enriquez (2004), for example, hold that a recovery of core Filipino values was necessary for a process of decolonization to take place.

Moreover, FilCrit pedagogy relies on Filipino/a American studies (Baldoz, 2011; Choy, 2003; Delmendo, 2004; Fujita-Rony, 2003; Posadas, 1999; Strobel; 2001), which analyzes Filipino/a American experiences within an Ethnic Studies framework; specifically, in relation to immigration/migration patterns, labor, race relations, citizenship, and political engagement. Delmendo (2004) and Ignacio (2004) examine the cultural propaganda used by the American press to justify the Philippine-American War. Filipino/as were racialized as backward, uncivilized brown others who would only benefit as a people if they came under the control of the United States government. Other researchers such as Posada (1999) and Choy (2003) call attention to early migration of Filipina nursing students during the post-war years. In summary, all of the approaches that have contributed to FilCrit pedagogy hold the belief that the acquisition of

knowledge and what we come to understand as the cultural norm must be critically analyzed in relation to socio-historical, cultural, economic, and political contexts. The researcher will explore to what extent FilCrit pedagogy can clarify the political educational experiences of Filipina migrant activists.

Transnational feminist theory

Transnational feminist theory critiques Western mainstream feminism for its marginalization of women of color/third world women's experiences and rejects hegemonic Western feminism because it is a colonizing discourse (Lindio-McGovern, 2013; Lyons, 2007; Mendoza, 2002; Mohanty, 2003; Mohgadam, 2010; Parenñas, 2008; Sandoval, 2001; Yeoh & Huang, 2010). Transnational feminism also recognizes the differences in women's local conditions and encourages building solidarity around shared oppressions. Sandoval (2001), for example, questions the traditional paradigm of feminism for its exclusion of women of color's experiences with intersectionality or multiple oppression. She argues that if we are to truly understand the social, economic, and political inequities that third world women face, it is necessary to include an anti-racist feminist framework, linked to a decolonizing and anti-capitalist feminist critique. She further links Third World women's struggles in the United States to global movements rooted in the process of decolonization.

Transnational feminist scholarship extends its analysis to include a critique of global capitalism and militarism because women and children are often victimized by these events. Global capitalist restructuring and militarization have resulted in economic insecurity and impoverishment, forced migration, increased labor exploitation, and high infant and maternal mortality rates. Mohanty (2003) claims that globalization is about

class, race/ethnic, and gender relations situated in the political, cultural, and economic. Her text provides a deep analysis of global capitalism and wage labor in relation to the impact on region, family members, and friends. She also explains that the majority of the jobs created by globalization are for women living in poor, economically, underdeveloped countries. The jobs are temporary, low-skilled, and low-wage contractual work with poor working conditions.

Transnational feminism also has roots in postcolonial theory, which analyzes and responds to the cultural legacies of colonialism and, to the human consequences of controlling a country and establishing settlers for the economic exploitation of the native people and their land. Said (1978) and Spivak (1988) examine knowledge production in relation to social and political power, specifically how representations of colonizer and colonized resulted in an “othering” and removal of subjectivity. Spivak (1988) calls this a type of “epistemic violence” that contributes to sustaining colonialism and neocolonialism (p. 24). Moreover, Mendoza (2002) wrote,

feminist transnational postcolonial studies have been able to call into question and destabilize the boundaries of nation, race, gender and sexuality that were built into earlier feminist internationalist and globalist theories and have revealed the complex relationship of national feminisms. (p. 320)

The researcher will explore to what extent transnational feminist theory can shed light on the stories shared by Filipina migrant activists, particularly in relation to their economic, cultural, social, and transnational political experiences within the context of globalization and capitalist restructuring.

Social movement theory

The nature of social movements, in relation to political, cultural, and social impact, is examined in social movement theory (Anyon, 2005; Della Porta and Diani (2006); Boggs, 2012; Kelly, 2003; Negron-Gonzales, 2009; Pulido (2006); Rodriguez & Balce, 2004; Tadiar, 2009; Toribio, 1998). These studies provide a lens as to how and why individuals engage in collective action by contextualizing movements economically, culturally, historically, and politically. These studies examine the impact of Marxist ideologies, race-based ideologies, and/or Humanism on social movements in and outside the United States. Kelley (2003), for example, argued for the recovery of activists' ideas and visions, exploring how social movements "enable participants to imagine something different, to realize things need not be this way" (p. 9). Anyon (2005) explores social movements in relation to repertoires of action, including the art, literature, music and song produced by social movements to raise political critiques and inspire activism.

Filipina American scholars (Rodriguez & Balce, 2004; Tadiar, 2009; Toribio, 1998) document the origins, ideological stance, and community organizing work of Filipino political activists and cultural workers since the 1980s. Toribio (1998), for example, analyzes the political and cultural work of the Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP, Union of Democratic Filipinos), which had organized a massive amount of activity in a thirteen year span - from demonstrations to theater production, numerous publications, and systematic political education of its members, modeled after the CPP's basic courses. Rodriguez and Balce (2004) and Tadiar (2009) research the transnational activism taking place in the United States and Philippines, also focusing on the cultural productions that politically educate and inspire collective action.

The researcher will explore to what extent social movement theory can contribute to a fuller understanding of Filipina migrant activists' experiences within and outside of transnational social movements.

Delimitations of the Study

The delimitations of the study relate to the selection of the research site and participants. The research site of a Filipino community-based migrant center in Southern California was chosen due to convenience sampling; specifically, the FMC was selected due to its organizational membership within the National Alliance for Filipino Concerns-United States (NAFCON-USA). The scope of this study is restricted to include FMC staff and Filipina migrant workers who actively participate in the center's services, educational workshops, and political campaigns. This group is the most appropriate to this study, as participant experiences will most likely reveal the complexities of activist identities within the context of globalization and gendered labor. Also, the group will most likely shed light on the role that a migrant center plays in developing community organizers. Moreover, participants' attitudes and experiences were gathered in several ways in order to better understand their relationship to the center, its staff, and other members. Filipina migrant workers and FMC staff were asked to share in oral interviews, describe orally or in writing important personal or organizational artifacts, and be observed in educational workshops, activist trainings, and public actions.

Educational Significance

Formed in 2003, NAFCON-USA is a national multi-issue alliance of Filipino organizations and individuals in the United States advocating for Filipino communities in the areas of social, economic, racial justice, and equality (<http://nafconusa.org/about/>).

NAFCON-USA members are involved in over 23 cities in the United States, and include youth and students organizations, church organizations, immigrant and migrant centers, women's centers, legal advocate groups, and educators. Alliances such as NAFCON-USA have developed organizing models that are drawing Filipina migrants to become politically involved in meaningful ways for themselves and their transnational community. NAFCON-USA member organizations, such as the FMC, Long Beach in Southern California, rely on various educational models to engage migrant workers and their allies, in addition to providing numerous opportunities for migrant workers to learn the range of skills needed to carry out legal and political campaigns. With more knowledge in this area, researchers in multiple fields, such as education, ethnic studies, Philippine studies, political science, sociology, and women and gender studies, can better understand the role that political education and critical pedagogies play in developing an activist mindset and commitment to social justice and change. Teachers who teach social justice issues at multiple levels will also gain from activist education models that may emerge, especially as related to curriculum content and pedagogical tools. Additionally, community organizers and youth leaders can benefit from these Filipina activist stories as they may uncover potential models of community organizing in relation to political education curriculum, critical pedagogies, and activist identities.

Background of the Researcher

Madison (2012) and Creswell (2012) discuss the importance of researcher reflexivity and addressing ethical issues in conducting qualitative research. The researcher must be transparent and aware of her role in the study and honor and respect the participants and their organizations. Prior to this study, the researcher has held both

local and national roles within NAFCON-USA since the alliance's inception in 2003. As a scholar-teacher-activist at De Anza College in Santa Clara County, the researcher was one of the community organizers who developed and delivered political education curriculum and activist training to several Santa Clara County grassroots organizations whom later became NAFCON-USA members: Filipino Community Support, Silicon Valley (FOCUS, SV), Filipino Youth Coalition (FYC), and People's Association for Workers' and Immigrants (PAWIS). As a founding member the Critical Filipina and Filipino Studies Collective (CFFSC), a member organization of Filipinos for Global Justice Not War Coalition (FilsGlobe), the researcher also presented academic and community-based research perspectives of Filipino issues across academic institutions, academic discipline-based associations, and community institutions such as churches and community centers.

The Critical Filipina and Filipino Studies Collective began in 2002 as group of community-engaged educators, scholars, and teachers mostly in the San Francisco Bay Area, seeking to analyze and inform everyone about global, social, and economic justice issues impacting the Filipino diaspora. My work with CFFSC focused on developing and conducting political education workshops for students and potential allies in academic networks across the disciplines. Filipinos for Global Justice Not War Coalition included the Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines (CHRP), San Francisco State University's League of Filipino Students (LFS), the youth and student group Bagong Bayan (BB), Critical Filipina and Filipino Studies Collective (CFFSC), and the People's Association of Workers and Immigrants (PAWIS), and others.

Additionally, the researcher also served as the national communication and public relations officer for NAFCON-USA for two years, from 2008-2010. In this role, the researcher conducted research and fact-finding in order to develop press releases and other campaign documents to be used across NAFCON-USA membership organizations and amongst individual and group-based allies. Currently, the researcher supports fund development for NAFCON-USA campaigns and sponsored events, including typhoon disaster relief in the Philippines, the International Migrants Alliance (IMA) conference, and Salupongan International's campaign to support schools for the Lumad people in Mindanao. The International Migrants Alliance (IMA) began in 2008 and includes 120 member organizations in 30 countries. IMA includes grassroots organizations of migrants, refugees, and displaced people (<http://wearemigrants.net/about/>). Salupongan International (SI) is a solidarity network inspired by the aspirations of the Manobo Talaingod tribe who united their villages and defended their ancestral land and rainforest from being destroyed by corporate loggers decades ago in the Southern Mindanao Region of the Philippines (<http://salupongan.org/about-us/>).

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Restatement of the Problem

While researchers recognize migrants' agency and acknowledge migrants as political and social actors, research is limited that connects Filipina migrant workers' activist identities to the political education they receive from grassroots organizations in the Philippines, United States, and other countries. Transnational feminist scholars provide a deep analysis of the problems of gendered migration and labor in relation to uneven global economic development. However, these studies gave a limited view on how Filipina migrant workers have responded to the economic, political, and social inequities of their lives. Other studies on migration and labor have focused on the impact of U.S. colonialism, globalization, the role of the Philippine State, and how Filipino migrant workers protested wage inequity and racial discrimination. But, further exploration is needed on the educational practices that developed their oppositional consciousness. Educational perspectives have centered on the inclusion of decolonizing education in the teaching of Filipino/a American students in high schools, colleges, and universities in order to develop their self-agency. Additional Filipino/a American activist experiences need to be analyzed to explore the transformational potential of using FilCrit pedagogy.

Overview

Three themes are explored in the literature review for this study. Emphasis is placed on research spanning the last 20 years, from 1994-2015 in order to show the growth of Filipina migrant labor due to globalization and the Philippine's Labor Export

Policy, and the impact on Filipina lives. Classic texts familiar to researchers are included that address Migration Studies, Philippine Studies, Transnational Feminist Studies, and Education Theory in order to show the impact of U.S. colonialism and global capitalism on the Philippine state and its people. Theme I focuses on the origins of Filipina migrant labor in relation to U.S. colonialism of the Philippines, and growth of Filipina migrant labor within the context of the Philippine government's Labor Employment Policy and globalization. Theme II surveys the experiences of Filipina Migrant workers and how their lives are impacted by multiple oppressions. Literature centering on third world feminist and transnational feminist perspectives in relation to Filipina social justice struggles are also reviewed. Lastly, Theme III surveys models of critical pedagogies, including ethnic studies based pedagogy, as they relate to decolonizing education, development of self-agency, and social movements.

I. Origins of Filipina Migrant Labor, the Philippine State, and Globalization

If we consider the harm that the Philippine government has done to its people—40 years of profiting from the overseas sale of Filipino/a labor and services with no improvement in employment and overall economy at home, we have to raise questions of why the Philippine government is failing at developing the country's infrastructure and basic industries that will create jobs? Exploring scholarship regarding Philippines-U.S. colonial history will provide rich information about how the Philippine nation and its peoples have been impacted culturally, economically, politically, and socially by U.S. colonialism. Emphasis will be placed on the origins of Filipino migrant labor in the United States during the colonial period (1904-1946), and the emergence of Filipina migrant labor (healthcare and nursing industry) post 1946, when the Philippines gained

independence. Critical perspectives of the Philippines neocolonial condition under the United States are discussed to give further context on the rise of export labor in the Philippines as an economic strategy realized by the Philippine Labor Employment Plan. Additionally, research studies on the outmigration of Filipinas and their entrance into low-wage contractual domestic work as a product of globalization are surveyed in the context of their increased deployment to countries in the Global North.

Filipino/a Migrant Labor and American Colonialism of the Philippines

There are numerous scholars that have written about colonialism of the Philippines by the United States, rooting the problem of increasing Filipino/a labor export to the Philippines neocolonial condition under the United States despite Philippine Independence being granted in 1946. The existing Philippine Studies scholarship (Agoncillo & Alfonso, 1969; Constantino, 1970; 1975; Schirmer & Shalom, 1998) consistently argues that Spanish colonialism and American colonialism negatively shaped the Philippine economy and political institutions. Agoncillo and Alfonso (1969) and Constantino (1975) historically examine how Spain implemented land ownership and taxation programs such as the *encomienda* and *hacienda* systems with economic profits going to the Catholic Church, colonial government, and political elites. The United States redistributed ownership of land to political elites instead of local farmers, focusing on mining and exporting crops. Because national liberation from Spain was not fully realized due to the onset of American colonialism after the 1896 Philippine Revolution, the Philippine economy remained semi-feudal and semi-colonial with established landholders/political elite leading the country and financially profiting from exploitation of natural resources.

The seminal study done by Schirmer and Shalom (1998) describe the Philippines and the Filipino people as having a colonial history that began in 1565 under Spain through the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898. In 1899, the United States Government began the Philippine-American War because they wanted possession of the lands they had helped to liberate from Spanish control. Conquest of the Philippines would expand America's political presence in the Pacific and give them a strategic military base. After hundreds of thousands of Filipino casualties, the United States gained the Philippines as a colonial territory in 1902 through 1946, the end of World War II. Schirmer and Shalom (1998) also claim the Philippine economy remained dependent on U.S. markets with the passing of legislation such as the Bell Trade Act of 1946, which imposed economic conditions on the Philippines just days before independence. Key points of the legislation include giving U.S. citizens parity with Filipinos in the right to own corporations engaged in exploitation of natural resources, unlimited free trade for eight years, and setting quotas on exportation of products that would compete with U.S. goods (Schirmer & Shalom, 1998, p. 88). The United States was also given a 99-year lease on designated military bases in the country with the signing of the RP-Military Bases Agreement in 1947 (Schirmer & Shalom, 1998, p. 96).

The existing Filipino American Studies literature (Baldoz, 2011; Choy, 2003; Fujita-Rony, 2003; Rodriguez, 2010) analyzes how the United States educated the Filipino elite so they could run the Philippine government in support of American values, and also connected American colonialism to Filipinos becoming equated with cheap labor. In order to establish its colonial state, the U.S. collaborated with the remaining Filipino elite that had established their power under Spanish colonialism. As Rodriguez's

(2010) study indicates, these collaborators were given key positions in the new colonial government so they could mediate between the American colonizers and the Filipino masses. Also, the “Pensionado” program was established to provide an American education to selected Filipino students from across the regions. The goal was to have these students, who were now trained in American Democracy, take up government and civil service positions when they returned to the Philippines (Rodriguez, 2010, p. 5). These efforts, coupled by the institutionalization of an American-based public education system in the Philippines, would later result in a Philippine Independent Government that continued to be linked ideologically through its colonial education to the United States.

Fujita-Rony (2003) points out while America was establishing the Philippine colony, the agricultural industry in the western United States and the newly acquired Hawaiian territory experienced a labor shortage due to anti-immigrant sentiment directed towards Chinese and Japanese laborers. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and The Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907 were legislative responses to the racism directed at both Chinese and Japanese laborers. These laws limited the labor pool for a growing industry and recruiters soon turned to the new colony of the Philippines. To Rodriguez (2010),

The importing of Filipino workers became a means of addressing both the economic and political imperatives of the United States during this period. First, the colonial migrant labor system could assure that the United States of a continuous pool of cheap foreign labor. Moreover, because Filipinos were U.S. nationals, they did not pose the kinds of political tensions for the U.S. government that workers from other countries did (p. 4).

Thus, this migrant labor system would continue to be used by the Philippine government

even after Independence from the U.S. was declared in 1946. To Posada (1999) and Choy (2003) U.S. trained Filipina nurses, for example, joined the export cheap labor pool as early as 1948 through the State Department's Exchange Visitor Program. Filipina nurses were given the "opportunity" to do clinical work in the United States. However, this "opportunity" was also a strategy to address the nursing shortage Americans faced. Choy's (2003) study also includes interviews with Filipina nurses in New York City and other areas of the United States, and from these interviews, Choy (2003) found exploitation of foreign-trained nurses through temporary work visas.

Baldoz (2011) extends Rodriguez's (2010) economic analysis and examined the intersection of American imperialism and Filipino immigration histories, focusing on the impact of empire on Filipino migration, race relations, and American law. For example, Baldoz (2011) analyzes the nativist attempts to restrict Filipino male laborers from entering the United States due to fear of wage competition and the desire for racial purity. Baldoz (2011) conducts archival research (sources include personal accounts, newspapers, labor records, and, most important, legal cases) to examine both the experiences of Filipinos as nationals (not American citizens, yet not aliens under colonial and immigration policies) and the reactions of American politicians, lawmakers, nativist organizations, and social scientists (1920s and 1930s). By the early 1970s, President Ferdinand Marcos established the Federal Labor Export Program and Filipinas were actively recruited to work in foreign countries.

In Pernia's (2011) view, the Philippine government's labor policy has actively promoted overseas employment since President Marcos's Presidential Decree (PD) 442, known as the Labor Code of 1974. Pernia also concludes that the separation of parents

due to migration often results in family breakdown. Apart from the psychosocial disadvantages that befall the children, overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) themselves have to bear various psychosocial costs in their workplaces. Capones (2013) study further discusses Philippine labor market trends and policies, showing the increase in flow of Filipino/a migrants in the global economy. She notes, for example, in 2011, there were 1,687, 831 OFWs deployed across the world, with Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Qatar being the top five destination countries. Laborers and Unskilled workers also constituted 32.7 percent of the OFWs deployed. In terms of remittances, the total amount remitted in 2011 was \$20,116, 992, with OFWs in the United States remitting \$8,481,164 (Capones, 2013, pp. 6-13).

Filipino/a migrant labor and globalization

To further contextualize the Philippine government's reliance on Filipino/a labor export, research studies on the outmigration of Filipinas and their entrance into low-wage contractual domestic work as a product of globalization is also valuable to survey. In the context of globalization, Phizacklea (2001) writes about the relationship between women's migration, employment, and the state in industries such as domestic work. Her study includes both a voluntarist and structuralist approach, in which the former focuses on human agency and wage-earning access and the latter focuses on women's migration as determined by economic necessity. She describes migration as an expression of uneven economic development rooted in European colonialism and labor exploitation (Phizacklea, 2001 pp. 319-321). In the view of Burn (2005) gender inequality links to globalization. She explores the commodification and dehumanization of women worldwide and their lack of access to an economically independent life. To Burn (2005),

“Economic globalization refers to the integration and rapid interaction of economies through production, trade, and financial transactions by banks and multinational corporations, with an increased role for the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and World Trade Organization” (p.151). She also points out the majority of the jobs created by globalization for women are mostly in the service sector, temporary, low-wage contractual work with poor working conditions. This is problematic for Burn (2005) because wealthy women’s economic/labor force participation is increased at the expense of “confining migrant women to low-status gendered roles” (p.153).

Pre-dating Parreñas’ (2001) critical study on Filipina domestic workers, Tadiar (1997) examines the growth of Filipina migrant labor from the Philippines and the erasure of Filipina migrants’ subjectivity. To Tadiar (1997), the numerous media accounts of violence against Filipina domestics represent female workers as helpless bodies without subjectivity, as labor commodities with no agency. Additionally, Tadiar (1997) argues that the commodification of Filipina labor is a new industrial slavery, “the concrete operation and effect of the gendering and racializing constitution of domestic labour which is carried out in and through local cultures of both ‘sending’ and ‘receiving’ countries, a conglomeration of processes mediated by transnational capital” (p. 157). Moreover, Tadiar (1997) explores the ways in which Filipina migrant workers became symbols of the Philippine nation state within globalization. Different from the belief that globalization transcends nationalism, the global production of Filipina migrant labor reinforces Philippine nationalism as protecting Filipina migrants from harm equates to protecting the interests of the nation.

Parreñas' (2001) research on Filipina domestic workers in Rome and Los Angeles is a significant contribution to Migration Studies in the context of globalization. Parreñas (2001) asserts the outmigration of Filipinas to work as domestics is a product of globalization within the context of the Philippines' export-based economy. In-depth interviews with domestic workers highlight the gendered international division of reproductive labor, and the dislocation of transnational families. For example, while Filipina mothers are recruited to work for privileged white women in the Global North, they must hire poor women in the Philippines to take care of their own children. Parreñas (2005) also turns her focus on the experiences of children of transnational households, arguing that traditional gender roles are both transformed and maintained, leaving children confused. Filipina migrant workers are able to participate in the global labor force but they are still expected to handle the "nurturing" of children left at home. In mainstream discourse, if a husband does not provide care, the migrant mother is perceived as abandoning her children.

The Center for Migrant Advocacy's (2014) policy brief also analyzes the feminization of migration in the Philippines and the impact on Filipina migrant workers. The report describes the feminization of migration as referring to the rising number of women migrating on their own and the gendered roles that women occupy as migrant workers. For more than 20 years, over fifty percent of migration outflow from the Philippines has been composed of women because of the sustained demand from countries all over the world for their skills in domestic work, care giving, and entertainment. The Philippines is also unable to generate enough jobs and adequate

income for women. The policy brief also concludes that the realities of lower wages and higher vulnerabilities often faced by Filipina migrants are a result of the gendered roles.

In the context of the United States, Francisco and Rodriguez (2014) focus on the “global remittance trend” in relation to Filipino/a contemporary migration flows in order to better understand undocumented migration of Filipinos to the United States. They link the emergence of this “global remittance trend” to neoliberal economic orthodoxy backed by international institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). As a result, the Philippine State has functioned as a “labor broker” and commodified its own people for the sake of economic development. The study incorporates interviews of several Filipino and Filipina workers to show their experiences as emigrants to the United States, how they connect to the global remittance trend, and the impact of family separation.

II. Third World/Transnational Feminism and Filipina Social Justice Struggles

As the focus of this study will be on how Filipina migrant workers experience political education and activism, scholarship on intersectionality is valuable in relation to development of self-agency. The cultural racialization of Filipinas and other Asian/Pacific Islander women adds another layer of oppression to the gender subordination already experienced by women historically and worldwide. This section emphasizes Asian women experiences with racial, class, and gender oppression. First, popular United States/Western constructs of Asian-ness are analyzed beginning with Said’s (1979) concept of Orientalism and how it is related to the commodification and sexual exploitation of Asian women. Second, this section reviews the literature of third world/transnational feminism in the context of the scholarship of social justice

movements within and outside of the Philippines. A survey of these feminist perspectives underscores the importance of Filipina migrant workers developing a collective identity, practicing solidarity, and community organizing for social justice.

Filipina migrants as racialized subjects

In considering how U.S. colonialism impacted the Philippine economy and government structure, it is important to examine the concept of race and Filipina migrant labor. How and in what contexts have Filipinas become racialized subjects? How have constructs of race relegated Filipinas to second-class citizens? The social construction of race is historically rooted in European colonialism and the subjugation of colonized peoples in the Americas, Africa, and Asia. For Yosso (2006) race categories are meant to “differentiate groups based primarily on skin color, phenotype, ethnicity, and culture for the purpose of showing the superiority or dominance of one group over another. The social meanings applied to race find their justification in an ideology of racial superiority and white privilege” (p. 5). Said’s (1979) analysis of colonial discourse is relevant to racial constructions of Asian and Pacific Islander women. Said (1979) examines Europe’s economic relationship and cultural construction of the East/Orient as illustrative of colonial/imperialist structures. Orientalist discourse constructs a differential power relationship between West and East, in which the East is culturally and economically backward, inferior, and less powerful than the West. At the same time, the East is constructed as mysterious and exotic, a fantasy subject to western consumption.

Orientalist discourse is present in written and visual narratives of the Philippine-American War during 1899-1902. American media racialized Filipinos, ascribing negative attributes to a people in order to justify their conquest. According to Kramer

(2009), the Philippine-American War “as race war: a war rationalized in racial terms before U.S. publics, one in which U.S. soldiers came to understand Filipino combatants and noncombatants in racial terms, and one in which race played a key role in bounding and unbounding American violence against Filipinos” (p. 169). Shaw and Francia (2002) and Ignacio, de la Cruz, Emmanuel, and Toribio (2004) published groundbreaking cultural histories documenting the American subjugation and racialization of the Filipino people. A Visual lexicon already familiar to the American people—degrading images of Native Americans, Blacks, and Chinese—was used in the government propaganda supporting the Philippine-American War. A few of the racist stereotypes of Filipinos included black-skinned pickanninies and thick-lipped primitive savages who were backwards and dumb (Ignacio et al, 2004, pp. 81-95). Cinema was also used for American colonization and the creation of Imperialist fictions. American inventor Thomas Alva Edison’s film studio produced a series of films depicting the Philippine-American War, presenting re-enactments of U.S. troops advancing against and capturing Filipino soldiers. The larger than life image of the subjugated Filipino led to diminishment of a people’s capacity and contributed to the dehumanization of Filipinos (Deocampo, 2002, pp. 223-227).

Delmendo (2004) also examines the cultural propaganda used by American publications to justify the Philippine-American War. Filipino/as were racialized as backward, uncivilized brown others who would only benefit as a people if they came under the control of the United States government. The study includes a detailed analysis of the 1904 children’s book and comic, *Brownies in the Philippines*. Delmendo wrote, “Early colonial representations of Filipinos similarly identified Filipino natives with an

primitive prehistory that naturalized Filipinos' colonization by locating them both at the spatial and temporal periphery of American nation-building" (p. 47). Here, Delemendo (2004) points to the book's representation of the American victory in the Philippine-American War as an event of a long ago past. However, the reality in the Philippines was the Filipino military struggle for national liberation continued many years after the supposed 1902 American victory.

The writings of Shah (2003) and Hagedorn (2003) address contemporary forms of Asian and Pacific Islander women's racialization, identifying stereotypes created and perpetuated by the U.S. media industry. Shah (2003) argues that mass media produces stereotypical images of the tragic submissive and sexual expert rooted in histories of European and American colonialism and imperialism in Asia. Resulting stereotypes included Asian women as traditional, backward, submissive, and victimized. Also, the western male imaginary constructed the submissive Asian woman as willing sex-slave. Following Said's (1979) study, Shah (2003) claims the perpetuation of these stereotypes is rooted in the West's ongoing distortions of the East as a means to continue the exploitation of Asian Labor and maintain unjust economies. In like vein, Hagedorn (2003) argues that movies and film continue to be powerful artistic forms that manipulate audiences through use of sound and image. More specifically, Hollywood films colonize the imagination of viewers by the distorted representations of Asian women as sexy, sleek, slant-eyed, cunning, and sexual exotics. Trivializing or casting people women of color as exotics discounts their humanity, and they become merely objects to be consumed. For Asian and Pacific Islander women, these stereotypes encourage their

sexual exploitation and commodification as evidenced in the mail-order bride industry and sexual trafficking industry.

Third world and transnational feminism

As in studies of racial formation, gender socialization is rooted in stereotypes of male and female that become ingrained as cultural norms. Men are typically ascribed qualities of power, strength, logic, and rationality, while women are ascribed qualities of weakness, passiveness, submissiveness, emotionality, and irrationality. Women are still expected to be the primary caretakers of the home and family while men are expected to be the primary wage earners. Thus, relationships between men and women have historically been unequal and oppressive across societies, and gender inequality maintained through major social institutions such as family, economic and political systems, education, and religion. Addressing patriarchy and gender inequality are major tenets of Feminist theory. However, Third World and Transnational Feminism interrogates the universalizing discourse of Western feminism because it maintains colonial relations of power by failing to recognize the differences in women's local conditions and issues of intersectionality of oppressions, such as the racialization of gendered labor from the Global South due to the poverty of many countries whose economic development was stunted by Western colonialism.

While Burn (2005) provides a mainstream feminist critique of gender and class inequality in the context of globalization, Sandoval (2001) and Mohanty (2003) find inclusion of an antiracist feminist framework, linked to a decolonizing and anticapitalist feminist critique necessary, if we are to truly understand the social, economic, and political inequities that third world women face. This framework sheds light on what

inspires women to fight for their rights in a transnational context, providing a lens to practices of activism, organizing, and solidarity. Sandoval and Mohanty critique the tradition of U.S. feminism that invalidates “identity politics” as a source of knowledge leading to individual agency. Sandoval (2001) questions the traditional paradigm of feminism for its exclusion of women of color’s experiences with intersectionality of oppressions. Sandoval (2001) says,

US third world feminism provides access to a different way of conceptualizing not only of US feminist consciousness but oppositional activity in general: it compromises a formulation capable of aligning such movements for social justice with what have been identified as world-wide movements of decolonization.

(Sandoval, 2001, p. 261)

In this passage, the concept of “identity politics” needs to be looked upon as a source of knowledge leading to individual agency. Sandoval also underscored the importance of linking Third World women’s struggles in the U.S. to global movements rooted in the process of decolonization, which included recovery of social structures and cultural values.

Mohanty (2003) argues that globalization is about class, race/ethnic, and gender relations situated in the political, cultural, and economic. Her text provides a deep analysis of global capitalism and wage labor in relation to the impact on region, family members, and friends. She also explains that the majority of the jobs created by globalization are for women living in poor, economically, underdeveloped countries. The jobs are temporary, low-skilled, low-wage contractual work with poor working conditions. Mohanty (2003) argues,

feminism without borders that acknowledges the fault lines, conflicts, differences, fears, and containment that borders represent. It acknowledges that there is no one sense of a border, that the lines between and through nations, races, classes, sexualities, religions, and disabilities, are real—and that a feminism without borders must envision change and social justice work across these lines of demarcation and division. (p. 2)

For Mohanty, then, there is fluidity, epistemological value, and transformational power in analyzing the linkages, disconnections, and dislocations within, between, and outside of women's movements worldwide.

Filipina migrants and transnational feminism

Following Sandoval's (2001) and Mohanty's (2003) focus on intersectionality, Parreñas and Lui (2007) also research Filipina migrants' lives from a diasporic and transnational lens. They argue that a diasporic approach involves an analysis of subject formation in relation to:

- (1) displacement from homeland under nexus of an unequal global and political and economic system;
- (2) the simultaneous experience of alienation and maintenance of affiliation to both country of residence and the homeland; and
- finally (3) the sense of collective consciousness and connectivity with other displaced people from the homeland across the diasporic terrain. (Parreñas & Lui, 2007, p. 1-2)

Parreñas (2008) also examines the persistence of assigning women domestic labor within and beyond Philippine social, economic, and political institutions. She maintains that in sending and receiving nations, there exists "social, cultural, and political pressures that

reinforce women's domesticity in migration" (Parreñas, 2008, p. 9). Take, for example, how the Constitution of the Philippines defines women in relation to the domestic sphere and how U.S. immigration laws such as the Page Law limited Asian women's migration due to questions of immoral sexuality. Parreñas (2008) further argues that women's migration in the global economy results in inequalities between women based on race and class. This inequality can be seen in the transfer of reproductive labor from richer women in the Global North to poorer women from the Global South who migrate to become domestic care workers.

While Parreñas's (2007; 2008) research addresses the problems of gendered migration and labor in relation to uneven global economic development, she gave a limited view on how, and in what ways Filipina migrant workers have responded to the social, economic, and political inequities of their lives. Rodriguez's (2010) study, however, provides valuable insights in this area. She claims, "Transformations in notions of Filipino nationalism and citizenship have given rise to new kinds of transnational citizenship struggles allowing Filipino migrant workers to demand economic, political, and cultural rights of the Philippine State wherever they maybe" (p. 343). She assigns migrants agency and sees them as political and social actors who understand "how they have been inserted into the global economic order a cheap an flexible 'providers of labour power' " (Rodriguez, 2010, p. 345). Equally important, Rodriguez (2010) highlights Migrante International's efforts at organizing Filipino/a migrants to challenge the Philippine State's Labor Export Policy, unfair labor practices of government sponsored recruitment agencies, unfair and abusive labor practices in receiving countries, and the hegemony of neoliberal globalization. Migrante has an extensive transnational network of

member organizations that engage collectively in transnational struggles for workers' rights, security, and dignity, and Migrante's leadership includes Filipina migrants who seek to legitimize domestic work and to change the view that it is shameful and lowly work (pp.147-155). Migrante has launched numerous campaigns involving "cases of stranded, detained and mysterious deaths, rape and sex-trafficking, wage cuts and maltreatment, anti-migrant policies and laws, evacuation in times of war, the plunder and corruption of OFW funds, and the continuing clamor for genuine public service and good governance for OFWs" (Our History, par. 5). Moreover, since its founding in 1996, Migrante has grown to a 90 member-organization across 22 countries (Our History, par. 6).

A more recent study by Francisco and Rodriguez (2014) looks at migrant transnationalism within the Filipino labor diaspora, focusing on the activism of domestic workers in New York City and Hong Kong. The two organizations they specifically study were Kabalikat Domestic Workers Support Network in New York City (migrant workers working as nannies, housekeepers, and caregivers and mostly women and undocumented) and The United Filipinos of Hong Kong (an alliance of domestic workers' groups from the Philippines who are employed there on short-term contracts). What is significant about this study is that the New York and Hong Kong activists were connected through their affiliations formally to the transnational Filipino migrant alliance, Migrante International, showing the extent of Migrante's transnational advocacy and organizing efforts. Additionally, Francisco and Rodriguez (2014) research these migrant activists' political subjectivities in relation to their shared oppositional politics and critique of their home state's involvement with neoliberal global programs.

There is also a rich body of relevant literature on Filipina migrant workers' experiences with activism in Asia, written by transitional feminists. Lyons (2007) has extensive research on transnational migration flows in Singapore, with an emphasis on migrant worker activism. She describes the challenges in migrant worker activism in Singapore with particular emphasis on the constraints of working within an authoritarian, patriarchal state. Associations/groups must register under the Societies Act or the Companies Act, and individuals who participate in public protest who are not members of registered organizations are subject to arrest. Thus, Filipina migrant activism outside of an established group harms migrants, most likely resulting in termination of work permits and repatriation. Despite these limitations on activism within Singapore, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have been able to support transnational campaigns for Filipina migrant workers' rights and welfare.

In contrast to Lyon (2007), Yeoh and Huang (2010) give an intimate view of Filipina migrant workers' lives in Singapore. They argue that notions of fixed "home" have shifted due to globalization; in other words, the reproductive work of the home has become globalized. Home is not only gendered space but also transnational as migrant women are sought after to take care of local households in capitalist countries and newly industrialized countries like Singapore. Yeoh and Huang's (2010) research moved away from meta-narratives of the migrant experience; instead, they focused on Filipina migrant lives within the home space of their employment and public space of the Singaporean cities, exploring power dynamics, gendered labor, labor exploitation, individual resistance, collective resistance, and NGO and grassroots activism.

Differing from Yeoh and Huang (2010), Lindio-McGovern (2012) provide concrete examples of Filipino migrants organizing outside the home space, in Hong

Kong, Taiwan, Vancouver, Rome, Chicago, and the home country. She examines United Filipinos in Hong Kong (UNIFIL-HK), for example, which is an alliance of 25 Filipino migrant organizations in Hong Kong whose membership is close to 90% Filipino/a. Since 1985, UNIFIL-HK has engaged in lobbying, collective actions, protests, and activities relevant to Filipino/a migrants. One campaign, for example, opposed the Hong Kong Government's attempt to implement a wage cut (between 20%-30%) for foreign domestic workers. The study also examines The Mission for Filipino Migrant Workers (MFMW), which is based at St. John's Cathedral in Hong Kong. Established in 1981, MFMW framed the struggle for migrants' rights as a struggle for human rights.

Alliances like Migrante and its organizational members such as Kabilikat and UNIFIL show organizing models that are drawing Filipina migrants to become politically involved in meaningful ways for themselves and their transnational community. How do Migrante and affiliated transnational organizations develop an oppositional consciousness amongst migrant workers? Do member organizations rely on any political curriculum and pedagogy to engage migrant workers and their allies? What opportunities are provided for activism and the learning of the range of skills needed to carry out political campaigns?

III. Critical Pedagogies, Individual and Group Empowerment, and Social Movements

Because this study will focus on how Filipina migrant workers experience political education and activism, surveying scholarship on critical and ethnic studies pedagogies may shed light on how migrants develop an oppositional consciousness and learn activism. The literature reviewed in this section explores the emergence of critical and ethnic studies based pedagogies in connection to the practice of decolonizing

education, development of self-agency, and social movements (Darder et al., 2009; Denzin, 2007; Friere, 1970; Laenui, 2006; Giroux, 2007; Tintiangco-Cubales, 2009; 2014; Toribio, 1998; Viola, 2014).

Critical pedagogy

Critical pedagogy, coupled with an ethnic studies framework for understanding the process of decolonization, may help address the question of how Filipina migrants develop an oppositional consciousness and self-agency. According to Darder, Baltodano, and Torres (2009), “critical pedagogy emerged from a long historical legacy of radical social thought and progressive educational movements, which aspired to link democratic principles of society and transformative social action in the interest of oppressed communities” (p. 2). They root critical pedagogy in the life and work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, who was deeply committed to educating the Brazilian poor working class, so they could politically engage in improving their oppressive social condition. In his groundbreaking work in education theory, Freire (1970) argue for a radical transformation of the student-teacher relationship through problem-posing education as a means to increase literacy and critical engagement amongst the common people. He maintains that the acquisition of knowledge and what we come to understand as the cultural norm must be critically analyzed in relation to socio-historical, cultural, economic, and political contexts. Freire’s educational model centered on consciousness raising, dialogue, reflection, and praxis---that in the expansion of these individual acts, collective action for social transformation can take place.

Mclaren (1998) sees a need to clearly define key concepts in Freire’s (1970) theory of critical pedagogy. He discusses the idea of knowledge being socially

constructed and that dominant perspectives are upheld over others. In his view, the critical educator is concerned with liberatory knowledge and how this type of knowledge reveals the power relations that exist in any given society. The critical educator interrogates and challenges dominant discourses (rooted in ideology) that are maintained by dominant culture through cultural forms such as educational curriculum and social media. Thus, critical pedagogy is pedagogy of resistance and the critical educator is an activist for social justice. Informed by Freire's (1970) concept of critical pedagogy, Giroux (2007) writes about the power of activists holding a "Concrete Utopianism," which included a critique of:

the existing order of things and using the terrain of culture and education to actually intervene in the world, to struggle to change the current configurations of power and the allocation of resources in society... as a form of educated hope, it provides the grounds for thinking critically and acting responsibly—pushing against the grain to undermine and transform structures of power and oppression. (pp. 215-216)

Here, Giroux (2007) acknowledges the necessary link between theory and practice, that knowledge production should be in the service of changing power relations within a society so that it is more just.

Ethnic studies pedagogy

Ethnic Studies in the United States emerged from the social movements happening locally and globally during the 1960s, including the Civil Rights Movement, Anti-Vietnam War Movement, and Liberation Movements in the Third World. To Tintiangco-Cubales et al. (2014), there is a strong "push for an anti-racist, multicultural

curricular reform...guided by a strong sense of decolonization and self-determination” (pp. 3-4). Various communities of color, African American, Asian American, Chicanos, and Native peoples demanded access and inclusion in the educational curriculum, and among the faculty ranks in higher education. Tintiangco-Cubales et al. (2014) also explains:

The educational purpose or the “ARC” of Ethnic Studies from its onset was centered around three major concepts: Access, Relevance, and Community. Access referred to providing students opportunities to receive quality education and urged educational institutions to open their doors to more students of color. Ethnic Studies defined quality education as one that is relevant and directly connected to the marginalized experiences of students of color. To connect these experiences, Ethnic Studies’ purpose was to serve as a bridge from formal educational spaces to community involvement, advocacy, organizing and activism. (p. 4)

In relation to ethnic studies pedagogy, a critical component that leads to a process of individual transformation is learning about one’s history in the context of ethnic studies, which includes understanding how racism and other oppressions have impacted self-identity and individual and group empowerment. This point echoes what Constantino (1970) states about the need for decolonizing education in the Philippines,

Education is a vital weapon of a people striving for economic emancipation, political independence and cultural renaissance. We are such a people. Philippine education therefore must produce Filipinos who are aware of their country's problems, who understand the basic solution to these problems, and who care

enough to have courage to work and sacrifice for their country's salvation. (p. 1)

Strobel (2001) also researches the process of decolonization in relation to Filipino students' development as activists. The study shows the impact of learning histories of colonialism within an Ethnic Studies context. Students were able to connect with and understand their experiences and their family experiences by allowing them to critically examine their own colonial mentality and find ways to resist. Strobel (2001) identifies naming, reflecting, and acting as three key steps in the process of decolonization. In contrast to Strobel (2001), Laenui (2006) develops five steps in the decolonizing process:

- 1) Rediscovery and Recovery [of one's culture, language, identity, etc];
- 2) Mourning [phase of grieving and healing];
- 3) Dreaming [expression of possibilities of new world];
- 4) Commitment [to direction for societal change];
- 5) Action [pro-active action based on community consensus]. (p. 2)

Similar to Freire's (1970) cycle of theory, practice, evaluation, and reflection, Laenui's (2006) steps for decolonization works in a recursive pattern. As well, Denzin's (2007) concept of hope pedagogy, as applied to the activist imagination, is built upon the decolonizing practices that Strobel (2001) and Laenui (2006) identify. Denzin (2007) explores how indigenous theater and performance connected to diasporic areas of dislocation, exploitation, and violence, seeking to disrupt colonial models of race and class (p. 233). He also presents a powerful perspective on the role that "hope" can play in developing and sustaining the "activist imagination": Hope gives meaning to the struggles to change the world. Hope is grounded in concrete performative practices

in struggles and interventions that espouse the sacred values of love, care, community, trust, and well-being. Hope as form of pedagogy, confronts and interrogates cynicism, the belief that change is not possible. (Denzin, 2007, pp. 239-240)

In this quote Denzin (2007) departs from Freirean critical pedagogy by centralizing the concept of hope as the driver to an activist mindset and practice.

Filipino/a critical pedagogy

More recently, Filipino/a educators have merged tenets of critical pedagogy with critical theory rooted in an Ethnic Studies framework (Daus-Magbual, 2010; Tintiangco-Cubales, 2009; 2014; Viola, 2009; 2012; 2014). Tintiangco-Cubales' (2009) sourcebook compiles curricular modules for teachers and individuals interested in teaching Filipino/a American culture, issues, and history. This volume focuses on sample lesson plans (reading guide, activities, and student learning outcomes) exploring social issues and movements, identities and movements, youth, and culture and the arts, and service learning projects. The curriculum was specifically used in the Pin@y Educational Partnership (PEP) program that Tintiangco-Cubales founded in 2001 as a means to develop an educational pipeline for Filipino/a teachers who sought to teach Filipino/a studies in local high schools, colleges, and universities. Daus-Magbual (2010) provides a historical analysis of the impact of the PEP program. His study examines the experiences of former and current teachers and students who participated in PEP. Specifically, he looks at how use of a Filipino/a American Studies curriculum shaped Filipino/a American identity in that both teachers and students gained a new understanding of social and personal oppression. He also explores narratives that showed a clear connection between

participation in PEP and participants active engagement in activism and community organizing.

Focusing attention on the empowerment of Filipina American women, Tintiangco-Cubales and Sacramento (2009) discuss the transformational potential of a Pinayist pedagogy on the everyday lives of Filipinas. Pinayist pedagogy is defined in the following way:

Pinayist praxis is a process, place, and production that aims to connect the global and local to the personal issues and stories of Pinay struggle, survival, service, sisterhood, and strength. It is an individual and communal process of decolonization, humanization, self-determination, and relationship building, ultimately moving toward liberation. Through this process, Pinays create places where their epistemologies are at the center of the discourse/dialogue/conversation and organizing. (Tintiangco-Cubales & Sacramento, 2009, pp. 1-2)

Here, we see that the Pinayist pedagogical approach is deeply rooted in both critical and ethnic studies pedagogies. Development of self-agency is grounded in decolonizing praxis for restoration of humanity, Filipina women's knowledge production, community dialogue, and commitment to action. Tintiangco-Cubales and Sacramento (2009) further identify two goals for using a Pinayist pedagogy: teaching and learning a curriculum based on uncovering Filipina women's experiences and issues in the local, national, global, and personal; and also mentoring Filipinas to create and expand a community of practitioners (p. 2).

In like vein, Viola (2014) locates the experience of one high profile Filipina

American activist, Melissa Roxas, within a FilCrit pedagogy which is rooted in the idea that Filipino/a lived experiences within colonial, neocolonial, and imperialist contexts are transformative sites of knowledge production. Melissa Roxas was forcibly abducted at gunpoint on May 19, 2009 while doing humanitarian work in the Philippines, and her abduction resulted in human rights mobilizations in the Philippines and United States. To Viola (2014), FilCrit pedagogy is informed by “the transnational praxis of those who actively and humbly witness, learn, and challenge the barbaric consequences of a global capitalist system that is impeding human potential” of a diasporic Filipino community (p. 22). Roxas was exposed to activism through participation in grassroots organizations and received critical pedagogy rooted in Philippine and Filipino American studies curriculum. Viola argued contemporary Filipino/a American activist identity formation is developed by the praxis of transnational activism, which includes participation in political educational and exposure programs in the Philippines. To Viola, participation in community-based exposure programs facilitate Freire’s (1970) process of conscientization, as Roxas developed an oppositional consciousness that enabled her to connect her personal identity with Philippine history, Filipino American history, and global struggles for racial and economic justice.

Individual and group empowerment and social movements

What are Filipina migrant activists dreaming about? How do they define “our struggle,” and what inspires them to take up, and continue the fight? These are crucial questions that social movement theorists explore (Anyon, 2005; Della Porta and Diani (2006); Boggs, 2012; Kelly, 2003; Negron-Gonzales, 2009; Pulido (2006); Rodriguez & Balce, 2004; Tadiar, 2009; Toribio, 1998). Kelley (2003), for example, point out,

“Revolutionary dreams erupt out of political engagement; collective social movements are incubators of new knowledge” (p. 8). To him, sustained political engagement is not rooted in people’s misery but instead is rooted in people’s hope and dreams. His study critiques social movement theorists for taking for granted ongoing legacies of social movements by privileging narratives of oppression and/or movement errors and failures. Kelley (2003) argues for the recovery of activists’ ideas and visions, exploring how social movements inspire individuals and groups to imagine another world is possible. Specifically, his research provides a historical analysis of artists and writers of the African diaspora such as Aimé Césaire, W.E.B. Dubois, and others in order to show the impact of anti-colonial and Marxist theories on the Black radical imagination.

Negron-Gonzalez (2009) also critiques social movement literature for under-theorizing “consciousness, relegating it to little more than a “resource” that can be “mobilized” in the service of a social movement”(p. 8). She states, “that oppositional consciousness is not born when counter-hegemonic ideas and practices win out over hegemonic ideas and practices. There is never a total replacement, and it is actually the practice and process of continually wrestling between the two [that] is generative of oppositional consciousness” (p.8). Thus, the point being made is about self-transformation being an on-going process of struggle. For activist of color, unlearning many years of hegemonic ideas and practices rooted in European colonialism is not an easy task. However, when one strives to be in a community of like-minded people, one’s “ideological wrestling” can be shared and validated.

In contrast to the critiques by Kelley (2003) and Negron-Gonzales (2009), Pulido

(2006) historicize how activists of color have pushed various social movements to acknowledge and engage in the issue of race. Her study gives a detailed analysis of the ways in which Black, Brown, and Yellow radical activists aligned their struggles for racial and economic justice with the liberation movements happening in Third World communities. Pulido (2006), for example, analyzes the East Wind collective in Los Angeles, which was comprised of mostly Japanese American activists with varying ideological approaches: revolutionary nationalists, Marxist-Leninists, and Maoists. Her examination of East Winds focus on the balance between study and action was unique in comparison to other activist of color collectives in that East Wind connected Asian American identity formation to the study of communist movements in Asia and revolutionary works written in Asia such as the writings of Mao.

In addition to exploring individual and group processes for self-empowerment, studies have focused on how social movements rely on organized political actions. Anyon (2005) and Della Porta and Diani (2006) research social movements from a classical approach that focused on resource mobilization, a political process approach, an organizational approach, and the dynamics of contention. Anyon (2005) states, “Most likely, successful social movements need different kinds of organizations at different times, and even different kinds of organizations contemporaneously. But an umbrella group is crucial. Series of protests do not become a movement without some form of organization to coordinate and create synergy and overall direction” (pg. 136). She also discusses the powerful impact of developing regional centers for movement building in relation to the Civil Rights Movement. Similarly, Della Porta and Diani (2006) emphasize, “organizations secure continuity to collective action...They also provide

resources and opportunities for action to escalate when opportunities are more favorable; as well as sources for the creation and reproduction of loyalties and collective identities” (p.5). They also discuss how social movements include protests and mobilizations from interrelated campaigns with the same objective; thus, they too underscored the need for coordination and guidance, if a social movement is to be sustained and grow.

Anyon (2005) further urges educational researchers to extend their investigations to the linkages between educational reform and social movements. Anyon (2005) argues that school reform is doomed to failure unless it is driven or accompanied by a social movement that can address the lack of economic opportunities that exist for youth even if their achievement levels improve. The study is relevant as it analyzed how art, music, song, poetry, chants, drama, film, and video are essential components to political protest and growth of social movements because these forms enable participants to imagine the possibility of another world. Of particular relevance to this study is the concept of “repertoire of protest” and how movement organizers use symbols and activities to generate a collective identity and emotional responses that lead to sustained political engagement.

Like Anyon (2005) and Kelley (2003), Boggs (2012) contribute to social movement theory by providing a lens as to how and why individuals engage in collective action by contextualizing movements economically, culturally, historically, and politically. Through decades of experience as a movement activist, Boggs (2012) explores ideological concepts that inspired local grassroots organizing, large-scale mass protests, and revolutionary movements. She compares and contrasts, for example, the lives and writings of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., highlighting the changes in

their revolutionary thinking and strategy. She also supports building a movement that values the creative force of people and an economy rooted in human solidarity.

Additionally, Boggs (2012) incorporates the major tenets of critical pedagogy into her activist approach by emphasizing the importance of theory, dialogue, reflection, and practice.

In relation to Filipino-based social movements, Toribio (1998) documents the origins, ideological stance, and community organizing work of the *Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP)*. Predominantly student led, the KDP was officially launched in July 1973 by a group of eighty young activists that included both Immigrant and American-raised Filipinos/as. At its height in the mid-1970s, Toribio estimates between 200-300 members, with chapters across the nation (KDP members traced their common revolutionary roots to the *Katipunan* in the Philippines that was founded in 1892 and led by the working –class hero, Andrés Bonifacio). For thirteen years, the KDP organized a massive amount of political and cultural activity—from demonstrations to theater production, numerous publications, and systematic political education of its members, modeled after the CPP’s basic courses.

Rodriguez & Balce (2004) highlight the participation of Filipino/a organizations in the San Francisco-based Filipinos for Global Justice Not War Coalition (FILSGLOBE). Their study examines the collective actions taken and use of cultural forms (mass protest, song, art, and dance) by the Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines (CHRP), San Francisco State University’s League of Filipino Students (LFS), Bagong Bayan (BB), Critical Filipina and Filipino Studies Collective (CFFSC), People’s Association of Workers and Immigrants (PAWIS), and others. While they represented

different sectors of the Filipino/a community (citizens, immigrants, migrants, teachers, workers, and youth), these organizations united under the FILSGLOBE banner to demand global, social, and economic justice for the Filipino/a diaspora. Like the KDP, FILSGLOBE organizations conducted their own systematic political education of members and volunteers.

Summary

The economic, cultural, social, and political history of the Philippines provides a context to the present conditions that Filipina Migrant workers face. Understanding the colonial and neocolonial influence of the United States explains how Filipinos became equated with cheap labor and why the Philippines relies on labor export to support its underdeveloped economy. Understanding the global economy and the continued demand of cheap labor in the service sectors also provides a lens to the feminization of migrant labor from the global south. Critical and Ethnic Studies pedagogies offer perspectives on the impact of culturally relevant problem posing education in relation to identity formation and development of self-agency. The narratives of Filipina/o American and Filipina migrant participation in activism show the urgency to address issues of forced gendered migration and the problems of family separation, labor exploitation and physical abuse.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Restatement of the Purpose of the Study

As discussed in the Background and Need section, Ruiz (2013) estimated 10.4 million Filipino/a migrant workers worldwide, with the large majority of Filipina migrants working in traditional gendered labor such as domestic work, care giving, nursing, teaching, and factory work. Because of the private nature of household work, Filipina migrants are vulnerable to mental and physical abuses from their employers in addition to labor exploitation. While researchers recognize migrants' agency and acknowledge migrants as political and social actors, few studies connect Filipina migrant workers' activist identities to the political education they receive from grassroots organizations in the Philippines, United States, and other countries. Consequently, the purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the educational dimensions of Filipina migrant activist identity formation within the context of their involvement in a community-based migrant center. Specifically, this dissertation will research the roles that political education, FilCrit pedagogy, and community organizing play in developing an activist and social justice mindset among Filipina migrant workers who are members of the Filipino Migrant Center, Long Beach in Southern California.

Overview

This chapter outlines elements of the critical ethnography approach I will use to capture the relevant research data from May to October 2016. To Madison (2012), critical ethnography is grounded in "an ethical responsibility" to address injustice and contribute to "emancipatory knowledge," self-reflection about the researcher's positionality in

relation to power, privilege, and bias, dialogue and “felt-sensing” engagement with others, and “performance of critical theory” (pp. 15-16). In this context, I created a research protocol that will help me effectively analyze how Filipina migrant workers developed their sense of agency and activist identities. Through conducting narrative interviews and participant observation, I examine the development of self-agency in three specific areas: political education curriculum, use of FilCrit pedagogy, and the practice and impact of activism on self-empowerment. My study facilitates a deeper understanding of Filipina migrant workers’ activist identities in a localized context, and includes six migrant workers affiliated with the Filipino Migrant Center (FMC), Long Beach in Southern California, a NAFCON-USA member organization. Additionally, my study explores the experiences of three Filipina FMC staff members as a means to depict a fuller portrait of the development of the FMC, and its organizational affiliations with Migrante, Southern California and Gabriela, Los Angeles, both of whom also address the rights and welfare of Filipino/a migrants and workers.

In the beginning of this chapter, I present my central research question and sub-research questions. I then review the research design and rationale for a critical ethnographic approach as the most effective method in data collection and analysis. Following this overview, I take a closer look at the FMC and explain why it is a relevant research site when examining Filipina migrant worker agency in the United States. Experiencing Filipina migrant workers’ participation in their respective organization may deepen my understanding of the development of self-agency in the context of their relationships with other Filipina migrant/immigrant workers and community organizers.

I also discuss gaining access to the site and participants for the study, noting the advantage of my insider position within the NAFCON-USA organization.

Research Questions

The overarching research question for this study is: “How do Filipina migrant workers learn to be activists? ” Five related sub-research questions include:

1. What are the human rights issues experienced by Filipina migrant workers that inspire them to be activists?”
2. How do Filipina migrant workers characterize their motivation for participating in community-based migrant centers?
3. In what ways do community-based migrant centers play a role in Filipina migrant workers learning activism?
4. How do Filipina migrant workers perceive and experience the political education and activist curriculum they receive from community-based migrant centers?
5. In what ways does FilCrit pedagogy play a role in Filipina migrant activist identities?

Table 3 listed below, is organized by research area and sample research questions that were asked in this study:

Table 1: Research Area and Questions

Research Area and Descriptions	Sample Research Questions
Reasons for and Types of Migrant Work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why did you become a migrant worker? How long have you been a migrant worker? What type of work have you done?
Human Rights Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the issues you have experienced as a Filipina migrant worker/Filipina immigrant? Why do you think you experience these issues?
Definitions and Types of Activism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you define activism? Do you consider yourself to be an activist? Why or why not? Please explain. • What inspired/inspires your activism?

	<p>How, when, and where did you learn to be an activist?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What kinds of activism related activities have you participated and who else was involved? • In your view, what role do community-based migrant centers play in migrant workers' activism? Should migrant centers engage in activism? • When you were in the Philippines, did you have experiences with activism?
Role of Migrant Centers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why do you participate in community-based migrant centers such as this one? Why have you chosen this migrant center to participate? How much time do you spend at this migrant center? • In this migrant center, what kinds of activities have you joined? Please describe your experience with these activities. How did you feel about this activities and your participation in them? • In your view, what role do community-based migrant centers play in migrant workers' lives? In your view, what would be the ideal migrant center?
Political, Activist, and Educational Curriculum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When you were in the Philippines, did you have experiences with political education? With activist curriculum? Please describe these experiences and how you felt about being a participant. • What is your perception of and experience with political education and activist education? • Please describe the content of the political education and activist curriculum you have experienced at this migrant center. How did you feel about this content? • What other types of educational workshops have you experienced at this migrant center? Please describe your experience and how you felt as a participant.

Research Design

The design for this study uses elements of critical ethnography as the means in

which to explore the thoughts, emotions, and actions of the Filipina migrant workers and community organizers involved. Critical ethnography is appropriate to my study because this approach seeks to advance social justice and empowerment of marginalized groups in society. Carspecken (1996) and Madison (2012) equated critical ethnography to a type of social activism as it deconstructs power relations and gives participants agency in the research study. Creswell (2012) also highlighted the importance of practicing an ethic of care, collaboration, and reciprocity on the part of the researcher so that the study does not further marginalize the individuals being studied. Also in alignment with elements of critical ethnography, my study will apply critical theory through use of a theoretical framework of which includes FilCrit pedagogy, transnational feminist theory, and social movement theory. In terms of recognition of my positionality, I will reflect on how my own history, culture, values, and biases impact my role as a researcher and interpreter. More specifically, the study addresses the researcher's positionality within NAFCON-USA and the broader social justice movement advocating for immigrant/migrant workers' rights.

The data collection phase spanned a period of 14 weeks, from mid-December 2016 to mid-march 2017. The data collection for this study will be guided by Carspecken's (1996) third stage of critical qualitative research, characterized as dialogical data generation (participant observation, interaction, interviews, and reflection). Additionally, Madison's (2012) recommendations for how the researcher builds rapport with participants will be useful to this study, specifically the practices of active thinking, sympathetic listening, awareness of status difference, and patiently probing (p. 40). I will primarily use narrative interviews because they provide

opportunities to break down the distinction between research and praxis. According to Madison (2012), researchers, for example, form a close bond with participants through narrative interviews if they are conducted in a conversational/dialogue style. Storytelling also gives participants confidence in their experiences, and a tool to develop voice while engaging in knowledge production. Through narrative analysis of the interviews, written documents (political education curriculum and lesson plans) and visual artifacts (organizational photos and event and informational flyers), I focus on the educational and political engagement experiences of six migrant workers affiliated with the FMC, Long Beach in Southern California, a NAFCON-USA member organization. Additionally, my study explores the experiences of three Filipina FMC staff members as a means to depict a fuller portrait of the development role of the FMC in migrant worker's lives, and its organizational affiliations with Migrante, Southern California and Gabriela, Los Angeles, of who also address the rights and welfare of Filipino/a migrants and workers.

This dissertation also uses participant observation to further explore the dynamics of political education and community organizing curriculum, use of FilCrit pedagogy, and the practice of activism in relation to Filipina migrant workers' self-empowerment and collective action. DeWalt and DeWalt (2010) pointed out that participant observation is one of the significant methods in cultural anthropology and qualitative research because insights are generated from the point of view of participants. Doing participant observation actively embeds the researcher in the context of the setting and social action. Using this method will also provide me with opportunities to build rapport with participants in my study in the hope that deeper relationships will evolve. In this vein, the researcher engaged in FMC sponsored issue-based workshops and other events.

Research Setting and Participants

Research site: The Filipino Migrant Center, Long Beach, CA



Figure 1: Filipino Migrant Center Office (old office)
2325 E 3rd St, Long Beach, CA 90814



Figure 2: Filipino Migrant Center (new office)
2125 Santa Fe Avenue, Long Beach, CA 90810



Figure 3: Filipino Migrant Center (front of new Office)
2125 Santa Fe Avenue, Long Beach, CA 90810

The site for this study is the Filipino Migrant Center (FMC) in Southern California, which is within the greater metropolitan area of Los Angeles. Figure 1 above is a photograph of the outside of FMC's original office in Long Beach, CA (Figure 1). Figure 2 is a photograph of the outside of FMC's new office in Long Beach, CA (Figure 2). Figure 3 is a photo of the front door of the new FMC office (Figure 3). FMC's location is home to over 400,000 Filipino residents. Established in 2009, FMC is member of NAFCON-USA and advocates for the rights and welfare of overseas Filipino/a workers by providing services, education, and community organizing to take on a range of issues: wage theft, labor trafficking, discrimination, sexual harassment, and others. Below is FMC's Vision and Mission:

VISION

We will work for an empowered Filipino community actively engaged in the movement for local and global justice. We dream of a society where a family is

not torn apart by urgent need for survival. We dream and will actively work for a society where there is equal opportunity to live a decent and humane life.

MISSION

We aim to educate, organize and mobilize the low-income and working-class families of the Filipino community in Southern California and address the issues and concerns that we face in our daily lives.

In carrying out our mission, we will cultivate and advance a dynamic culture that values justice and human dignity. We will reaffirm our connections to our families and loved ones still living in the Philippines to proactively support their efforts to uplift themselves. We will foster partnerships with individuals, organizations and communities that share our common interests.

(<https://filipinomigrantcenter.org/who-are-we/about-us/>)

As a means to realize FMC's dreams of a socially just world, FMC's three programs and campaigns focus on domestic workers, immigration, migration, and youth and students (Figure 4 below). In partnership with MIGRANTE Southern California, GABRIELA Los Angeles, and other organizations (Figure 5 below), FMC also works globally as its immigrant/migrant rights campaigns address the socio-economic and political problems of Filipino/as in the homeland and global diaspora. FMC relies on a strategy for movement building that involves education, research, community organizing, and capacity building. MIGRANTE Southern California is an organization committed to defending and advancing the rights and welfare of Filipino im/migrant workers around

the world. It is part of MIGRANTE International, which was founded in 1995 and has over 200 member-organizations in over 23 countries, making it the biggest organization of overseas Filipinos (<https://www.facebook.com/MigSoCal>). GABRIELA Los Angeles is a grassroots organization serving Filipinas in the Los Angeles community to address the rights and welfare of women through education, organizing, campaigns, and cultural work. They strive to build a mass movement recognizing that the problems Filipina women face are connected to the root problems of the Philippines (<https://gabrielaosangeles.wordpress.com/>).



Figure 4: Filipino Migrant Center Participants at Inaugural Day March, January 2017



Figure 5: MIGRANTE Southern California and Filipino Migrant Center Alliance

Access

Through established relationships with the leadership of NAFCON-USA and community organizers who work in NAFCON-USA member organizations, the researcher carried out the following process for gaining access to the research site and potential participants in the study:

- 1) The researcher communicated with the current NAFCON-USA coordinator of workers and immigrant/migrants campaigns to identify the best contact at the research site;
- 2) The researcher communicated with community organizers who work with NAFCON-USA member organizations to solicit referrals for potential participants;
- 3) Once contact was established with the FMC, the researcher explained the purpose and methods of the study and discussed ways in which the study can serve both participants' and the center's organizational goals. There were three

extensive conference calls with FMC staff and the NAFCON-USA coordinator of workers and immigrant/migrants campaigns.

Participants and sampling

A purposeful sampling technique using homogeneous sampling was used to recruit participants. The researcher worked directly with the FMC staff to compile a list of potential research participants and determine their availability for interviews. Six Filipina migrant workers, who were affiliated with the FMC, participated in the study. The following characteristics further defined the participants: 1) Identify as female; 2) Birthplace Philippines; 3) Family belongs to working class; 4) Current occupation migrant worker; 5) Minimum six months involvement in the FMC; 6) Between 20-55 years old. Three FMC Filipina staff members were also invited to participate in the study and they had the following defining characteristics: 1) Minimum 1-year employment in the FMC; 2) Identify as community organizer and Filipina activist; 3) Experience in delivering education workshops and facilitating discussions with FMC affiliated Filipina migrant workers.

This research follows the Human Subjects regulations of the University of San Francisco. Research conducted in the field requires the format of research protocol and is initiated with people who have consented to participate. After gaining approval from University of San Francisco's Institutional Research Board, participants were recruited through direct invitation (see Appendix A). In addition to phone conferences with NAFCON-USA's coordinator for workers and immigrant rights and FMC staff, explanatory documents and clarifying information were sent via email to NAFCON-USA's coordinator and primary contacts for the FMC (see Appendix B). This is the ideal

technique because the researcher has established relationships with several members of NACON-USA and FMC staff.

Data Collection

Interviews

This study relies on three types of data collection: interviews, participant observation, collection of artifacts (political education curriculum and lesson plans, FMC event and information flyers, organizational photos, etc.). The one-on-one interviews were scheduled between 45 minutes to 70 minutes with each participant, after FMC staff gained commitments from workers who had agreed to be participants in the study. At the start of the interview, the participant (Filipina migrant worker or FMC Staff) was given a consent form to review and sign (see Appendix C, Appendix D). The consent form asks the participant to agree or disagree with the researcher's options to audiotape and/or visually record the interview. I developed open-ended questions and used probes for clarification and gathering more detail. Additionally, an FMC staff member was present during the majority of the interviews to ensure that the Filipina migrant workers felt comfortable and safe with the researcher, and to provide Tagalog translation if necessary.

I created an interview protocol that included interview instructions and questions in both English and Tagalog in case participants preferred Tagalog (see Appendix E, Appendix F). For the interview with FMC staff, I adapted the Filipina migrant worker interview questions into a shorter document (see Appendix G). After the interview, the researcher sent a follow-up message thanking the participant for the interview and explaining the next steps in the study, which includes an opportunity for the participant to review and do a member check of the researcher's transcription of the interview. In the

follow-up message, participants were invited to submit any personal or organizational photographs they wished to include in the study. The researcher also reviewed the use of pseudonyms with participants to ensure protection of identities where needed.

Participant observation

Musante (2014) describes participant observation as collecting data and information from the researcher's own involvement in and observations of the social setting of participants in the study. This means that the researcher is participating in everyday activities and what she/he experiences is brought into the formal data analysis. In this context, I attended one FMC meeting at a Filipina migrant workers home and the *Diwang Pinay "Journey of Resistance"* cultural performance and panel discussion.

Collection of documents and artifacts

The researcher also collected written documents and artifacts from the FMC and three FMC Filipina staff members. Specifically, I requested sample political education, curriculum and lesson plans, and visual artifacts (FMC event and informational flyers). The materials acquired will be brought into the formal data analysis as another means to shed light on Filipina migrant workers' activist identity formation. Emergent themes from the narrative interviews and participant observation will also be considered in relation to the collection of written and visual

Data Analysis

This study uses the following procedure for analyzing and interpreting the data collected during fieldwork:

1. Transcription and translation (from Tagalog into English) of interviews and any recordings done during participant observation activities;

2. Analysis of collection of written documents (political education curriculum and lesson plans) and visual artifacts (FMC event and informational flyers) using the three theoretical frameworks: FilCrit pedagogy, transnational feminist theory, and social movement theory;
3. Creation of descriptive profile of participants and coding and identification of emergent and common themes.

Narratives have been developed by the researcher to report the preliminary results of the data collection. Interpretation of the results of the study determined if the research questions were addressed, if there were any limitations to the study, and the ways in which the findings expand upon the literature review. Implications for further study and recommendations for future research have also been made.

Finally, accuracy of findings has been validated through the member checking process and triangulation of data sources used in the study. Hussein (2009) perceived triangulation as a method for validation or verification of findings. I have triangulated the various types of data sources gathered, such as primary and secondary research, interviews, written documents and visual artifacts to produce a comprehensive understanding of the topic.

Role of Researcher

As mentioned in the Research Design section, researcher reflexivity and addressing ethical issues in conducting qualitative research are essential elements of a critical ethnography approach. I want to be transparent about the research process, aware of my role in the study, and honor and respect the participants and their organization. Because of my history with several organizations connected to NAFCON-USA and my

professional status as a tenured community college educator, I come to this study in a position of privilege and class power. Prior to this research, the principal investigator has held both local and national roles within NAFCON-USA since the alliance's inception. Figure 6 below is a photograph of the researcher with a NAFCON-USA banner, taken during a national convening in Washington D.C., in where NAFCON members and allies conducted legislative visits (Figure 6).



Figure 6: Researcher with NAFCON-USA Banner, Washington D.C. 2010

As a scholar-teacher-activist at De Anza College in Santa Clara County, the researcher was one of the community organizers who developed and delivered political education curriculum and activist training to several Santa Clara County grassroots organizations whom were NAFCON-USA members: Filipino Youth Coalition (FYC), Filipino Community Support, Silicon Valley (FOCUS, SV), and People's Association for Workers' and Immigrants (PAWIS). The researcher also served as the national communication and public relations officer for NAFCON-USA for two years. Thus, I will need to recognize my own rich knowledge base and any address any bias that I may bring to the study. I will strive to practice what Madison (2012) calls "positive

naïveness,” acting with humility and trusting others’ knowing in addition to my own knowing.

The researcher’s connection to NAFCON-USA continues to remain positive and strong, with reciprocity and transparency as important principles for the researcher to uphold in order maintain a close relationship with the alliance. Through verbal and written communication, this study ensured that participants have all the information about the purpose of the study, the impact it will have on the field of education and community organizing, and the sources of support. In alignment with the critical ethnographer’s commitment to making a difference in the quality of the lives studied, the researcher also asked participants to identify how the study can benefit them personally and professionally in their activist efforts. After the study, the researcher will be available to present aspects of the study to participants’ organizations, other NAFCON-USA member organizations, and to the community at large.

Ethical Considerations and Protection of Human Subjects

This research follows the Human Subjects regulations of the University of San Francisco. Research conducted in the field requires the format of research protocol and is initiated with people who have consented to participate. After gaining approval from University of San Francisco’s Institutional Research Board, participants were recruited through targeted invitation. Several phone conferences were scheduled with NAFCON-USA’s coordinator for workers and immigrant rights and FMC staff. Explanatory documents and clarifying information were also sent via email to NAFCON-USA’s regional coordinator and primary contacts for the FMC. This is the ideal technique because the researcher has already established relationships with several members of

NACON-USA and FMC staff. Also, to protect the identity of the Filipina migrant workers the researcher used pseudonyms unless participants have permitted use of their real names.

CHAPTER IV
FINDINGS, PART ONE

Introduction

This chapter serves as a first part of the research findings by presenting brief portraits of the nine interview participants who contributed to this study. These stories reveal personal narratives of: what it means to be a Filipina migrant worker in the greater Los Angeles region, what it means to be an FMC community organizer and/or member, what it means to adopt an activist identity, what it means to foster community through resources provided by a migrant center, and what inspires and sustains hope and action. These stories express the importance of building community and a network of support, political education and use of FilCrit pedagogy, and the practice of activism amongst Filipina migrant workers.

In Table 2 below, are the profiles of the Filipina migrant workers research participants. This table provides information about their gender, age, occupation, and length of time in the United States.

Table 2. Demographic Profiles of Filipina Migrant Worker Participants

Name	Gender	Age	Occupation (s)	Length of Time in United States
Maria Quijano*	F	40s	Bakery Worker	5 yrs.
Alicia Bautista*	F	40s	Hotel Worker, Caregiver	7 yrs.
Orlean Lopez	F	40s	Teacher, Caregiver	7 yrs.
Lena Mariano*	F	30s	Bakery Worker,	7 yrs.
Charito Ramos	F	50s	Caregiver	7 yrs.
Amelia Tanghal	F	50s	Nanny, Caregiver	19 yrs.

*Note: Pseudonym used to protect the identity of the participant.

In Table 3 below, are the profiles of the FMC staff research participants. This table provides information about their roles in FMC, gender, age, and involvement.

Table 3. Demographic Profiles of Filipino Migrant Center Staff Participants

Name	Gender	Age	Occupation
Joanna Concepcion	F	20s	Executive Director, 2014-present, staff 2010-2014
Hiyasmin Saturay	F	20s	Worker Organizer 2016-present, volunteer since 2013
Joselyn S. De Guzman	F	50s	Founding Executive Director 2010-2014, member of FMC Board of Directors since 2014

Research Participant Profiles

The following is a brief background of each of the interview participants in this study. All participants were born in the Philippines and migrated/immigrated to the United States.

The names marked by an asterisk indicate that a pseudonym has been selected to protect the identity of the participant.

Maria Quijano*

Maria Quijano was born in Isabella Negros Occidental, Philippines. She is the fifth out of seven children. She is married to “Toto” and has three children. She has been in the United States for five years since she was recruited to do contract work. She worked as a kitchen supervisor in the Philippines before she was invited to be one of three migrant workers doing contract to start a French bakery in Southern California. She is a survivor of labor trafficking, having suffered mental and physical abuse, and wage theft during the years she worked at the bakery. She is currently working as a nanny and

has been reunited with her husband and children. She initially worked with FMC staff so she could publicly share her story of labor exploitation. She is currently a member of Migrante Los Angeles.

Alicia Bautista *

Alicia Bautista was born in Ginoog City, Misamis Oriental, Philippines. She graduated with a Bachelors of Science in Elementary Education in 1991. She worked in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia from 1992-2000 as a caretaker. She returned home to the Philippines but 10 years later, in 2010, she applied to work in the U.S. as a hotel worker. While working as a housekeeper in a hotel in Montana, she experienced labor exploitation, intimidation, and fear of deportation. She managed to relocate to California, in where she is currently working as a caregiver. She is a proud member of Migrante Los Angeles, having been introduced to this worker's organization through its organizational ties to the Filipino Migrant Center, Long Beach.

Orlean Lopez

Orlean Lopez was born in Cebu, Philippines. She was a teacher in the Philippines but decided to pursue contract work in the U.S. for financial reasons. Her parents are in their old age and physically, they are in and out of the hospital; so, she needs to earn more money to pay for hospital bills. Remaining in the Philippines would not allow her to support her parents because teachers have low salaries due to the poverty of the Philippines. In addition to experiencing labor exploitation in a school in Los Angeles, in which she filed a complaint to the Labor Commission, she has experienced mistreatment while being a caregiver. These experiences inspire her to tell her story to other Filipino migrants so they will not be afraid and speak out about their issues. She actively works

with the FMC, supporting their outreach efforts to reach migrant workers and helping with client intake and documentation efforts.

Lena Mariano*

Lena Mariano was born in Manila to a single mother and raised by her grandmother in the beautiful town of Quezon City, Philippines. After receiving a scholarship, she attended two years of college at Far Eastern University until her Mother's illness forced her to leave her studies in order to provide her care. She was lured to migrant work in the U.S. with promises of higher wages that would allow her to save money to finance a small business in the Philippines and save for her son's education. She is a survivor of labor trafficking. She is now engaged in civic life, actively involved with worker's rights, and is finishing school in Child Development in Los Angeles. She is also working at the Unified School District in Montebello and Torrance. She is fulfilling her journey of resistance.

Charito Ramos

Charito Ramos was born and raised in the Philippines. After college, she became an elementary teacher and taught for almost 20 years. She has been a migrant worker in the U.S. since 2010 and is currently both a caregiver and a county office clerk. She has two daughters who are also active in addressing Filipino/a issues across the generations, both in the United States and Philippines. In addition to the Filipino Migrant Center's campaigns such as Wage Theft and Domestic Worker's Rights, she has participated in Public Service Announcements (PSAs) to support FMC's outreach to the Filipino/a migrant worker community. She considers herself a "fighter" when it comes to addressing inequity and lack of fairness.

Amelia Tanghal

Amelia Tanghal was born and raised in the Philippines. There, she worked as a nanny to help support her family, which included three children. Her employer's sister recruited her to work as a nanny in New York over 19 years ago (1998). So, with dreams of higher wages in the United States to better support her children, Amelia agreed to migrant contractual work. However, while in New York, she experienced labor exploitation as she was expected to be a nanny and housekeeper. Her employer paid her low wages and hardly gave her days off. She was able to escape the abuse in New York and relocate to Southern California. She currently works as a caregiver. She has been a member of Migrante for two years, after being introduced to the organization through her participation in the Filipino Migrant Center, Long Beach.

Joanna Concepcion

Joanna Concepcion is the Executive Director of the FMC. She was born and raised in the Philippines. She immigrated to Los Angeles at the age of twelve along with her two younger brothers to reunite with their parents. She earned her Bachelor's Degrees in Philosophy and Feminist Studies with honors from the University of California, Santa Cruz in 2010. Since completing her formal education, Joanna has been actively involved in local and international grassroots movements to advance the rights and dignity of all im/migrants, workers and women; and defend human rights, justice and peace in her homeland. She has been part of the FMC family since it was founded in 2010 and has served in different roles prior to becoming the Executive Director. She finds happiness in places where there are trees, mountains and rivers; reading poetry from writers of color, Filipino story-telling, writing letters of gratitude, building bridges of solidarity across

diverse struggles and people, singing songs about love and social justice, and being surrounded by babies and children!

Hiyasmin Saturay

Hiyasmin Saturay is a Worker Organizer at the FMC. She was born and raised in the Philippines. Her family was forced to move to the Netherlands as refugees when the Philippine military targeted her family for organizing against a mining company trying to gain access to their island of Mindoro. Her parents were Philippine movement activists who taught she and her siblings use of the arts for community organizing. She has a Bachelor of Arts degree in Human Ecology from the College of the Atlantic in Bar Harbor, Maine. Her connection to her roots in the Philippines motivated her to create *Pangandoy: The Manobo fight for land, education and their future*, a film about indigenous schools in the Philippines. She interned with the FMC in 2013 and helped with the Sama Sama Summer Program for three years. She is also a member of a Filipino migrants organization, Migrante South Bay/Orange County. She joined the FMC staff in 2016 to help organize and strengthen the Filipino community in Southern California.

Joselyn S. De Guzman

Joseyln S. De Guzman was born in the Philippines and grew up during the time of Martial law under President Marcos in the 1970s. When she entered college in 1975 at the University of the Philippines, she was faced with a school environment where there was no campus press freedom, no Student Council, no freedom of organization, except to be in Campus Crusade for Christ, fraternities and sororities, as well as academic clubs such as Math Club, Physics Club, etc. No student organization was allowed to exist that would create a voice of the students for change and governance. This was the milieu

that she decided to change. Before immigrating to the U.S. in 2006, she was involved with the Asia Pacific Mission for Migrant Filipinos (APMMF), now APMM and Migrante International. She was the FMC's Executive Director from 2009 -2014. She is currently serving on the Board of the FMC.

Overarching Research Question

I designed this study to begin a dialogue on how Filipina migrant workers learn to take action and become activists. This overarching research question is investigated in the five sub-research questions below, in where I address emergent themes from the interviews/conversations conducted with Filipina migrant workers and Filipina community organizers who participate/work with the FMC.

Research Sub-Question 1: What are the human rights issues experienced by Filipina migrant workers that inspire them to be activists?

The qualitative data that I collected gave the Filipina migrant workers and the FMC staff the opportunity to share their experiences and feelings about the nature of migrant work and to highlight the human rights issues they have experienced. All of the responses referenced numerous examples of the problems of migrant work. Two main themes emerged from the data: Forced Migration and Human Trafficking/Labor Exploitation.

Forced migration

“Life in the Philippines is hard,” stated Alicia Bautista several times in our interview (Alicia, interview, February 28, 2017). Because of the poor economy, Filipinos are enticed to take on labor contracts in the U.S. and other countries, so they can make hire wages. Five of the Filipina migrant workers, and at least two FMC staff members

shared their experiences of the socio-economic hardships of life in the Philippines. Like Alicia, Maria Quijano said,

I came to the America because the life in the Philippines is so hard and you can't save money, it was not enough. I had a job but it was not enough. So, when my boss offered me a chance to come to America, who would not want it, *syempre*, of course, I wanted to go to America. So many people want to go to America. I was happy because I was going to America, and if I go there I could save money and send money to my family. Because it's really hard in the Philippines. (Maria, interview, March 7, 2017)

Amelia Tanghal talked about coming to the U.S. to serve as a nanny in New York because of her family. She has three children and she couldn't economically support them; so, she agreed to leave her employment in the Philippines by becoming the nanny of her employer's sister. For 19 years she has sent money back to her family so they can have economic stability and a better life (Amelia, interview, March 18, 2017).

Orlean Lopez shared her story of why she agreed to do contract work as a teacher in Los Angeles, and then as a caregiver. In the Philippines, she had to pay hundreds of thousands of pesos for her parents' hospital bills as they are in their old age and sickly. Her teacher's monthly salary in the Philippines was about 12,000 pesos, which was equivalent to \$240 in the U.S. and this was not enough to ensure her parents' received medical care. In our interview, she said, "For now I'm helping, now I'm helping them. I'm the one who is sending the money every month for their doctors, for their medicines. Even last year my dad was in the hospital, in ICU, and it's a lot of money, so if I would

be there in the Philippines, there's no way I can pay all those bills” (Orlean, interview, February 21, 2017).

Lena Mariano became a migrant worker in order to save enough money to start a small bakery business in the Philippines and for her son’s education. While she had a job in the Philippines, she and her partner didn’t have enough money to start a business, so she considered migrant contractual work as a temporary solution. She further explained,

That was the thing that I said. I want to give him (son) a good education. I want to give him (son) a good life. But even before, I was really the breadwinner for the family. My mum always, you know, every month she calls me, I give her money. Because my two siblings have four kids each, so I help them too. I'm helping them too. So my mum gets money from me, my mum gives money to them. So whatever happens in there, especially if they get pregnant and they need to go to see a doctor to deliver, they don't have money. It's like I'm working also for them. (Lena, interview, March 25, 2017)

Thus, Lena’s story shows that working for the economic welfare of one’s family, extends to children, parents, and one’s siblings. Her temporary solution has now become 5 years and she misses her son everyday.

Joanna Concepcion, Executive Director of the FMC, remembers life in the Philippines as situated in several family members working to financially contribute to the welfare of the family. Her parents held multiple jobs and weren’t there to take care of her siblings. Joanna also got a job in high school so she could contribute. In relation to the poverty in the Philippines, she pointed out, “I strongly believe that a small percentage of wealthy people should not control the rich resources of this world for their own benefit

while millions of children and families suffer” (Joanna, interview, February 23, 2017). In speaking of her college days in the Philippines, Joselyn De Guzman, founding Executive Director of the FMC, described the socio-economic and political realities of the Philippines during late 1970s,

Then when I shifted to Community Development and had my practicum in the province, I was more exposed to the realities of the conditions of the mostly poor and landless farmers in the countryside vis-a-vis the landlords. I also saw how the military would defend the interests of the rich and powerful landlords, bureaucrats and capitalists. (Joselyn, interview, February 23, 2017)

Here, Joselyn points to the poverty in the countryside as a result of the wealthy landowners who only seek profit. She further stated,

Most of them (poor and landless farmers) migrated abroad to work in order to help their families survive and live decently. Because of poverty, they were forced by the internal situation in the Philippines to leave their families and homeland for better paying jobs. This forced migration is a manifestation of the root problems in Philippine society. (Joselyn, interview, February 23, 2017)

Her perspective explicitly connects migration for contractual work as forced migration and displacement from homeland.

Human trafficking and labor exploitation

In sharing specific examples of how they were trafficked and exploited for their labor, all of the Filipina migrant workers broke into tears during their interview. Recalling memories of physical and emotional abuse, broken promises, and unfulfilled dreams were overwhelming and we paused in our conversation during these moments.

Amelia shared the reality of what she experienced in this way,

Some of the issues I experience with my work as a nanny in New York. I was taking care of two kids. I was doing everything in the house. I wasn't allowed to mingle or to meet anybody, just take care of the kids. They wouldn't allow me to go out of the house, I didn't have a day off, I was working seven days a week... They told me that I was only going to take care of the children but it ended up that I had to do everything." (Amelia, interview, March 18, 2017)

Maria also discussed the lack of break time when she worked in the bakery. She said, "Here, we thought that it was going to be like the Philippines, like what my Boss said. Here, the law is you can take a 30 minutes break after four hours but the boss was not following this. We were taken advantage of because we would work 16 hours and only get a 30 minutes break" (Maria, interview, March 7, 2017). Charito talked about the low wages, sometimes earning only \$60 per day as a caregiver despite having to take care of three people from morning to night. She even talked about the food she was served as part of her room and board, "The food is not good too because it is already frozen food... it is like how do you say it, pig food, yeah, food for pigs" (Charito, interview, March 18, 2017).

Orlean's contract was to work as a special education teacher in Van Nuys for three years. She shared, "There were a lot of abuses in the part of the administration, and even in my classroom I know the students are, they are not physically handicapped... I've been dealing with, like the drugs, the students were on drugs, or students who are under probation, students who are, who commit crimes" (Orlean, interview, February 21,

2017). She considers herself a victim of human trafficking and labor exploitation. She described,

there were a lot of promises, when I came here it's like everything was in a mess, I was not expecting that, because I paid a lot of money for the agency, and when it comes to the salary, the salary of the teacher and my salary from the time I was hired until I left the school, was lower than minimum wage. It was 56% below, I did not know that until I went to the Labor Commission... my salary was too low. Yeah, so there's a lot of abuse, I experienced a lot of abuses. (Orlean, interview, February 21, 2017)

Alicia also thought she was going to make decent wages by doing housekeeping work in a hotel in Montana. In the Philippines, the agency told her that she would make \$7.25 per hour; however, a few months later, she and another worker were called into Human Resources and offered another contract. She explained,

HR wanted us to sign another contract. I stayed quiet because I had a headache. My friend was more aggressive and read the contract and it was changing and replacing the contract in the Philippines to \$3.20 per room and they told us that we would be making more than the previous contract. The contract in the Philippines was \$7.25. Now, I said, why would we sign this? My friend said we shouldn't sign it because it's not our contract. Then, HR threatened us that if we didn't sign the contract; they would send us back to the Philippines. And, we became afraid, so we agreed to sign the contract. (Alicia, interview, February 28, 2017)

Additionally, she was given a varied number of rooms to clean, four to 10 rooms, so the maximum salary per day based on the new contract ranged from \$12.80 to \$32. This was significantly lower than \$58, what Alicia would have made with the original \$7.25 per hour for an eight-hour working day. Moreover, she had to pay \$50 for room and board, and there were four of them sharing one small room in the hotel with two “double deck” bunk beds.

In her interview, Lena also discussed the lowly lodging conditions that she and two other Filipino/a migrant workers experienced,

We were sleeping on the tiles in the laundry area. She [employer] gave us a mattress, she gave us a blanket, and I think that's all she gave us. And a pillow. Every night we have to sleep there like sardines. Every day with my boxes, with our luggage, then in the morning we put it aside it, we keep it away and then we sit with our luggage because we have nowhere to sit. (Lena, interview, March 25, 2017)

Like the other workers in this study, the wages were also low for Lena and different than what she was promised in the Philippines. When the employer recruited her to work in the U.S., the employer told her that she was going to be paid \$2000; instead, Lena was only paid about \$370 for the first month. When she complained about the salary and also the non-related work they had to do like doing home improvements on the employer's rental property, her employer scolded her and threatened to deport her back to the Philippines. Lena became emotional recalling what happened, “During that time...I feel very, very lonely, I feel very, very sad. I was telling myself that I missed it. You know, you do the right thing. It's like, this is not right and I was really complaining already.

Like, I think I want to go home, like that. Especially when she paid us the first month, \$370. (Lena, interview, March 25, 2017)

Research Sub-Question 2: How do Filipina migrant workers characterize their motivation for participating in community-based migrant centers?

The interviews also gave the Filipina migrant workers and the FMC staff the opportunity to share their feelings and thoughts about the role of migrant centers within a community and to individual members. All of the Filipina migrant workers' responses centered on two major themes: Access to Community and Legal Resources and Family and Friendship.

Access to community and legal resources

In her interview, Joselyn, who was a founding staff member of FMC, pointed out, "I see the FMC as a support mechanism for needy migrants...distressed migrant workers need support for their various problems – labor, immigration, legal or para-legal" (Joselyn, interview, February 23, 2017). Charito stated, "FMC is like a lifeline. It's a lifeline and they're always there to help you" (Charito, interview, March 18, 2017). Orlean talked about how she and FMC worked with trafficked Filipino teachers to secure work visas, "I have helped victims of human trafficking, I helped some of these FMC Filipino's who are in the same agency, I recommended them to the Filipino Migrant Center, and they were granted visas and the families are now here" (Orlean, interview, February 21, 2017).

Maria talked about how the FMC helps migrants. She described, "The center can connect you to organizations like Advancing Justice and lawyers that can help us. The center has helped us become proud and confident that we can speak out and share our

stories of how we have had our rights violated. The center staff helps us feel brave, courageous” (Maria, interview, March 7, 2017). Orlean also highlighted, “Even if you were abused...with the Filipino Migrant Center they were able to speak up, they were able to stand for their rights...the migrant centers help a lot, because they give the strength to the Filipino workers, the migrant workers, to stand up for their rights” (Orlean, interview, February 21, 2017). In addition to having access to FMC legal networks, Filipina migrant workers are introduced to other Filipino-based organizations such as Migrante Southern California. Maria explained, “I was introduced to Migrante through FMC. I became friends with FMC members and other migrants. When Migrante was formed, members asked her if they could meet her at her house, and she said okay. And we became friends because we all had problems and it’s good to have other people to help” (Maria, interview, March 7, 2017). Charito also became connected to the Coalition for Anti-Slavery and Trafficking (CAST) through the FMC. CAST is an agency that also provides support to migrants, and they asked Charito to share her story to support their communication education efforts.

Family and friendship

In my interview with Hiyas, FMC’s lead for worker organizing, she talked about the loneliness and fear of many migrant workers and how the FMC provides them with a community. She explained,

Many of these workers came here alone. They don't know what resources are there. A lot of them don't even know that they have the same labor rights as people who are here. Just knowing that, "Oh, there's people who are willing to help and give services to people like me, who have been put down by so many ...

who have been fooled by lawyers, by fellow Filipinos.” Just realizing that there's Filipinos out there who also care has been a big thing for them. Helping them out in some very basic things, like getting back their wages, traffic abuses. Even just having someone to talk to and not be scared has been ...I felt like that's been the role that FMC has been playing. (Hiyas, interview, March 20, 2017)

Additionally, Joselyn sees the FMC “as a friend in an unfriendly new environment where racism and discrimination exists, and cultures differ” (Joselyn, interview, February 23, 2017). She discussed how she and her mother have experienced mean and rude treatment by white Americans, such as refusing to let her disabled mother have seats in disabled bus sections. Joselyn stated, “There is a deeply embedded culture that is racist, discriminatory and xenophobic here in America. This culture is nurtured by a monopoly capitalist society that spawns not only individualism among its people but a culture of a ruling, elite class that lords over people who have less” (Joselyn, interview, February 23, 2017).

The workers’ perspectives support FMC staff perspectives. Amelia believes, “The Center is an important place to me because I can share my experiences with friends and others” (Amelia, interview, March 18, 2017). Maria talked fondly of FMC’s family day events. She described her affinity with Migrante Southern California members in this way: “We got to know other members and you feel like you have family here like in the Philippines. You meet lots of friends, you don’t feel alone, you have others to share your problems, and you have others to help you” (Maria, interview, March 7, 2017). Alicia also found friendships and family with the FMC. She said, “For FMC, because they helped me and help others [with visas], I felt like I had a family. They told me not to be

afraid. I didn't know there were these types of organizations. Now, I can breathe easy” (Alicia, interview, February 28, 2017).

Research Sub-Question 3: In what ways do community-based migrant centers play a role in Filipina migrant workers learning activism?

The interviews also delved into the role of migrant centers in Filipina migrant workers learning activism. Since the FMC is a physical location with identified staff in the community, the conversations explored the various activities and interactions that migrant workers experience. The FMC staff and Filipina migrant workers’ responses centered on two major themes: A Place for Education and Learning and Opportunities for Action.

A place for education and learning

In our conversations, Joselyn, Joanna, and Hiyas all discussed the ways in which the FMC serves “as a catalyst for the politicization of [Filipino/a migrant workers] through the studies and information shared to them” (Joselyn, interview, February 23, 2017). When we talked about FMC’s wage theft campaign, for example, Hiyas emphasized, “Our main goal, our deeper goal is to educate and organize the community. Making sure that, okay, we’re helping you file your claim, but also let’s talk about why are you being exploited in the first place...Let’s talk about how you’re not the only one experiencing this, that we have so many workers who experience these things” (Hiyas, interview, March 20, 2017). Joanna also shared the importance of the FMC offering political education. She explained, “Political education is necessary to sharpen our analysis about the issues we are faced with in the world. We are able to connect what is happening on the local communities as a manifestation of the larger systemic root causes

of oppression. Political education also strengthens our ability to develop strategies in all the aspects of our work” (Joanna, interview, February 23, 2017).

Charito and Amelia both shared that there are a lot of trainings offered by the FMC. In addition to “Know Your Rights” workshops, they also discussed political issues in the Philippines and U.S. that are impacting Filipino lives. Amelia gave this example, “The Pork Barrel issue we discussed and how that money should be going to help their families instead of it going to the politicians” (Amelia, interview, March 18, 2017).

Charito also referenced this discussion in her interview, criticizing the 2013 scandal in where the media exposed that members of the Congress of the Philippines were misusing the Priority Development Assistance Fund ([http://news.abs-](http://news.abs-cbn.com/nation/12/29/13/2013-pork-barrel-corruption-exposed-disputes-disasters-and-nancy-binay)

[cbn.com/nation/12/29/13/2013-pork-barrel-corruption-exposed-disputes-disasters-and-nancy-binay](http://news.abs-cbn.com/nation/12/29/13/2013-pork-barrel-corruption-exposed-disputes-disasters-and-nancy-binay)). From this workshop, Charito concluded, “Most of the people there

[Philippines] are under employed and then so much unemployment so that's one reason why people are coming here, coming to different countries because of the government.

The Philippine government is full of corruption” (Charito, interview, March 18, 2017).

Additionally, Amelia mentioned an FMC meeting in where they reviewed the case of Mary Jane Veloso, a domestic worker who was placed on death row in Indonesia in 2010 for smuggling drugs. In her defense, Veloso claimed she was tricked into carrying a bag filled with heroin as a condition of her new job in Indonesia. The case highlighted the problems that Filipina migrant workers face and the mass mobilizations that arose

(<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/sep/17/philippines-president-heroin-deterte-mary-jane-veloso-death-row>).

Charito also remembered doing training on the issue of wage theft. She recalled, “Yeah, the wage theft campaign. We have an education about

that wage theft campaign, labor exportation, and human exportation” (Charito, interview, March 18, 2017).

In our conversations, Maria and Alicia discussed the workshops that focused on migration why there are so many Filipinas/os working overseas as migrant laborers. This curriculum is called *Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino* [Migrante Orientation], which was developed by Migrante International, Philippines. Maria said,

I liked the workshops on Migration and how the poor farmers are getting poorer because the wealthy are exploiting them and they are getting richer. Also, if there is better work and opportunity in the Philippines, then there is no need for us to migrate here and look for work. The wealthy don't pay us very much, so we look to go where there is better work. (Maria, interview, March 7, 2017)

Alicia also commented on these trainings, “the workshop taught us the conditions in the Philippines that force migrant work. Last month I took it and I shared my story” (Alicia, interview, February 28, 2017). Alicia further shared that she and other Filipino/a migrant workers meet more frequently to discuss the possible impacts of the Trump Presidency on their lives and economic well being here in the America.

Opportunities for action

To Joanna, migrant centers should serve to support migrant workers' activism and leadership. She explained,

Instead of only providing services migrant centers should uplift the voices, perspective and experiences of migrant workers in different arenas where they can engage and effect changes in policies and laws that harm their lives. Migrant centers play a supporting role in facilitating and connecting migrant workers to

opportunities where they can advocate and defend their rights. (Joanna, interview, February 23, 2017)

Joselyn also pointed out,

FMC is not just a service-oriented center. It believes in organized efforts and the importance of organization. As such, the activities that we would do are organizing and mobilizing migrant workers, doing studies and education seminars for migrant workers, especially the undocumented, studying the labor law or important aspects of it, doing the case work, helping them document their experiences and fill-up forms in filing for T-visas, referring them or bringing them to lawyers when there's a need, setting-up meetings with other people for support services, organizing and mobilizing for free health and legal clinics, raising funds and resources for the needs of the insti [non profit] and the people we serve. There are many things we do outside the office – like welcoming families of trafficked when they arrive and are reunited, having picnics with them or get together, etc. (Joselyn, interview, February 23, 2017)

In this context, there are numerous opportunities for action that Filipina migrant workers can choose to participate. Amelia was asked to share her experiences as a nanny and caregiver to members of the Filipino club at the University of California, Los Angeles. She explained, “it is right, *tama*, to share my experiences so others can support us and our issues” (Amelia, interview, March 18, 2017). Additionally, Amelia remembered participating in the rally to save Mary Jane Veloso and One Billion Rising to show international solidarity against exploitation of women. She recalled fondly FMC staff members teaching everyone the One Billion Rising dance steps.

In our conversation, Lena discussed how the FMC engaged her to actively participate in community meetings and public events. She described her experience in this way:

Yes, during that time when you are going through something like this, you need a lot of support and they [FMC] were always there for us, they would talk to us. They would invite us to participate in activities, there are other events like *Diwang Pinay* [show celebrating the spirit of Filipino women]. We go to house meetings and share our story and we met other undocumented Filipinos and listened to their stories. I remember going to the marches, rallies, protests. At that time I was very active and felt like you have to speak out about these issues.

(Lena, interview, March 25, 2017)

Thus, Lena was engaged in activism through a variety of activities, felt strong support from the FMC, and learned from other Filipino migrants.

Maria is still learning about activism because, prior to connecting with FMC, she wasn't familiar with these types of activities when she was in the Philippines. However, she did share her experience with participating in a rally in front of the Philippine Consulate in Los Angeles. She recalled,

I went just one time to the rally at the Consulate. I haven't considered myself an activist because I don't have many experiences in fighting for my rights...I was happy and I was afraid at the same time. I didn't want to do it because something might happen to me, and what will happen to my relatives in the Philippines? Of course, I'm scared, I'm the only one here and what will happen to me because I am my family's only hope. I think I want to be a member of an organization but

I'm scared. You know, there are activists that have been killed. (Maria, interview, March 7, 2017)

Despite Maria's fear, she agreed to participate as one of the actors/performers for the *Diwang Pinay* event that Lena had also taken part. This community/political education event was co-sponsored by Migrante Southern California and Gabriela Los Angeles, two organizations in the FMC extended network. In her interview, Maria talked about making time to practice so she could convey well her story through cultural performance, "because we have *Diwang Pinay*, we are rehearsing every week, we are practicing several days this week and several days next week. This is why I cleaned the house and did the laundry already" (Maria, interview, March 7, 2017).

After she met the staff at the FMC, Orlean was very active. She supported not only outreach efforts to Filipino/a migrant workers, but helped FMC staff with conducting fact finding and interviews. She also shared her involvement with organizing for SB1015: The *Domestic Workers Bill of Rights*, which California Governor Jerry Brown signed into Law in September 2016 (<https://www.domesticworkers.org/ca-bill-of-rights>). In her words,

I involved myself in the domestic workers issue for the Filipina migrants. That was the time that we formed the Domestic Worker's Bill of Rights group... and I went to Washington D.C. to represent our Californians and the Filipino Migrant Center. Yeah, to fight for the, to pass the Bill of Rights for caregivers. Yeah, and that was in 2013 if I'm not mistaken. I was with Joanna Concepcion... and I met a lot of caregivers there, who were abused too. They were not only Filipinos...most

of them were Latinos. Yeah, and it was really good. (Orlean, interview, February 21, 2017)

As well, Orlean was given the opportunity by FMC to work and educate other victims of human trafficking. She explained,

Number two, sometimes I went to Long Beach and together with these victims of human trafficking, and we educate, try to educate the group on their rights and the history. The Filipino society and revolution and its history, why a lot of migrants, workers came here in the first batch. What's the main route, why the Filipino's tried to get out from the country and go to other nations and work. We took up those topics. (Orlean, interview, February 21, 2017)

Research Sub-Question 4: How do Filipina migrant workers perceive and experience the political education and activist curriculum they receive from community-based migrant centers?

The interviews conducted gave the Filipina migrant workers the opportunity to share their experiences and feelings about the political education and activist curriculum they received from the FMC and affiliated Filipino organizations. Responses from the data collected generated two main themes: Self Empowerment through Knowledge and Self Empowerment through Storytelling.

Self-empowerment through Knowledge

“It was only here in America, that I experienced and learned about organizations. Only here and now, this is the truth, I only experienced this here” (Maria, interview, March 7, 2017). In this quote, Maria contrasted her knowledge of political issues and community organizations when in the Philippines and America. In the Philippines, Maria did not feel self-empowered to participate in political education workshops “because the

employer threatened them to not join any organizations. We were afraid to lose our jobs” (Maria, interview, March 7, 2017). However, as Maria gained more knowledge about labor law and worker rights in the U.S. through the services offered at the FMC and their network, she felt more confident about speaking out. She recalled,

I had friends who told me we were entitled to days off. When I complained, my boss got angry. So, this is what I experienced, here I found out that I can complain. In the Philippines, you just have to keep quiet because your boss they are rich and we are poor and can't fight. Here, I found out from friends and groups like the lawyers from Advancing Justice that we are all equal and we have rights. (Maria, interview, March 7, 2017)

Armed with knowledge about her legal rights, regardless of employment status, Maria's fears of retaliation by her employer were lessened. Furthermore, Maria stated, “For example, now with the new administration of Trump, we are not afraid we will be deported because we know our rights and we are paying taxes. There are Know Your Rights trainings at my home” (Maria, interview, March 7, 2017).

Similarly, Alicia's fear of sharing her abusive experiences in Montana decreased when she was introduced to the FMC and received its services, “They gave me a card with information. They were a big help. I didn't know there were these types of organizations. Now, I can breathe easy” (Alicia, interview, February 28, 2017). Unfortunately, Alicia's work schedule limited her ability to attend many of the educational workshops that FMC offered. However, when she joined Migrante Southern California, she was exposed to more political education as the meetings were closer to where she lives. In our conversation, she shared the following,

Yes, with Migrante they have meetings on every Tuesday night and I try to attend. For example, when they started discussing about what may happen under Trump, I try to grab the opportunity to be there because it's important to my life. This is when I decided that I have a family here, it's Migrante. Joining Migrante feels right. You see, I'm just by myself, I have no relatives here, no family. Migrante is my family. I am happy now that I've joined Migrante. (Alicia, interview, February 28, 2017)

Lena's experience differs from Alicia as she gained knowledge about U.S. labor law prior to connecting with FMC staff. She talked about doing research on her own to strengthen her commitment to fight for her rights against her abusive bakery employer. However, when she met Joanna and other Filipino migrant workers connected with the FMC, she learned that her situation was not unique. She said, "They [Joanna and FMC members] came to the press release...I also met others, and I was surprised that we were not alone because there are lots of cases similar to ours. Because we didn't have any knowledge of other Filipinos that this was happening to because the owner didn't want us to have friends and talk to other people" (Lena, interview, March 25, 2017).

For Orlean, the knowledge she learned about labor law, during one of the FMC legal lectures, gave her the courage to take her employer to court for labor exploitation during her contract as a special education teacher. She explained,

That they were already abused, so there's something for them. That even if they have no papers, the law says, they can still be protected by the law...this is what I learned from the lectures with one of those lawyers that they [FMC] invited. Labor law is different from immigration.... That's what I've learned, yeah. You

can still go and attend a hearing and claim for your wages, and fight for your employer, even without your papers. That's what I've learned, so that's why even though I had no papers, I went into court. (Orlean, interview, February 21, 2017)

Self-Empowerment through Storytelling

With the support of FMC staff and the opportunities provided for sharing migrant workers' experiences, Charito said, "I feel good. If you will tell your story to different people, I think it helps also" (Charito, interview, March 18, 2017). Before our interview, FMC held a meeting at Charito's apartment in which potentially new FMC members were invited to attend Know Your Rights training. Charito talked about the value of telling her story,

So like the guy here, he's a caregiver and then I call him about my story. He's interested because we've been to the same agency in the Philippines and what happened to me has also happened to him. He knows my story and he said, "I have my problems too." So, I brought him to the Filipino Migrant Center. It opened a way for him to meet the Filipino Migrant Center. (Charito, interview, March 18, 2107)

Additionally, Charito was confident enough to agree to do a Public Service Announcement (PSA) video, in where she talked about the problems of human trafficking and where Filipino/a migrant workers can get help. On the PSA, contact information was given for FMC, Long Beach. Since this PSA was shown on the Filipino Channel, Charito's face and story is known by many. Even grocery clerks recognize her when she goes to Seafood City, a very popular Filipino supermarket chain.

FMC staff also work with partner organizations such as Migrante Southern California and Gabriella Los Angeles. In addition to doing joint events such as rallies and panels/forums to educate the public, there are also cultural performances that allow Filipina migrant workers to artistically share their stories as a means to politically educate the community at large. First, there is the annual One Billion Rising international solidarity dance. Second, there is *Diwang Pinay*, a theatrical production including drama, poetry, and song. Alicia described why she wasn't scared to participate in *Diwang Piany* and tell her story in such as public event. In our conversation, Alicia said,

I liked it a lot, the dance that we did was very meaningful to me. It's coming from the heart, it's telling the truth of what's really happening. I didn't expect it would be that beautiful. Because of my schedule at work, it was hard for me to practice but I started reading everything that was written for the script because it touched my heart. It's really from the heart. Because this was happening to me...when I was younger in my twenties in another country. I never expected it was going to be so beautiful. Because of the kind of work, I couldn't practice much, only at nighttime. I thought this was so beautiful and I got serious because the performance was coming soon, and the story is really coming from within me.

The practice was only a few days on a few Tuesdays. But, I was so happy.

(Alicia, interview, February 28, 2017)

Maria has also gained confidence through FMC's educational activities and is comfortable sharing the abuses she experienced at the French bakery. In her interview, she pointed out, "Of course, others need to hear my story. If you are being cheated, you should talk. We should share our problems. We have 11 workers who are working at the

bakery and experiencing labor issues. If there are only one, two, or three, they maybe afraid to talk and speak up. But, because we are a big group, we are not scared” (Maria, interview, March 7, 2017).

Orlean talked about how her own activism through storytelling supported the community organizing goals of the FMC. She described,

I always shared my story to them, those Filipinos I meet. I always give them hope. I always told them, no come on let's see, because maybe who knows, there's something that we can do up here. Yeah, it's my experience. It was very hard. It was very hard, but for me...maybe it's only the grace of God that guided me where to get, because when I met the Filipino Migrant Center... that I have to care. I'm in the good. I'm in the right place. (Orlean, interview, February 21, 2017)

Orlean also discussed a Filipino cultural value, respect for authority, which she had to overcome with the help of FMC. She explained,

I'm not wrong, if I will stand for my rights, I'm not, if I will report my employer, because in the Philippines it's wrong to talk back to your authorities. It's wrong, it's our culture, but here if you will stand for your rights it's good, yeah. That one is a big, it's like a big leap for me, to change my views, like we have rights, even if we are not from here. We have rights to be protected...we have a voice to speak up, especially if our rights are violated, yeah. (Orlean, interview, February 21, 2107)

As a result of this shift in her thinking and confidence that she is in the right, Orlean also emphasized,

Yeah, so that one, my story and my experiences was teaching me a lot of lessons, and I always share this to everybody, definitely to the Filipinos that I met on the street, Filipinos I met on the bus, anywhere. I said, I'm not ashamed to share my stories, so that I want them to know that it's not only you, I'm the same. I'm here. I know how it feels. I'm in that situation. I worked in that situation. Yeah, and me, it gives me hope. (Orlean, interview, February 21, 2017)

In her interview, Hiyas also recalled a forum held by the FMC that focused on NBC's *Mail Order Family*, a television series in development that centered on a father ordering a mail-order bride from the Philippines. The show was canceled in late September 2016 due to the public outrage that ensued. Member organizations of NAFCON-USA organized petitions and public protests against the racial and gender stereotypes promoted by the series (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/mail-order-family-show-cancelled-nbc-after-twitter-backlash_us_57f299bae4b082aad9bc78ab). In this forum, Hiyas observed a Filipina migrant worker's personal transformation in the following way:

Yeah. Then there's also this time when we had a forum about the mail order family show that was happening. I brought in one of the Migrante workers. She's super shy. She doesn't want to speak. She didn't finish schooling as well. She doesn't like her English. We asked her to be in the panel and she really was like, "No. I can't do it." We were just like, "Okay. Just sit there." Right? Then she heard other migrant workers speak. We had videotaped someone and we heard Gabriela speak, Giovanni speak. It was split up into these smaller groups. Then

people are speaking, asking questions. They're like, "Oh, does anyone want to say anything else?" I asked her, I'm like, "Do you want to say anything?" She's like, "No, no." Then later on she's like, "Okay." Then she just told her whole story there in that space. Just seeing that ... What do you call it? Just empowerment of just starting to feel like you have to tell your story because she was the only migrant worker in that group. Yeah. Just seeing that change. It really impacted people who were sitting in that group. They were like, "It's really real." It made it real for anyone. People are being trafficked in the U.S. (Hiyas, interview, March 20, 2017)

Research Sub-Question 5: In what ways does FilCrit pedagogy play a role in Filipina migrant activist identities?

The qualitative data that I collected gave the Filipina migrant workers and the FMC staff the opportunity to share their experiences and knowledge of FilCrit pedagogy or lack thereof. While all of the FMC staff members understood the concept of FilCrit pedagogy as explained by the researcher, one staff member discussed her direct experience and one staff member discussed its application. The Filipina migrant workers identified themselves as either “activists” or “fighting for migrant rights” as a result of their personal experiences with injustice rather than through FilCrit pedagogy. Thus, only one theme emerged from the data, Transformational Potential of a Contextualized Political Education.

Transformational potential of a contextualized political education

In her interview, Joselyn pointed out, “political education is important in activism. Knowing the link of one’s problems to the economic, political and socio-cultural infrastructures in society that shape existing dominant political and economic systems

that are currently in place and raising it to the level of action for change is activism” (Joselyn, interview, February 23, 2017). This is why the FMC provides education on Philippine colonial history and the neocolonial conditions that continue to impact the Philippine economy and Filipino lives.

Joanna’s story spoke to the transformational potential of the use of political education in developing an activist identity. Her experience underscored the importance of contextualizing the political education within an individual’s culture and history, and also of providing the individual opportunities to engage with one’s homeland. In her interview, Joanna said,

Ever since I migrated to California 17 years ago, I was always looking for opportunities to reconnect me back to the Philippines. It was the feminist studies course that raised the issue of Filipina comfort women and a student-led Filipino history course that I took in college when I attended UC Santa Cruz, as well as the student activism climate among students of color that inspired me to participate in activism. I learned what activism really meant when I joined Anakbayan, a Filipino youth and student organization after graduating college. This is where I participated in political education discussions, community campaigns, providing services to the most vulnerable families in the Filipino community, organizing activities and events for the community. (Joanna, interview, February, 2017)

Here, Joanna highlights the impact of feminist studies, Filipino history, and participation in a Filipino youth organization which is connected to other chapters in other cities in the United States.

When Hiyas reflected on her own experience with political education and activism, she remembered the time when her family left the Philippines because her activist parents had been targeted by the Philippine military. She explained,

We went to the Netherlands. I think that's where I began to look at it more critically because you're forced out of your country. You try to ask that question. "Why do we have to leave?" Then suddenly, there's all these people around you are also asking. They're talking about the Palestinian struggles, the history of Ireland. We had a lot of solidarity contacts. For me, just hearing other people's struggles made me want to know more of our struggle. Understand it deeper. That's really when I started studying and reading and really trying to be able ... Educate myself to tell people about what's going on in the Philippines. Yeah, that's how we were able to develop. (Hiyas, interview, March 20, 2017)

Moreover, Hiyas discussed the importance of the FMC providing Filipino/a migrant workers political education on the root causes of labor migration from the Philippines, including the role of the U.S. in the Philippine economy and military.

However, she also recognized, “from their point of view, from the migrants' point of view from what we hear them say, it's really just having that space and the community. *Feeling the community*” (Hiyas, interview, March 20, 2017). This perspective presents a challenge to FMC’s goal of organizing migrant workers and developing their activism and leadership. Alicia’s interview, for example, revealed a gap in understanding the different roles of the FMC. She said,

I don’t think I am [an activist]. I’m just after my rights as a human. That is not an activist. In the Philippines, activists are too much, rallies, protests, marches...I

think it's just too much. But they are just fighting for their rights. Organizations such as FMC, it's not really activism. They just want to help people and guide them in the right direction. This only my opinion. They really help people, especially when things are happening, they are there. (Alicia, February 28, 2017)

When asked about activist identity, Charito responded in the following way:

I'm not really ... When I joined the FMC and then some other organization I said, "I don't like this because in the Philippines I'm not an activist, but I am a fighter with my own rights." I say, "no, I don't like this." My older daughter, my eldest, she's an activist though and even April, she's an activist too. So really, I don't want to be an activist. (Charito, interview, March 18, 2017)

Lena, however, understood the connection being made between FMC workshops and the rallies, marches, and other events. She said,

I remember going to the marches, rallies, protests. At that time I was very active and felt like you have to speak out about these issues. I enjoyed this. I have an appreciation for those that protest, the activists who are fighting for people's rights, those that teach about the root causes of the problems in the Philippines. This is what is covered in the Migrante Orientation. (Lena, interview, March 25, 2017).

Orlean also grasped the relationship between a Filipino-based political education curriculum and leadership development for Filipina migrant workers. She explained,

Sometimes I went to Long Beach and together with these victims of human trafficking, and we educate, like to try to educate the group on their rights and the history, the Filipino society and revolution, and its history, why a lot of migrants,

workers, came here in the first batch. What's the main, the route, why the Filipino's tried to get out from the country and go to other nations and other, and work. We took up those topics...we took up also about our migrant rights, like especially now, every gathering that we are doing, we always, because everybody is a worker here in the United States, most of the participants are migrant workers ...there's always a topic about human rights, and worker's rights, and how to defend our rights as a migrant. Yeah, so they always, we always have portion, a part of the gathering only for that, to educate the workers. (Orlean, interview, February 21, 2017)

The interview with Hiyas also included a discussion of how the facilitator, in this case Hiyas, was also receiving political education from the workers. She explained,

I think the most ...What do you call it? Inspiring or enlightening thing for me personally...For me doing political education with migrants is political education for me because the cool thing with working with Migrante is that we have the Migrante orientation, right? Then we show it to them. You really can just ask them questions and they're going to say back the whole curriculum to you. They know what's going on in the Philippines. They know the government is screwed up. A lot of them are from the land issue. They know the conditions of workers because a lot of their families are working low wage jobs. The Migrante Orientation is also developed from their own experiences. (Hiyas, interview, March 20, 2017)

Here, Hiyas underscores the bi-directional impact of political education as it contributes to activist identity development of facilitators. Knowledge production also arises from migrant workers' experiences.

Summary of Data Collection

The data presented examples that demonstrated the experiences of six Filipina migrant workers within the context of their involvement in the FMC, specifically in relation to their development of self-agency and/or an “activist” identity. For Filipina migrant workers, the FMC experience created opportunities for developing new relationships, a sense of family, and a safe space for sharing their painful and inspirational stories. FMC involvement also provided opportunities for Filipina migrant workers to learn and dialogue about the socio-economic and political conditions in the Philippines and global diaspora. The experiences of advocacy and activism were transformative in promoting self-efficacy, self-empowerment, and agency. While there were examples of FilCrit pedagogy illustrated by FMC staff, the data showed varying responses to Filipina migrant workers' identification with an “activist” identity in relation to FilCrit pedagogy.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS, PART TWO

Introduction

This dissertation also used participant observation and collected written and visual artifacts to further explore the dynamics of political education and community organizing curriculum, use of FilCrit pedagogy, and the practice of activism in relation to Filipina migrant workers' self empowerment and collective action. In doing participant observation, the researcher was actively embedded in the context of the setting and social action. The data collected emerged from attendance at one FMC meeting at a Filipina migrant workers home, site visit to the new FMC office in Long Beach, and the *Diwang Pinay "Journey of Resistance"* cultural performance and panel discussion. The written and visual artifacts collected include the main curriculum used by the FMC to organize Filipino/a migrant workers and FMC information flyers and events.

Findings from Participant Observation

The site visit to the FMC office and attendance at two events gave the researcher opportunities to develop her relationship with Joanna, Hiyas, other staff members, and Filipino/a migrant workers involved and not involved in the study. The researcher was also able to re-establish communications with other Filipino/a American scholar-activists who are now living in Los Angeles area and whom are supporting the work of MIGRANTE Southern California. Additionally, the researcher connected with a community organizer who is working on Philippine Human Rights issues in Oakland, CA. Two themes emerged from the data collected from the researcher's engagement

with the FMC: Decentralized/Flexible Meetings and Community/Political Education through Cultural Performance.

Decentralized/flexible meetings

In her interview, Orlean described the long trek she would take to get to the FMC. She said,

The first time I had to go with them, they [Filipino migrant workers] don't want to go there in Long Beach, in the Filipino Migrant Center, without me. Because I live in the valley, so I have to ride a train, the buses, go into Long Beach. It took me two hours and a half to go to Long Beach, and I have to meet them there in the Filipino Migrant Center. (Orlean, interview, February 21).

Orlean was not the only migrant worker affiliated with the FMC that lived outside of Long Beach. In fact, the majority of Filipina migrant workers in this study, live at least 20 miles or more away from Long Beach. Also, many workers do not have their own vehicle for transportation, so they rely on public transportation or personal rides from FMC members and staff. Moreover, the majority of the workers have difficulty with regular days off, so they have limited ability to attend events, meetings, and political education workshops. As mentioned in Chapter IV, this was the case for Alicia joining Migrante Southern California instead of FMC, because location of meetings was easier to attend.

As a result, the FMC staff and FMC community volunteers have been open to holding meetings and political educational discussions/workshops in other locations, primarily at workers' apartments/homes. On March 18, 2017, was invited to attend a meeting in Bellflower at the apartment of one of the Filipina migrant workers connected

to FMC. The meeting was in the afternoon and they were scheduled to have an informal Know Your Rights training. Two Filipina FMC staff were there, Joanna and Hiyas. There were also five Filipino/a migrant workers present at the meeting. However, the lawyer that had been invited was not able to attend, so the meeting was spent socializing with each other. I was able to converse with a few of the workers to learn more about them, their experiences in the U.S., and share with them my background. Since my hometown of Cerritos is one of the neighboring cities next to Bellflower, the workers were familiar with Cerritos and the large Filipino/a population residing there.

Additionally, the FMC office location is just that, an office, with two desk stations, and another work table, a few seats, a computer and printer (Figure 7 below).



Figure 7: Filipino Migrant Center (inside Office with Hiyas)

On March 20, 2017, I did a site visit of the new office, located at 2125 Santa Fe Avenue, Long Beach, CA 90810 (see Figure 1 and Figure 2, Chapter III). This office is on the second floor within the West Facilities Center Building, next to Admiral Kidd Park and Cabrillo High school. As I drove to the FMC, I noticed that there were Filipino

businesses in the area, including a well-known Filipino bakery, Luisa & Sons, Island Pacific Market, and Filipino eateries. In my conversation with Hiyas during the site visit, she pointed out that it would be ideal to have a much larger office with a space to hold events. However, the location of the office is beneficial for FMC's mission as the organization is embedded physically within the Filipino community. Thus, outreach to migrant workers can increase and partnerships can be built with local Filipino businesses and public schools with high concentrations of Filipino students. My site visit took place during office hours in the afternoon, and there were no drop-ins from any community members.

Community/political education through cultural performance

Several FMC staff and Filipina migrant workers involved in this study participated in *Diwang Pinay: Journeys of Resistance*, a cultural showcase which was co-sponsored by FMC community partners, Gabriela Los Angeles and Migrante Southern California. The show took place at the Carrie Hamilton Theatre at The Pasadena Playhouse on March 19, 2017 from 5:30pm to 7:00pm, followed by 30 minutes panel-audience discussion, facilitated by FMC staff. *Diwang Pinay* is a national project put on annually by different Gabriela chapters across the U.S. “to tell the stories of Filipina women from the community to the community” (*Diwang Pinay*, program zine, March 19, 2017). Figure 8 included a depiction of four women, with varying facial expressions—dreaming, resolute, and defiant. The flock of birds in flight not only represents a group journey to someplace but also evokes liberation, as if the flying birds are lifting up the four women. The flower blossoms suggest that there is beauty in their lives of resistance

and struggle, and may also indicate that their journeys allow the four women to blossom into new versions of themselves: visible, confident, and strong.



Figure 8: Diwang Pinay Flyer #1

Minerva Benedicto Vier, a Filipina American actor, writer, director, producer, and voiceover artist and sketch comedienne, directed *Diwang Pinay*. The script, which highlighted issues that Filipina women face in the Philippines and abroad as migrants, emerged from a process in which transcripts, letters, and poems from Filipina migrant women were collected from house visit interviews and workshops (*Diwang Pinay*, program zine, March 19, 2017). The final script was divided into three Acts, further divided into SKITS, POEMS, and SONG (Appendix H). The SKITS focused on dramatizing the experiences of Filipina migrant bakery workers and caregivers. The POEMS and SONGS centered on overcoming fear and collectively fighting for change.

The POEMS were also written and spoken in English and the SONGS were written and sung in Tagalog and English translation.

The opening Act I-POEM “Take a Risk,” for example, addressed both the motivation for becoming a migrant worker and the problems that may result:

Take a Risk

I have to take the risk

350,000 pesos
the agency is selling us

I have to take the risk

One month I only received \$800
We were working 24 hours. I realize I am in trouble.
Everything trembles

I have to take the risk

Get everything and Get Out!

I have to take the risk

Don't use the telephone!
She don't want to release me. I don't even eat
And you just tell them you are okay?

I have to take the risk

Of course it's hard.
But if I think of the future of my children,
That's the reason I decided to come here

We took the risk

(*Diwang Pinay*, program zine, March 19, 2017)

The risk taken by the migrant worker in the poem is motivated by the hope of a better future for her children. The problem encountered is labor exploitation and emotional and physical abuse. Another risk must be taken by the migrant worker in order to escape the

abuse she is encountering. The opening poem also asks the audience to visualize that the act of escaping for the migrant worker is filled with fear, as represented by the line, “everything trembles” (*Diwang Pinay*, program zine, March 19, 2017). Moreover, the shift from the singular pronoun “I” to plural pronoun “we” shows the development of a collective consciousness, that there are migrants experiencing human rights violations.

Act II: SONG “Face Everything and Rise” shows the program’s use of both Tagalog and English translation. Below illustrates a sample from Verse 1, Pre-Chorus, and Chorus:

(Tagalog)

Verse 1

Times are tough, I know you’re tired
I know what you are going through
I feel your pain and sorrow
I’m right beside you, one with you

Just as the sun rises after the storm
Pagkatapos ng bagyo, sisilkat din ang araw

Lahat problema may solusyon

Pre-Chorus

Hindi ka nagiisa
Lahat tayo magkasama
‘Di naman ibig sabihin na
Kaag nasa ilalim ka’y doon ka nalang

Chorus

Face everything and rise
Believe in yourself
Rise above the tough times
We’ve got each other when we need help

(English)

Verse 1

Times are tough, I know you’re tired
I know what you are going through
I feel your pain and sorrow
I’m right beside you, one with you

Just as the sun rises after the storm
When the storm is over, a new day
rises

All problems have a solution

Pre-Chorus

You are not alone
We are all together
It doesn’t mean that
If we are at the bottom, we will
always stay there

Chorus

Face everything and rise
Believe in yourself
Rise above the tough times
We’ve got each other when we need
help

(*Diwang Pinay*, program zine, March 19, 2017)

This song emphasizes unity, community support, and the belief that any difficulty can be overcome. Through the visual imagery of a storm passing and the sun rising afterwards, migrant workers are being asked to take action and rise above their negative conditions. Migrant workers become the sun rising after a storm.

Finally, Act III-POEM “Rise Resist Unite” ended the performance with acts of dreaming and embarking on the journey of resistance. Below are excerpts from “Rise Resist Unite”:

In my dreams, I have returned to the land of
 the ripe mango sun,
 Where the roosters shake their proud red crests,
 Beat their emerald wings,
 And crow for a new day

We have journeyed together,
 Pagod na kami sa aming paglakbay
 Masakit ang paa namin,
 Our feet are weary and our calves ache
 Our journeys of resistance have been
 long and tiring but
 we have dreamed of our tomorrows together...

I dream of a country where there is enough for all...
 I dream of living in my country without
 being forced to leave...
 I wish for fathers to stay at home,

To read to his children, share the burden of
 the housework
 For mothers to hold their children close and
 watch them grow
 Instead of sending them off to faraway nations...

(Diwang Pinay, panel-audience discussion, March 19, 2017)

This last poem is filled with romanticized imagery of the homeland left behind. The Philippines is known as the land of the sun and fertile in agricultural resources, and here, the visual imagery is enhanced by the olfactory imagery of a fragrant, ripe mango. There

is also the difficult journey of migrant workers depicted as illustrated by the “weary feet” and “aching calves.” This last song is powerful because it addresses the aspirations, dreams, and hopes of everyday people who seek a better future in where families stay together.

Furthermore, the show also called on the audience to politically engage with issues of human trafficking and labor exploitation. Figure 9 depicts a confident and happy Filipina migrant worker who is taking her journey of resistance. She is in the forefront of the picture radiating hope for a brighter future (Figure 9).

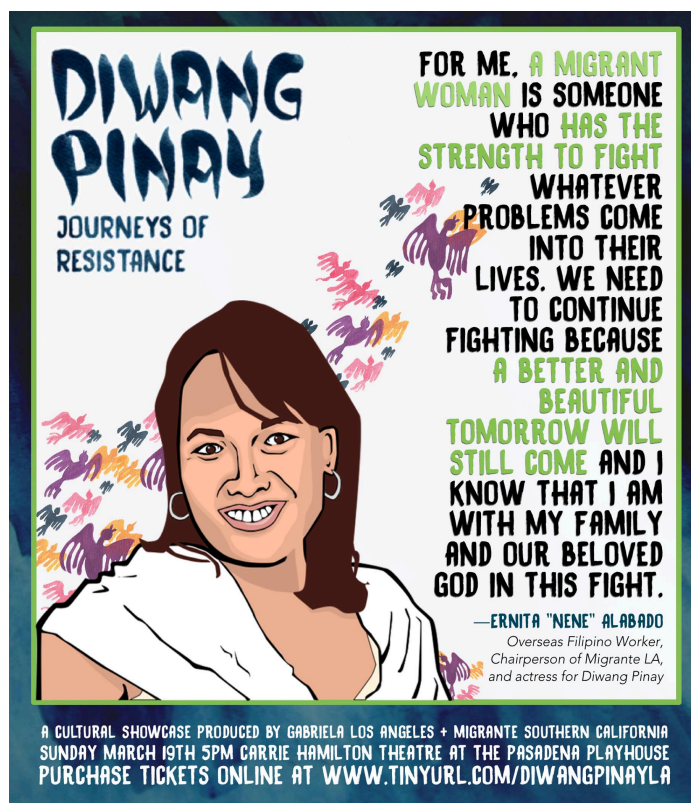


Figure 9: Diwang Pinay Flyer #2

Additionally, the organizers wrote the following closing message in the program:

Enjoy the cultural showcase tonight, but know that the struggles don't stop here.

We hope to see you laugh, cry, get angry, sad, hopeful as you sit in the audience.

But we hope the seed of those feelings in your hearts blossoms into a desire to get

organized, join a grassroots organization, heal and share our stories with one another, and take collective action to defend our communities and our rights.

Let's build people power to solve the problems we see in our society and make meaningful change together! (*Diwang Pinay*, program zine, March 19, 2017)

After the performance, this message about taking collective action and joining organizations like the FMC, Gabriela Los Angeles, and Migrante Southern California was reiterated during the panel-audience discussion.

When I arrived to the Carrie Hamilton Theatre, I was surprised at the crowd. Joanna told me that they were so happy that the performance sold out. The theatre has a 99 seat maximum capacity but when I walked in, there were at least 30 additional people standing in the back and around the sides of the space. In addition to family, friends, and volunteer staff, members of the Filipino community at-large and its allies were in attendance. In the lobby area, both Gabriela Los Angeles and Migrante Southern California had resource tables set up, in where guests could make a donation or purchase *Diwang Pinay: Journeys of Resistance* T-shirts, posters, and programs. The majority of the FMC staff was there, either as performers and musicians, and to provide logistics support and Tagalog translation into English.

The performance itself was emotionally moving and I observed the reactions of the audience. Many were in tears, including myself. Watching the SKITS depicting the labor exploitation of Filipina migrant workers and the resulting emotional and physical abuse resonated deeply with me because the performance brought into the space the stories of my OFW family members. I know this was true for others in the audience as several people, in the panel-audience discussion afterward, commented on connecting

with the experiences on stage because they represented stories of aunts and uncles. In fact, days later I was still talking about the show with family members, friends, and colleagues. I was still feeling the emotional pain that was conveyed by the actors but also feeling inspired by their resilience and strength to tell their stories to the public. The significance of making visible these stories should not be understated. As a few of the workers referenced in their narrative interviews, children are generally taught from a young age that they shouldn't complain about those who are older or authority figures. For Filipinas, there is also a sense of "shame" that must be overcome when one goes public with emotional and physical abuse, and this illustrates the intersectionality of oppressions that women of color / "third world" women face. Gender norms in Philippine society emphasize subordinate status of women and girls are taught at a young age to not make complaints, especially in public.

As well, the *Diwang Pinay* panel-audience discussion was a powerful addition to the cultural performance. It was emotionally moving and inspirational to hear the Filipina migrant workers' feelings about their motivation for participating in the production as well as the production itself. The panel consisted of the Director, FMC Operations and Finance Manager, and the Filipina migrant workers who performed in the SKITS. FMC community organizers facilitated the discussion and provided Tagalog translation into English. Since three Filipina migrant workers in this study participated in the show, the researcher was able to gather additional data relevant to this study.

Alicia discussed how she got connected to FMC and why she joined Migrant Southern California. She said,

I joined FMC first before joining Migrant Southern California. I joined

Migrante because I believed in their mission, as a hotel worker, as a migrant worker, I experienced first hand the exploitation. So, in this current climate under Trump, this climate of fear, I am experiencing fear now [here, she started crying and had to pause to recollect herself]. I participated in this performance to be able to share the real life stories that migrant workers are facing. (*Diwang Pinay*, panel-audience discussion, March 19, 2017)

Maria told the audience,

I participated in *Diwang Pinay* because as a migrant worker I can directly relate to the stories. I wanted to share what really happened to me as a bakery worker, the difficulties and struggles that I experienced [here, she started crying and had to pause to recollect herself]. What I hope the audience takes away from tonight's performance is an understanding of the real life struggles that migrant workers face and to support our fighting for our rights. (*Diwang Pinay*, panel-audience discussion, March 19, 2017)

Lena was asked by an audience member, "What comes next?" Lena replied,

Well, after this story (SKIT-Bakery Workers), what comes next is victory. We wanted to share it so other people going through with this type of situation, they would know what to do, where to go, who to go to. We are here to help, to share all of our experiences because it's happening every day, and people need to know what to do and where to go. (*Diwang Pinay*, panel-audience discussion, March 19, 2017)

For the last question, an audience member who was still very emotional asked, "What does freedom look like to you? What do you want your life to look Like?" (*Diwang*

Pinay, panel-audience discussion, March 19, 2017). Alicia replied, “When I approached the Filipino Migrant Center I met people who supported me. They told me not to be afraid and that I wasn’t doing anything wrong. So, freedom to me is about joining organizations like FMC and Migrante because together we can fight” (*Diwang Pinay*, panel-audience discussion, March 19, 2017). Maria tearfully responded, “Treat me like a human being because I’m working so hard. I want to be with all my family. I recently reunited with my husband and daughter but I have one child left in the Philippines” (*Diwang Pinay*, panel-audience discussion, March 19, 2017). Lena stated, “Freedom to me is being able to work without fear, work without manipulation, and without being threatened. I want people loving the work that we do and appreciating us” (*Diwang Pinay*, panel-audience discussion, March 19, 2017).

Findings from Collection of Artifacts

After the narrative interviews, the researcher asked FMC staff for electronic or hard copy written documents used for political education workshops, outreach and public communication. The staff informed the researcher that the FMC website is available for use in the study, <https://filipinomigrantcenter.org/>, as the website contained examples of FMC newsletters, event flyers, campaign information, photos, and additional resources. The researcher selected the most recent newsletter and FMC community platform document as representative samples for this study. The FMC staff also submitted the Tagalog language version of the main curriculum used for political education on Filipino/a migrant issues, *Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino* or the *Migrante Orientation* in English translation. Two themes emerged from the data collected from the researcher’s request for written and visual artifacts: Filipino Migrant Center

Fights for Immigrants and Migrants and Political Education for Self-Empowerment and Collective action.

Filipino migrant center fights for immigrant/migrant rights

“FMC stands with Immigrant, Refugee, and Muslim communities,” spoke the headline for FMC NEWS, the official newsletter for the Filipino Migrant Center (Figure 10). In the newsletter, the FMC made explicit its critique and condemnation of President Donald Trump’s immigration executive orders, which set limits on refugee migration to the U.S. and banned immigration from Muslim majority countries. By publically showing that it stands in solidarity with non-Filipino/a immigrant/migrant communities, the FMC demonstrates to its constituency the need for Filipinos/as to empathize with and support other communities who experience injustice and oppression.

FMC News
The official newsletter of the Filipino Migrant Center

FMC Stands with Immigrant, Refugee and Muslim communities

Filipino Migrant Center rejects President Trump's immigration executive orders attacking and criminalizing immigrants, refugees and Muslim communities.

The executive orders calls for the suspension of refugee programs and limits the number of refugees the United States it welcomes, bans entry of individuals from seven Muslim-majority countries (Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Yemen). Furthermore, it aims to punish cities who pledge to provide sanctuary and protection to undocumented immigrants, increase resources to carry out mass immigration enforcement and deportation on the national and local level and construct a border wall.

As a community organization serving the Filipino immigrant community in Southern California, we stand in solidarity with the thousands of advocates, community groups and organizations, elected officials and majority of the American public in denouncing these orders which have already resulted in human rights violations this past weekend. Hundreds of individuals were illegally detained in various major airports throughout the country, prevented from boarding the plane headed for the U.S., and prevented from receiving legal counsel. Many were legal permanent residents.

The recent pronouncements made by President Trump only promotes and legitimizes irrational acts of hate, violence, discrimination, bullying and harassment of our communities.

Our communities continue to suffer from harmful mischaracterizations that portray us as threats to the economy, national security and public safety of the country. We are witnessing the detrimental impacts these have on our children. Discriminatory, xenophobic, and unjust policies and laws targeting immigrants, refugees and Muslims in the United States are not new. They have historically been used as weapons to divide our communities and distract us from the real threats—those who are responsible for and benefit from the systematic oppression of our Black, Brown and poor, working class communities.

We oppose the impending mass deportation of thousands of undocumented immigrants that will break apart thousands of families, leaving children without their parents. They are not criminals but a resilient and courageous people who have experienced great sacrifices to keep their families alive.

We are against the policing of our communities and demand that the planned increased resources for immigration enforcement must be re-directed towards education, health care and other severely underfunded social services.

We believe in respecting the rights and humanity of all people regardless of religion, national origin, legal status, race, ethnicity and gender.

The Filipino Migrant Center is committed to continue providing education, resources and support to Filipino immigrant families in Southern California. We encourage members of the Filipino community to join us in raising our voices, organizing and building our collective power in solidarity with other vulnerable communities to uphold and defend the rights of all immigrant, refugee and Muslim families.

FMC Marches with Long Beach Community in Inauguration Day March

January 20, Long Beach — the Filipino Migrant Center marched in Downtown Long Beach with other community groups to condemn President Donald Trump's stances that can drastically worsen the conditions of many people, particularly low income communities.

The peaceful march, attended by about 200 community members was planned to coincide with Trump's inauguration that same day. Throughout his campaign and after the elections, he has repeatedly promised to deport immigrants, expressed plans that would limit access to health care for many, and has used inflammatory speech that harms immigrants, women, the LGBTQ community, the black community, and many others.

The march was organized by May Day Long Beach Coalition, which the Filipino Migrant Center is a part of. The coalition aims to unite the community to resist the anti-people policies that the new administration is pushing for. Only through an organized and united community can we stand up to this challenge.

January-February 2017 Edition
Filipino Migrant Center
2125 Santa Fe Ave,
Long Beach, CA 90810
Phone: (562) 600 0362

Figure 10: Filipino Migrant Center Newsletter January-February 2017

Other FMC educational workshops, dialogues, and events were also covered in the newsletter, such as the Know Your Rights training on January 24, 2017 co-sponsored

with Migrante Los Angeles and Interfaith Movement for Human Integrity, the Immigration and Community Dialogue on President Trump's executive orders, and attending the Long Beach City Council meeting on February 7, 2017 to urge the council to support state policies that would turn California into a "Sanctuary State" (see Appendix K for complete newsletter). At these trainings and community events, participants had the opportunity to learn about the rights they can exercise in the event that they are stopped or searched by law enforcement on the street, harmful consequences that Trump's policies would have on the safety and well-being of all our communities, immigrants and non-immigrants, and to share their concerns for and stories of immigrant families and young people in their churches and schools. Additionally, FMC activities also encourage action steps to be identified so that Filipino families receive accurate education, tools, and resources to understand and protect their rights.

As well, the newsletter reinforced other community outreach materials produced by FMC staff such as figure 10 below, which articulated the FMC's community platform (Figure 11). "WE STAND FOR ALL WORKERS," is the message that readers are immediately drawn. This is due to the use of capital letters and being encased in a turquoise filled, bordered, backdrop. Additionally, the following words and concepts are bolded to attract Filipino/a immigrant/migrant workers: full employment; decent wage; quality and affordable housing, food, healthcare, education; safe, healthy and humane working environment; treated with equality, fairness, and respect; paid sick days, meal and rest breaks; rights in the workplace; right to collectively organize. Once the audience/reader is engaged with these key concepts, reading more of the flyer will reveal that FMC seeks to benefit not just individual workers but also their families.



FILIPINO MIGRANT CENTER
Our Community Platform

The Filipino Migrant Center (FMC) is a non-profit organization that aims to educate, organize, and mobilize the low-income Filipinos and working class youth, workers, immigrants, & families throughout Long Beach and Southern California to address the issues and concerns that we face in our daily lives.

WE STAND FOR ALL WORKERS

- To have the right to secure **full employment** with a **decent wage**.
- To have the right to access **quality and affordable housing, food, healthcare, education** and other basic necessities for their families.
- To have the rights to a **safe, healthy and humane working environment**.
- To be **paid on time for all the hours worked**, including overtime pay.
- To be **treated with equality, fairness, and respect**, regardless of gender, sexuality, religion, ethnicity, age, disability, and/or immigration status - must not be subjected to any forms of discrimination including emotional, physical, or sexual harassment.
- To receive **paid sick days** to care for their own health and their families'.
- To have the right to uninterrupted **meal and rest breaks**.
- To receive basic education on their **rights in the workplace** and be provided with resources to properly address their concerns.
- To the **right to collectively organize** and bargain to improve their wages, benefits and working conditions without facing harrassment, intimidation or retaliation.

To learn more: Find us on [facebook/filipinomigrantcenter](https://www.facebook.com/filipinomigrantcenter)
(562) 438-9515 | info@filipinomigrantcenter.org

Figure 11: Filipino Migrant Center Community Platform

Political education for self-empowerment and collective action

In the narrative interviews/conversations with the FMC staff and Filipina migrant workers, there were several references to workshops that focused on the history of Filipino/a migrant labor and the experiences of OFWs in the U.S. and worldwide. The content of these workshops derive from *Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino* (2010) curriculum, developed by Migrante International, Philippines. Figure 12 illustrates introductory page of *Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino* (2010). In English translation, the introduction is as follows:

This document is part of our goal to organize the widest number of Filipinos abroad. This course makes clear the nature and status of Filipinos overseas, the condition and root causes of forced migration of Filipinos, the duty of the progressive movement of Filipinos overseas and their families, and the

organizations and other different formations promoting the rights and welfare of migrant workers and family. This course is given to all members of the organization under the progressive movement of Filipinos overseas. As an orientation, give it as soon as possible for the recruitment of members of mass organizations or alliances (*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, 2010, p. 1).

Moreover, the image below the text includes the range of occupations in which Filipinos/as are recruited to work overseas: food services workers, teachers, construction workers, professional and technical workers, caregivers, etc. The Filipino/a migrant workers stand proudly with the Philippine flag in the backdrop because of their economic importance to the nation.

Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino

Inilalabas ang dokumentong ito bilang bahagi ng ating layunin na organisahin ang pinakamalawak na bilang ng mga Pilipino sa labas ng bansa. Inililinaw sa kursong ito ang katangian at kalagayan ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat, ang kundisyong pinag-uugatan ng sapilitang migrasyon ng mga Pilipino, ang tungkulin ng progresibong kilusan ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat at pamilya nito, at ang mga organisasyon at iba't ibang pormasyon na nagsusulong ng karapatan at kagalingan ng mga migranteng Pilipino at pamilya.

Ang kurso na ito ay ibinibigay sa lahat ng mga kasapi ng mga organisasyon sa ilalim ng progresibong kilusan ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat at pamilya. Bilang oryentasyon, ibinibigay ito sa pinakamaagang panahon ng pagrekluta ng kasapi ng mga pangmasang organisasyon o mga alyansa.



Figure 12: Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino

In the U.S., both the Tagalog and English translation are used to accommodate Filipino/a migrants and immigrant workers who have limited English language use. The brochure version that was submitted to the researcher includes illustrations and photos to better engage the reader (see Appendix I). The following content analysis will utilize English translation.

Below are the topic areas of the course:

I. The majority of migrant workers are suffering, oppressed and exploited.

- A. What is the nature and status of Filipinos overseas?
- B. How are migrant workers suffering, oppressed and exploited?
- K. Where migrants have no hope of returning back to live and have a decent family life during a massive forced migration.

II. What are the major forces of Filipino migration?

- A. The impoverished socio-economic situation in the Philippines.
- B. The Labor Export Policy (LEP).

III. The attainment of true social change and building a free, democratic and prosperous Philippines are the answer to the problem of migrants and forced migration.

- A. There should be a solution to end the root causes of massive forced migration of Filipinos
- B. How to meet the day-to-day issues of the rights and welfare of migrants?
- K. Where migrants have no hope of returning back to live and have a decent family life during a massive forced migration.

IV. Progressive movement of migrant workers and their role.

- A. What are the duties of the progressive movement of migrant workers and their families?
- B. Who makes up the progressive movement of migrant workers and families in the Philippines?

Recommendation: Provide the Orientation course for Migrant Filipinos in 1 ½ to 2 hours. (*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, p. 1)

While the curriculum collected by the researcher is dated 2010, FMC staff emphasized the need for facilitators to provide current statistics and examples of migrant workers' experiences. They also strongly recommend that the workshops use interactive pedagogy that encourages migrants to critical think and compare and contrast their experiences with the stories being shared by the facilitator and other participants. Hiyas, for example, talked about using Theatre of the Oppressed activities such as creating skits and role-plays in order to have the migrant workers remember what they learned. She stated,

For people to see people act it out in real life and then when we have time, actually acting it out amongst themselves, like role-play, is very different. They really remember that more because there was one time when we explained everything in a PowerPoint. Then we were like, "Okay, let's try this." Then the person acting out as ICE knocked on the door. Then the person acting as the worker was like, "I forgot already." We really had to practice it. It shows we're in that situation. Yeah. Other things too that we've used. For example, involving them in creating cultural work life. For example, having them be part of committees and script writing. It also allows them to realize that you have a voice. We can work together and produce something. Painting murals or banners. It's a space for people to just come together and do something collectively. (Hiyas, interview, March 20, 2017)

In this context of interactive facilitation, let us explore in more detail the four units that have been defined in the *Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*.

In **Section I. The majority of migrant workers are suffering, oppressed and exploited**, the orientation provides statistics on the number of OFWs, their percentage in

the overall Philippine workforce, OFW migration and occupational trends, and motivating factors for migration. The text explained that most OFWs, “They were employed in manufacturing, construction, ship, service, entertainment, offices, hospitals, and so on” (*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, 2010, p. 2). The text also points out,

Large proportion of migrant workers is also called undocumented (TNT [tago ng tago] in America, Circle Japan, Hong Kong OS) or those without legal papers. Because of their condition, they suffer more exploitation and oppression than legal workers...more and more women have also been pushed to usually become domestic helpers, au pair, or entertainers. The many migrants of Filipino women are due to the severe situation of women in the Philippines and also the availability of jobs that stereotype women. Many migrant women are also dependent staying abroad as a spouse of foreign or otherwise mail order brides. (*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, 2010, p. 2)

In relation to the oppressive experiences of migrant workers, the Orientation reviews the difficulties with recruitment agencies, foreign employers, family separation, and failure of the Philippine government to offer protections. Below are excerpts from the text:

The situation of migrant workers is further worsened by the policies of foreign governments. These include policies on lowering wages, pursuit of undocumented migrants, denial of their civil rights and laws that worsen their working conditions. Nor are the majority of migrant workers allowed to join trade unions. Also, with few exceptions, most of the countries that import migrant workers do not give them the benefits that they give to their own citizens...Because of the

high cost of private recruiters who charge extra for processing documentation and other forms of verification, the start of migration is exploited by private recruiters charging migrants huge amounts. They experience the highest processing fee of private agencies. There are many victims of fraud by recruiters. Most of them are using property for collateral or borrow with high interest to work abroad in hopes of paying their fees owed. (*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, 2010, pp. 3-4)

Furthermore, this section described the different forms of exploitation of migrant women, based on gendered societal attitudes that look down on women as second-class citizens. The orientation states,

Philippine society looks down on women. This gives the opportunity for situations of abuse and oppression of women migrants. Besides policies to exploit migrants in general, there are also the policies of foreign governments those particular attack migrant women. Including the removal of rights and benefits as women workers. An example of this is the removal of maternity benefits scheme for migrant women in Hong Kong. Also, many migrant women are victims of violence and sexual abuse. These cases are especially pervasive in a country where women are thought of as inferior. Moreover, a greater trafficking of women usually puts them into prostitution. Additionally, if there are family problems, women are blamed because of the feudal cultural in the Philippines. (*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, 2010, pp. 4-5)

Figure 13 depicts a bitter Filipina domestic worker overshadowed by a giant employer literally cutting the size of her paycheck while she has to clean up the trash he creates.



Figure 13: Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino (domestic worker image)

Despite these difficulties, the orientation has rooted the ongoing motivating factors for Filipino/a labor migration, “So always the restless migrating Filipinos will respond to the needs of the family because of the intimidating crisis in the country, rising prices of commodities... For any family, the economic problems in the Philippines are inseparable from migrant workers” (*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, 2010, p. 2).

In section II. **What are the major forces of Filipino migration?**, facilitators/instructors are expected to have discussion on the root causes of massive forced migration of Filipinos all over the world. The first major cause is the internal socio-economic condition of the Philippines as semi-colonial and semi-feudal. The text provided the following description:

forced migration of Filipinos overseas and the attendant problems resulting therefrom is primarily rooted in the internal social conditions of the Philippines ...The socio-economic situation in the Philippines is colonial and semi-feudal society. Under this system, the majority of people live in poverty and there is

much unemployment, while a few continue to benefit. This situation is driving millions of Filipinos to migrate and seek economic livelihood. The society is semi-colonial and semi-feudal backward, agrarian and pre-industrial. U.S. imperialism dictates economic, political, military, and social policy in the Philippines. US imperialism helps maintain the backward and feudal condition of the Philippines by extracting cheap raw materials and cheap labor and exporting U.S. products into the economy. (*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, 2010, pp. 5-6)

Additionally, analysis should be provided to show that foreign capitalists are working with the Philippine local elite and big landlords who control the vast agricultural land. For example, in studying Philippine history one learns,

The state was ruled by big landlords and comprador bourgeois [members of the middle class who are allied with foreign investors and multi-national corporations] who they use to keep this kind of system through the machinery of the military, bureaucracy and laws, and deception of the people...Meanwhile, the large majority of the Filipino people live in poverty and oppression. There are long-standing problems of farmers who don't own land, who are exploited by landlords, and who receive low wages. The workers are underpaid with low salaries and victimized by widespread labor contractualization. Millions of young people are also not able to study and forced to look for self-employment. From this stems the objective social system of forced migration of Filipinos abroad to work because no one can find work in our country. (*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino* 2010, pp. 5-6)

External factors should be included in this section of workshop, such as the need of foreign countries like the U.S. to import cheap labor from poor and underdeveloped countries such as the Philippines. This was especially the case under U.S. colonialism when Filipino farm workers were recruited to develop the agricultural and service industries.

In the *Orientation*, the second major cause for the massive forced migration of Filipinos to work abroad is rooted in the Philippine Labor Export Policy (LEP).

Facilitators/instructors are asked to review the following information with participants:

LEP program is the systematic export of labor to benefit the ruling class and government of the Philippines. It started during the Marcos regime as a ploy to earn foreign exchange for the outstanding debt, alleviate the major problems of unemployment and poverty that gave the people a reason for their involvement in the reform movement, and maintain the current social order. The essence of the LEP is to make us a product or commodity that is sold abroad. This is the approach of using our income as an item on the foreign exchange earnings of the government...this is done by the government despite the fact that we are human and our revenue comes from our pain and fatigue. (*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, 2010, pp. 6-7)

In this section, facilitators/instructors are also asked to emphasize that Filipino/a migrant workers are not to blame for desiring to escape poverty and make a livelihood for themselves and their families, “But we must understand that the migration or emigration to another country to work and live is a human right, especially in difficult economic times in the country, where there is no work or not enough work for everyone” (*Kursong*

Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino, 2010, pp. 6-7). A key concept taught to workers is the wrongness of commodifying people/human beings for revenue and profit, workers are invited to critically engage in questioning the Philippine government LEP, with a later goal of encouraging migrant worker public action against it.

Section III. The attainment of true social change and building a free, democratic and prosperous Philippines is the answer to the problem of migrants and forced migration focused on addressing the root causes of forced migration. At this point in the workshop, facilitators/instructors should initiate discussion of ways to end Philippine society's semi-colonial and semi-feudal conditions in addition to abolishing LEP. The orientation explained,

The only right thing to do is end society's semi-colonial and semi-feudal conditions. With it the abolition of the LEP is necessary. Migrants and their families deserve to participate in this movement for change, to achieve a truly independent country and set the Philippine's own direction of development. If you only address the day-to-day issues of the rights and welfare of migrant workers, there will be no difference and the persistent problems of migrant workers will continue. (*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, 2010, pp. 7-8)

Additionally, this section emphasized the need or workers to support others in this situation, to think beyond just their individual issues, "You can also fight for the rights and welfare of Filipino migrant workers in foreign governments and our workplaces. In the fight against the rights and welfare in foreign countries, we must be sympathetic to migrant workers of different nationalities" (*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga*

Migranteng Pilipino, 2010, p. 8). This idea of supporting a broader community then becomes the foundation of international solidarity and transnational activism.

In Section **IV. Progressive movement of migrant workers and their role**, the *Orientation* introduced the mass organizing happening in various sectors of the Philippine people as belonging to a progressive movement. The *Orientation* described the progressive movement in the following way:

The progressive movement of migrant workers and family consists of the mass organizations, alliances and other formations to promote the rights and welfare of migrant workers and their families in the framework of the goal of true change in Philippine society. It is closely linked to progressive organizations in the Philippines...[these organizations are] educating, mobilizing, and organizing Filipinos abroad in the framework of the goals of the progressive movement.

(*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, 2010, p. 9)

A distinction is further made between short term tactical alliances responding to urgent issues and long term alliance of organizations with common interests. This distinction teaches migrant workers the benefits and characteristics of short term allies in contrast to long term allies. Below is a list of long term alliance organizations:

1. **The United Filipinos in Hong Kong (UNIFIL-HK)**, which was established in May 1985 and represents the most militant group of migrants in Hong Kong.
2. **Migrante International**, which is the only global alliance of organizations of Filipinos overseas and their families in the Philippines. Migrante International is the leading formation in mobilizing migrant

workers around the world to fight the various policies attacking the rights and welfare of migrant workers.

3. **Migrante Sectoral Party (MSP)**, which emerged from Migrante International's goal of advancing the fight for the rights and welfare of migrant workers and their families in the Philippine electoral arena.
4. **The Asian Migrants Coordinating Body (AMCB)**, which includes migrant organizations of varying nationalities in Hong Kong (Filipino, Indonesian, Thai, Sri Lankan and Nepalese).
5. **The International Migrants Alliance (IMA)**, which was founded in 2008 in Hong Kong and led by its migrant workers. It is a global formation of organizations of migrants of different ethnic origins.
6. **The International League of People's Struggles (ILPS)**, which was founded in 2001, and is a global anti-imperialist formation of mass organizations from different countries.
7. **Migrant Institutions** that provide services and assistance to migrants who are in urgent need. Two examples are The Mission for Filipino Migrant Workers and Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants [APMM]. (*Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, 2010, pp. 10-11)

Amongst this list of mass alliances, Filipino/a migrant workers have accepted Migrante International and their Filipino/a American allies in the U.S. due to its global reach.

Migrante organizations in the U.S. are either city or regionally based such as Migrante Southern California, and they work in solidarity with community-based organizations like FMC. The *Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino* (2010) is a

shared curriculum that FMC Facilitators/instructors are able to leverage in their community organizing work with Filipino/a migrant workers.

Summary of Data Collection

The data collection from participant observation and collection of artifacts presented examples that demonstrated the experiences of both FMC staff and Filipina migrant workers within the context of their involvement in the FMC, specifically in relation to their development of self-agency and/or an “activist” identity. For the Filipina Migrant workers who performed in the *Diwang Pinay* cultural show, the process of telling your story through drama, poetry, and song was emotionally painful, empowering, and inspirational. In terms of the work of the FMC, the researcher learned the value of adapting to meetings and holding events outside of the FMC office, especially when said office is severely limited in space.

The sample FMC informational newsletter and flyer emphasized the FMC’s support of Filipino/a immigrant and migrant workers and made clear their advocacy goals. Finally, for Filipina migrant workers, the FMC use of the *Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino* curriculum created opportunities to learn, dialogue, and make critical connections about the socio-economic and political conditions in the Philippines and global diaspora. Use of FilCrit pedagogy was illustrated by FMC staff and Filipina migrant workers’ were introduced to the progressive movement in the Philippines, in where mass alliances (national and international in scope) are fighting for migrant worker’s and their families’ rights and welfare.

CHAPTER VI
SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS,
CONCLUSION

Summary

Forced migration and human trafficking/labor exploitation were prominent themes that illustrated the human rights violations experienced by Filipina migrant workers. Access to community and legal resources, family and friendship, a place for learning, a place for action, self empowerment through knowledge, self empowerment through storytelling, decentralized/flexible meetings, community/political education through cultural performance, and Filipino Migrant Center fights for immigrant/migrant rights were major themes that showed both the FMC's strategies for engagement of Filipino/a migrant workers and the impact of Filipino/a migrant worker's involvement with the FMC and their affiliated organizations. Transformational potential of a contextualized political education, and political education for self-empowerment and collective action emerged as prominent themes that exemplified FilCrit pedagogy. These themes and key findings became clear through the process of asking five sub-research questions; clarifying the findings through the conceptual framework, and focusing on the role that a community-based migrant center plays in the development of self-agency and an "activist" mindset among Filipina migrant workers.

My first sub-research question focused on the human rights issues experienced by Filipina migrant workers that inspire them to take action and develop as activists. FMC staff was also given the opportunity to share their experiences and feelings about the nature of migrant work. All nine participants referenced numerous examples of the

problems of migrant work and the human rights violated. Forced migration and human trafficking/labor exploitation were two main themes that emerged from the data.

My second sub-research question centered on how Filipina migrant workers characterize their motivation for participating in a community-based migrant center. FMC staff was also asked to share their feelings and thoughts about the role of migrant centers within a community and to individual members. All nine participant responses centered on the provision of legal services and other types of social support; thus, the themes of access to community and legal resources and family and friendship served as the primary motivators for migrants' involvement in FMC.

My third sub-research question focused on the ways that a community-based migrant center plays a role in Filipina migrant workers learning activism. All nine participant responses gave numerous examples of how the FMC provides education and ways to advocate for migrant workers' rights. A place for education and learning and opportunities for action are the two major themes that emerged from the data. As well, the participant observation data generated two related themes about how Filipina migrant workers learn advocacy and activism: decentralized/flexible meetings and community/political education through cultural performance.

My fourth sub-research question focused on Filipina migrant workers' perceptions and experience with the political education and activist curriculum they received from a community-based migrant center and affiliated organizations. The data generated various examples of workshop topics from know your rights training to the Trump Administration's immigration policies to socio-economic conditions in the Philippines that support forced migration of Filipinas/os to human rights abuses that

migrant workers face, and others. All nine participant responses generated data with themes of self-empowerment through knowledge and self-empowerment through storytelling. As well, the participant observation data that focused on the theme of Community/Political Education through Cultural Performance relates well to the narrative interviews, especially the theme of Self Empowerment through Storytelling.

My fifth sub-research question focused on the way, if any, that FilCrit pedagogy informs the development of an activist identity among Filipina migrant workers. The FMC provides education on Philippine colonial history and the neocolonial conditions that continue to impact the Philippine economy and Filipino/a lives. FMC staff members' responses varied in relation to FilCrit pedagogy. The Filipina migrant workers identified themselves as either "activists" or "fighting for migrant rights" as a result of their personal experiences with injustice rather than through a FilCrit pedagogy. Thus, only one theme emerged from the data, transformational potential of a contextualized political education. As well, the theme that emerged from a content analysis of the *Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, is political education for self-empowerment and collective action, which complimented the data from the narrative interviews.

Discussion

Relevance of transnational feminism

Transnational Feminism recognizes women's local conditions and issues related to intersectionality of oppressions, such as the racialization of gendered labor from the Global South due to the poverty of many countries whose economic development was stunted by Western colonialism. Mohanty (2003) argues that globalization is about class,

race/ethnic, and gender relations situated in the political, cultural, and economic. She also explains that the majority of the jobs created by globalization are for women living in poor, economically, underdeveloped countries. The jobs are temporary, low-skilled, low-wage contractual work with poor working conditions.

The research findings illustrate Mohanty's analysis of the problems of globalization. For the findings on the human rights issues experienced by Filipina migrants, all six of the workers discussed the poverty in the Philippines and their inability to find employment with decent wages to support themselves and/or their families. Amelia, for example, made the decision to become a nanny and move to New York in order to support her three children. Also, three of the six workers had a few years of college (Orlean, Charito, Lena) education that allowed them to have professional jobs in the Philippines; however, when they entered migrant contractual work in hope of earning higher wages, their jobs were low-wage and had poor working conditions with hardly any days off. Also, the data generated from the FMC staff interviews and Migrant curriculum underscored the intersectionality of oppressions that Filipina migrant workers face. For example, in the *Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*, there is a section on the specific problems that Filipina migrants experience because they are women. These gendered problems include a subordinate status to the men in Philippine society and in many of the receiving countries. Sexual harassment and physical abuse are also human rights violations that migrant women face.

Parreñas and Lui (2007) also explore Filipina migrants' lives from a diasporic and transnational lens. Specifically, they used the following criteria in Filipina migrant subject formation:

- (1) displacement from homeland under nexus of an unequal global and political and economic system;
- (2) the simultaneous experience of alienation and maintenance of affiliation to both country of residence and the homeland; and finally
- (3) the sense of collective consciousness and connectivity with other displaced people from the homeland across the diasporic terrain. (Parreñas & Lui, 2007, p. 1-2)

The six Filipina migrant workers' experiences spoke to the criteria above in relation to their subject formation. Research findings made visible the economic reasons that motivated the workers to enter migrant contract labor abroad. Maria, Alicia, Orlean, Charito, Amelia, and Lena discussed wanting to save money for the family's economic well-being, children's education, parents' medical bills, and self-employment. The Philippines is an underdeveloped country due to its colonial history and neocolonial conditions that have stunted economic growth. As a result, the government pursued the export of labor as a revenue generating program for the country.

All workers also expressed loneliness and alienation. They were happy that the FMC connected them to others so they could have a sense of family in the U.S. while they were separated from their families in the homeland. The six Filipina Migrant workers also discuss development of a collective consciousness with other migrant workers beyond occupational identification and separation from the Philippines. Through their involvement with organizations such as the FMC and Migrante Southern California, their collective consciousness is rooted in an oppositional consciousness against the injustices and oppressions they face.

Rodriguez's (2010) study provides valuable insights as to how Filipina migrant workers have exercised self-agency and participated in transnational activism. Rodriguez highlights Migrante International's efforts at organizing Filipino/a migrants to challenge the Philippine State's Labor Export Policy, unfair labor practices in receiving countries, and neoliberal globalization. Migrante has an extensive transnational network of member organizations that engage collectively in transnational struggles for workers' rights, security, and dignity, and Migrante's leadership includes Filipina migrants who seek to legitimize domestic work and to change the perception that it is shameful and lowly work (pp.147-155). The research findings demonstrate Migrante International's reach as their chapters in the U.S., in the city of Los Angeles and regionally in Southern California, have partnered with community-based organizations such as the FMC. All six Filipina migrant workers and three FMC staff members expressed how valuable Migrante has been as a resource partner because Migrante has provided advocacy support in the workers' fight for socio-economic and political justice. Participants also discussed the learning and knowledge they gained from the political education content provided in the *Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino*. With this curriculum, the Filipina migrant workers were invited to critically think about the root causes of forced migration from the Philippines the problems that arise with low-wage contractual work abroad. Moreover, several of the workers (Maria, Alicia, Amelia, and Charito) talked about joining Migrante Southern California and being active members participating in their educational workshops and events. They showed appreciation about the sense of family and community that they found in Migrante and the FMC.

Lindio-McGovern (2012) also explores the community organizing work of

UNIFIL-HK (lobbying, protests, campaigns). She analyzes migrants exercising their self-agency by engaging in political campaigns outside of the home/employer space, including the campaign against the Hong Kong Government's attempt to implement up to a 30% wage cut for foreign domestic workers. A more recent study by Francisco and Rodriguez (2014) looks at migrant transnationalism within the Filipino labor diaspora, focusing on the activism of domestic workers in New York City and Hong Kong; specifically, Kabalikat Domestic Workers Support Network in New York City (migrant workers working as nannies, housekeepers, and caregivers and mostly women and undocumented); and The United Filipinos of Hong Kong (UNIFIL-HK, an alliance of domestic workers' groups from the Philippines who are employed there on short-term contracts). What is significant about these studies is that the New York and Hong Kong activists were connected through their affiliations formally to the transnational Filipino migrant alliance, Migrante International, demonstrating again the extent of Migrante's transnational advocacy and organizing efforts. The research findings provide additional examples of how migrant activist' political subjectivities are related to shared and transnational oppositional politics and critique of the Philippine state's involvement with neoliberal global programs. All six of the Filipina migrant workers shared their discussions about government corruption in the Philippines and also empathized with Filipina migrants such as Mary Jane Veloso, who is facing execution in Indonesia. Additionally, the research findings illustrate how these transnational alliances and activism are included in the political education curriculum used by the FMC and MIGRANTE Southern California; so that the Filipino/a migrant workers in the greater Los Angeles region learn about other migrant workers' struggles and can begin to situate

their own struggles as part of a larger, international social movement.

Relevance of critical pedagogy

Does critical pedagogy, coupled with an ethnic studies framework for understanding the process of decolonization, address the question of how Filipina migrants develop an oppositional consciousness and self-agency? Freire (1970) radically transformed the student-teacher relationship so that the Brazilian poor working class could politically engage in improving their oppressive social condition. Using a problem-posing education technique, he maintained that the acquisition of knowledge and what we come to understand as the cultural norm must be critically analyzed in relation to socio-historical, cultural, economic, and political contexts. Freire's (1970) educational model centered on consciousness raising, dialogue, reflection, and praxis---that in the expansion of these individual acts, collective action for social transformation can take place. The research findings illustrate that the six Filipina migrant workers in this study were provided many opportunities to examine the colonial and neocolonial history of the Philippines and reflect on how this history relates to forced migration of Filipinos/as abroad for contractual work. These political education opportunities have allowed the Maria, Alicia, Orlean, Charito, Amelia, and Lena to re-examine and expand their worldview; thus, developing their identities. Alicia, Orlean, Charito, and Lena also recognized the need to expand the number of Filipino/a migrant workers who are willing to publicly share their stories and take on the fight against abusive and oppressive employers.

Mclaren (2008) describes critical pedagogy as pedagogy of resistance, and the critical educator is an activist for social justice. Giroux (2007) writes about the power of

activists holding a “Concrete Utopianism,” which included a critique of “the existing order of things and using the terrain of culture and education to actually intervene in the world, to struggle to change the current configurations of power and the allocation of resources in society... as a form of educated hope, it provides the grounds for thinking critically and acting responsibly” (pp. 215-216). This necessary link between theory and practice was illustrated several times by each of the FMC staff participants, who often lead the political education workshops and discussions with the workers. In their narrative interviews, Joselyn, Joanna, and Hiyas emphasized the importance of engaging in political education in activism, and ensuring that Philippine colonial history, and the neocolonial conditions that continue to impact the Philippine economy and Filipino lives are made visible to the Filipina migrant workers they are seeking to organize. Hiyas also discussed the problem-posing approach she uses while facilitating the workshops in addition to asking workers to speak from their experience. Interactive skits and role-plays are also often used to engage workers more deeply in the subject matter and learning.

Relevance of ethnic studies pedagogy

Ethnic Studies in the United States emerged from the social movements happening locally and globally during the 1960s, including the Civil Rights Movement, Anti-Vietnam War Movement, and Liberation Movements in the Third World. To Tintiangco-Cubales et al. (2014), there was a strong “push for an anti-racist, multicultural curricular reform...guided by a strong sense of decolonization and self-determination” (pp. 3-4). Strobel (2001) explores the process of decolonization in relation to Filipino students’ development as activists. Students were able to connect with and understand their experiences and their family experiences by allowing them to critically examine

their own colonial mentality and find ways to resist. Strobel (2001) identified naming, reflecting, and acting as three key steps in the process of decolonization. The research findings support that a critical component that leads to a process of individual transformation is learning about one's history in the context of one's culture, and how different forms of oppressions have impacted self-identity and individual empowerment. Through various political education workshops and discussions on migration and migrant issues, Maria, Alicia, Orlean, Charito, Amelia, and Lena articulated their understanding of the root causes of forced migration and why so many Filipinos/as work abroad to support the economic livelihood of their families in the Philippines. Orlean and Charito's self-agency, for example, inspired them to serve as volunteer organizers for the FMC, as they were actively supporting outreach efforts and "client" intake of new cases. For the Filipina migrant workers, the ability to name and tell their stories of labor exploitation, reflect on their painful experiences, and take action against their oppressors shows development of self-agency.

Relevance of Pinayist pedagogy

Focusing attention on the empowerment of Filipina American women, Tintiangco-Cubales and Sacramento (2009) discuss the transformational potential of a Pinayist pedagogy on the everyday lives of Filipinas. A Pinayist pedagogical approach is deeply rooted in both critical and ethnic studies pedagogies and development of self-agency is grounded in decolonizing praxis for restoration of humanity, Filipina women's knowledge production, community dialogue, and commitment to action. Tintiangco-Cubales and Sacramento (2009) further point to the teaching and learning of a curriculum based on uncovering Filipina women's experiences and issues in the local, national,

global, and personal (p. 2). The research findings that generated themes of self-empowerment through knowledge, self-empowerment through storytelling, and community/political education through cultural performance show the application of a Pinayist pedagogy. The experiences of the Filipina migrant workers and FMC staff connect to Pinayist pedagogy: All participants in this study engaged in processes of political education that was rooted in Philippine colonial history, a critique of the U.S. role in the neocolonial conditions of the Philippines that have stunted its economy. As well, all of the workers (Maria, Alicia, Orlean, Charito, Amelia, and Lena) and FMC staff (Joselyn, Joanna, and Hiyas) have developed self-agency and voluntarily participate in political actions demanding immigrant/migrant rights and economic welfare. Research findings, from both the narrative interviews and participant observation, also show that Maria, Alicia, Orlean, Charito, Amelia, and Lena actively participated in knowledge production, and they encourage other Filipina migrant workers to share their experiences as women and as migrants; so, they can learn and support each other, and grow in their collective political impact. There were numerous examples that spoke to the themes of Self-Empowerment through Knowledge and Self-empowerment through Storytelling.

Relevance of FilCrit pedagogy

As discussed in the literature review, Filipino/a educators have merged tenets of critical pedagogy with critical theory rooted in an Ethnic Studies framework (Tintianguco-Cubales, 2009; 2014; Viola, 2009; 2012; 2014). Viola (2014) locates FilCrit pedagogy as rooted in the idea that Filipino/a lived experiences within colonial, neocolonial, and imperialist contexts are transformative sites of knowledge production. Viola argued contemporary Filipino/a American activist identity formation is developed by the praxis

of transnational activism, which includes participation in political educational and exposure programs in the Philippines. To Viola, participation in community-based exposure programs facilitate Freire's (1970) process of conscientization, and Filipino/a Americans can develop an oppositional consciousness that enables her/him to connect personal identity with Philippine history, Filipino American history, and global struggles for racial and economic justice. By engaging in a Philippine and Filipino American based political education and participating in social justice activities, the six Filipina migrant workers and FMC staff have developed an oppositional consciousness as described by Friere (1970). However, research findings illustrate that FilCrit pedagogy has applicability to Filipina Americans such as the FMC Executive Director, Joanna Concepcion, but not necessarily to the remaining eight participants in this study. FilCrit pedagogy is a Filipino/a American concept as it is rooted in the experiences of Filipino/a Americans who seek to connect back to their roots and the homeland. By experiencing FilCrit pedagogy in college, Joanna's story was the only narrative that spoke to the transformational potential of FilCrit pedagogy in developing an activist identity. Her experience underscored the importance of contextualizing political education within an individual's culture and history and engaging in transnational activism with community-based organizations such as Anakbayan, which is also connected to youth organizing groups in the Philippines.

In contrast, the six Filipina migrant workers (Maria, Alicia, Orlean, Charito, Amelia, and Lena) and two other FMC staff (Hiyas and Joselyn) are already living transnational identities, so there is no need for them to be taught and learn to connect back to their roots in the Philippines. It is the learning about Filipino American history—

colonialism of the Philippines, racism against Filipinos, the Filipino Farm Worker's Movement, WWII Veterans, Anti-Marcos and Martial Movement, etc.—and participation in Filipino American struggles that may contribute to or enhance their self-transformation as activists in the U.S. Another implication here is that activist identity development maybe more connected to one's positionality as abused, migrant worker, racial other, and/or refugee rather than the process of learning Philippine and Filipino American histories and immersion in the transnational activism that Viola (2014) articulates. In other words, political education focused on the multiple oppressions that Filipina immigrants and migrants face may have more impact in activist identity development.

Also, from the interviews, Orlean and Charito were already developing an oppositional consciousness based on their occupation as teachers and their direct experiences with oppression in the Philippines and United States, prior to joining FMC; so, it could be drawn that further political education and involvement in activist-related activities re-activate and/or enhances identities already established. For Joselyn and Hiyas (FMC staff), they discussed their experiences with a decolonizing education in the Philippines and their active participation in the Philippine National Democratic Movement; thus, their activist identities were well established before coming to the United States. In fact, Hiyas talked about her activist parents teaching she and her siblings about the Philippine National Democratic Movement, and encouraging them to use the arts to critique the Philippine government and U.S. imperialism.

Relevance of social movement theory

What are Filipina migrant activists dreaming about? How do they define “our

struggle,” and what inspires them to take up, and continue the fight? The research findings respond to these crucial questions that social movement theorists explore. Kelley (2003) argues that sustained political engagement is not rooted in people’s misery but instead is rooted in people’s hope and dreams. His study calls for the recovery of activists’ ideas and visions, exploring how social movements inspire individuals and groups to imagine another world is possible. Research findings from the narrative interviews and participant observation illustrate Filipina migrant workers’ self-agency and participation in public protest is grounded in their hopes and dreams for the future. While all six Filipina migrant workers shared their painful stories of labor exploitation and abuse, they also described their hopes and dreams to improve the economic well being of their families. These dreams included being able to save money for their children’s future education, having seed money to start a small business, and being able to financial help family members with medical bills if they fall into illness. For the three Filipina Migrant workers (Maria, Alicia, and Lena) who performed in the *Diwang Pinay* cultural show, their freedom dreams were defined as being recognized as a human being, reunification with family, able to be valued for one’s labor without fear and threats, and being able to join advocacy organizations like FMC and Migrante Southern California.

Negron-Gonzalez (2009) critiques social movement literature for under-theorizing “consciousness, relegating it to little more than a “resource” that can be “mobilized” in the service of a social movement” (p. 8). She explains that self-transformation is an on-going process of struggle and for activist of color, unlearning many years of hegemonic ideas and practices rooted in European colonialism is not an easy task. The research findings did not generate any explicit themes related to the process of struggle as Negron-

Gonzalez articulates; however, two of the Filipina migrant workers addressed struggle with Filipino cultural values (as opposed to political ideology) such as respect for authority and how they had to overcome the norms associated with it. Once Orlean and Lena internalized the belief that they deserved to have their rights protected, they were able to shift their thinking and take action against the abuse of their employers. Orlean even emphasized that she had no shame in telling others her story, so that they will learn how they too can get support from community organizations, lawyers, etc. Moreover, Lena also stressed the importance of telling others the truth about the realities and struggles of migrant workers' lives.

Boggs (2012) explores social movements in relation to why individuals engage in collective action by contextualizing movements economically, culturally, historically, and politically. She also incorporates the major tenets of critical pedagogy into her activist approach by emphasizing the importance of theory, dialogue, reflection, and practice. Boggs (2012) argues for building a movement that values the creative force of people and an economy rooted in human solidarity. The research findings from the narrative interviews, participant observation, and collection of artifacts, didn't explicitly refer to specific theories being included and discussed in the various workshops offered to the Filipina migrant workers. However, the *Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino* provides an economic and class centered analysis on the root causes of Filipino/a migration and the creation of the Philippine's Labor Export Policy. The implied critique, of the elite class and the middle class maintaining the oppression of the lower classes, derives from Marxist theory; thus, the political education given to the migrant workers involved with the FMC and Migrante incorporates elements of Marxism.

Through the dialogue and conversations with each other and with FMC staff, Maria, Alicia, Orlean, Charito, Amelia, and Lena were able to critically examine and reflect on the impoverished condition of the Philippines and the problems they encountered in the United States. As well, the workers, with the support of FMC and MIGRANTE, do exercise their “creative force” by participating in numerous public actions and events. Maria, Alicia, Orlean, Charito, Amelia, and Lena attended rallies, protests, community dialogues and forums in where they were asked to share their experiences in order to inspire others to engage in their struggle for economic justice. Maria, Alicia, and Lena also performed in a cultural show where they dramatized their stories, as well as others’ experiences, with human trafficking and labor exploitation.

Social movements rely on organized political actions. Anyon (2005) states, “Most likely, successful social movements need different kinds of organizations at different times, and even different kinds of organizations contemporaneously. But an umbrella group is crucial. Series of protests do not become a movement without some form of organization to coordinate and create synergy and overall direction” (p. 136). The research findings illustrate the importance of the concepts that Anyon (2005) and Rodriguez & Balce (2004) articulate. All the participants in this study discussed the significant role that FMC plays within the Filipino community in Long Beach and also in the lives of Filipino/a migrants. While Alicia did not perceive the FMC as carrying out activism in the work that they do around immigrant/migrant rights, Maria, Orlean, Charito, Amelia, and Lena gave numerous examples of how the FMC has organized public rallies, community dialogues and forums, know your rights training, and workshops on migration and political issues in the Philippines. Orlean and Charito both

discussed how the FMC has supported and encouraged Filipino/a migrants to participate various political and legal campaigns such as Domestic Workers Bill of Rights and Wage Theft. Maria, Alicia, Orlean, Charito, Amelia, and Lena shared their positive experiences with attending protests and rallies at the Philippine Consulate and telling their stories at community events and educational institutions. The FMC staff and workers also talked about the partnerships with MIGRANTE Los Angeles and Southern California, and GABRIELA Los Angeles. The partnership activities show the high degree of coordination between these organizations as a means to sustain regional movement building for socio-economic and political justice for Filipinos/as in the U.S. Beyond the regional coordination of campaigns, there is also national coordination and support through NAFCON-USA, which has been an umbrella organization engaging the Filipino community in worker-based organizing and leadership development for over a decade.

Anyon (2005) also analyzes how art, music, song, poetry, chants, drama, film, and video are essential components to political protest and growth of social movements because these forms enable participants to imagine the possibility of another world. Of particular relevance to this study is the concept of “repertoire of protest” and how movement organizers use symbols and activities to generate a collective identity and emotional responses that lead to sustained political engagement. Specific to Filipino American activism, Rodriguez & Balce (2004) highlight the participation of Filipino/a organizations in the San Francisco-based Filipinos for Global Justice Not War Coalition (FILSGLOBE) and their reliance on cultural forms of protest (song, art, and dance) to agitate potential allies for engagement in Filipino/a social justice struggles. These creative strategies used by movement organizers are reflected in the research findings.

FMC's Hiyas spoke in detail about her training in and use of the arts in community organizing. Since she was raised in a family of cultural activists, her parents exposed she and her siblings to the various art forms used in movement building: theatre of the oppressed, poetry, song, music, and visual art. As a worker organizer, she infuses arts pedagogy into the political education workshops and discussions she facilitates. For the Filipina migrant workers, Amelia shared her positive experience participating in the One Billion Rising dance with members of FMC and Migrante. She understood the importance of showing solidarity with women across the globe. Maria, Alicia, and Lena experienced the powerful impact of performance as a vehicle and pedagogical tool to inspire empathy and solicit allies among members of the community. In the *Diwang Pinay*, "Journeys of Resistance" cultural show and panel-audience discussion afterward, they witnessed first-hand the power of storytelling and how the combination of drama, poetry, music, and song moved the audience's emotions, resulting in tears and outrage of the human rights abuses that Filipina migrants face.

Limitations

While there were significant findings from the data generated from the narrative interviews, participant observation, and collection of written and visual artifacts, data limitations were encountered during the data collection phase of the study. The researcher encountered the following delays and challenges to the initial data collection timeline (mid-December 2016 to mid-March 2017):

- Due to the FMC staffs' increased workload caused by President Trump's election, aggressive anti-immigrant stance, and the subsequent immigration executive order, coordination of interviews and scheduling site visits were

delayed over one month. As a result, the researcher's availability during the month of January was not utilized, and researcher was not able to attend trainings in the month of January and early February 2017.

- The Filipina migrant workers' interviews could not take place at the FMC as originally expected due to work locations, hours, and scheduled days off. As a result, the researcher had to conduct interviews outside of the FMC, and also after work hours in the evenings.
- Due to the FMC staffs' request that they be involved in any follow up communication with the workers, delays also resulted with clarification questions.
- FMC staff was not able to submit any curriculum or lesson plans beyond that of the *Migrante Orientation*. As a result, additional political education content was gathered from the narrative interviews and FMC website.

Overall, these limitations impacted amount of data generated from participant observation goals and collection of written artifacts. However, the researcher's site visit to the new FMC office, attendance at an FMC meeting at a worker's home, and attendance at the *Diwang Pinay* cultural show yielded significant data that both enhanced and added to the findings from the narrative interviews.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study was designed to begin to fill the existing gap in research focused on Filipina migrant workers' agency and recognition of migrants as political and social actors. Through the lens of FilCrit pedagogy, transnational feminist theory, and social movement theory, the study sought to investigate the development of Filipina migrant

workers' activist identities in relation to the political education they receive from the Filipino Migrant Center, Long Beach in Southern California. While there were significant findings that illustrated the FMC as a place for learning and self empowerment through knowledge, further exploration is needed on how varying levels of educational background and attitudes toward activism facilitate or hinder migrant participation and learning during FMC sponsored political education workshops and dialogue. The participants in this study, for example, had varying levels of educational attainment while in the Philippines. A few of the Filipina migrant workers had some years of college while some talked about stopping their schooling before college. The three workers who had completed a few years of college were the most advanced in terms of their understanding of the root causes of forced migration of Filipinos/as abroad to work as contract laborers activist identities. These same three workers were also the most developed in terms of activist identity. Additionally, several of the workers rejected "activist identity" in favor of "advocate identity" due to mainstream negative perceptions of activism, and the reality that in the Philippines one can be imprisoned and/or killed for being an activist.

As well, the second emergent theme in sub-research question four is self-empowerment through storytelling. This theme is also prominent in the researcher's participant observation of *Diwang Pinay*, "*Journeys of Resistance*." Further research on the power of storytelling and perhaps testimonio may deepen our understanding of the processes of healing and self-empowerment that seem necessary to migrant activist identity formation. For example, Alicia shared that she found the script of the SKITS in *Diwang Pinay* beautiful because the stories were coming from within her. While she expressed emotional pain through telling the story of her abuse, she was so happy that she

could speak the truth to the public. In other words, she felt comforted and empowered by the act of telling her story despite the re-living of her emotional trauma.

Conclusion

This study sought to investigate the experiences of six Filipina migrant workers and three staff members involved with the Filipino Migrant Center, Long Beach in Southern California, in order to examine the issues that Filipina migrant workers face, and the ways in which political education and the practice of activism have developed their sense of empowerment, and ability to transform the negative conditions of their lives. The study illustrates the linkages between FilCrit pedagogy, transnational feminism, and social movements as theoretical sites that can teach us how Filipina migrant workers become engaged in learning the socio-historical and political dimensions of their lives and how to take action against social injustice.

The economic, cultural, social, and political history of the Philippines provides a context to the present conditions that Filipina migrant workers face. Understanding the colonial and neocolonial influence of the United States explains how Filipinos became equated with cheap labor and why the Philippines relies on labor export to support its underdeveloped economy. Understanding the global economy and the continued demand of cheap labor in the service sectors also provides a lens to the feminization of migrant labor from the global south. Critical and Ethnic Studies pedagogies offer perspectives on the impact of culturally relevant problem posing education in relation to identity formation and development of self-agency. The narratives of Filipino/a American and Filipina

migrant participation in activism show the urgency to address issues of forced gendered migration and the problems of family separation, labor exploitation and physical abuse.

Furthermore, my intention for this qualitative study was for researchers in multiple fields, such as education, ethnic studies, Philippine studies, political science, sociology, and women and gender studies, to better understand the role that political education and critical pedagogies play in developing an activist mindset and commitment to social justice. The “activist” stories of Filipina migrant workers and Filipino Migrant Center staff have uncovered potential models of community organizing in relation to establishing a community-based migrant center that provides services and opportunities for action. Finally, the importance of alliance and solidarity work across immigrant and migrant worker groups and the community-based organizations that support them have been illustrated as a necessity, especially under governments that do not offer socio-economic and political protections.

Researcher’s Personal Reflection

As mentioned in the Role of the Researcher section, this topic is rooted in my own family history of forced migration and human trafficking/labor exploitation. My parents immigrated to the United States in December of 1972, a few months after President Ferdinand Marcos declared Martial Law in September 23, 1972, which suspended people’s civil rights and imposed military authority. Prior to Martial Law, my mother’s family lived in socio-economic hardship as peasant folk in her Mindoro village in the Philippines. My mother’s dreams of economic and educational opportunity for her children and family members motivated my parents to leave their homeland.

While we were able to immigrate to the U.S. through a lengthy application process, I grew up knowing that I had aunts and uncles who were undocumented because they had overstayed their visas' expiration dates. I also grew up hearing my parents talk about aunts, uncles, and older cousins who were working abroad as migrant contract laborers in countries such as Australia, Canada, England, Germany, Japan, Taiwan, and Saudi Arabia. A few relatives were able to enter the U.S. via working in Canada and Mexico initially. I remember hearing sad stories of family separation due to a wife or husband completely abandoning the family in the Philippines after continued migrant work abroad, and also the horrible labor conditions (low wages and long hours) of working as a domestic, caregiver, or construction worker. I remember when Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents raided my aunt's house in Southern California, looking to deport my undocumented uncle.

My family experiences mirror the stories of the women who were courageous enough to share their life experiences for my study. As a result, the data collection phase of my dissertation was a deeply emotional experience. As the Filipina migrant workers recounted their journeys to the U.S., their dreams, abusive work experiences, and finding a sense of family and community through organizations like the FMC or Migrante, I found myself crying along with them when they broke into tears during the interviews. As I watched the *Diwang Pinay* cultural show, I knew that I was experiencing secondary trauma because of the connection I had made with the migrant workers' who were in the performance. We were part of each other's stories and lives now. As well, I felt secondary trauma in the processes of transcription from the audio recording and the translation work from Tagalog to English. It felt like I was still conducting the live

interview/conversation. However, I also felt inspired by the workers' courage and resilience, and this inspiration feeds my passion to continue to advocate and organize for migrant and workers' rights and welfare.

This dissertation process has further reaffirmed a reflection I made years ago, that sustained activism involves a willingness, an openness to loving others and recognizing the similarity of our aspirations—to be treated as a human being, to have access to economic livelihood, to be valued for our work and contributions, and to have family/community. I believe these values—loving others and finding common ground in our hopes and dreams—need to inform any political education curriculum used to develop a social justice and “activist” mindset. As Boggs (2012) states, “We urgently need to bring to our communities the limitless capacity to love, serve, and create for and with each other” (Boggs, 2010, p. 47). In this context, I see my dissertation journey as my journey of resistance, one grounded in love for my community and other communities of color that face systemic oppression and dehumanization.

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APPENDICES**Appendix A:**

Approval from University of San Francisco's Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS)



Terence Patterson noreply@axiommentor.com [via amazonses.com](http://viaamazonses.com) 5/23/16

IRBPHS - Approval Notification

To: Rowena Tomaneng
From: Terence Patterson, IRB Chair
Subject: Protocol #671
Date: 05/23/2016

The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS) at the University of San Francisco (USF) has reviewed your request for human subjects approval regarding your study.

Your research (IRB Protocol #671) with the project title **The Educational Dimensions of Filipina Migrant Workers' Activist Identities** has been approved by the IRB Chair under the rules for expedited review on **05/23/2016**.

Any modifications, adverse reactions or complications must be reported using a modification application to the IRBPHS within ten (10) working days.

If you have any questions, please contact the IRBPHS via email at IRBPHS@usfca.edu. Please include the Protocol number assigned to your application in your correspondence.

On behalf of the IRBPHS committee, I wish you much success in your research.

Sincerely,

Terence Patterson, EdD, ABPP
Professor & Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
University of San Francisco
irbphs@usfca.edu

**Appendix B:
Letter of invitation**



**University of San Francisco
Letter of Invitation and Research Questions**

Date:
Participant Name and Title
Company or Organization
Address

Dear Ms.:

Thank you for agreeing to support in an examination of my dissertation topic. As you know, my research explores The Educational Dimensions of Filipina Migrant Workers' Activist Identities, in relation to their participation in a migrant center affiliated with the National Alliance for Filipino Concerns-United States (NAFCON-USA). The study specifically focuses on the development of activist identity as connected to political education, FilCrit pedagogy, and community organizing.

I am inviting current Filipina migrant workers and FMC staff to discuss their experiences in my research topic. By engaging in such conversations I hope to shed light on Filipina migrant workers that pursue lifework dedicated to social justice and the refiguration of identity through the praxis of political education, Filcrit pedagogy, and community organizing.

In addition to the opportunity to share ideas, I am seeking your permission to work with one of the member organizations of Nafcon-USA. I would like your support in the communications and coordination of research activities with the Filipino Migrant Center in Long Beach, CA. My interviews and participant observations will be recorded through audio or video recordings. In doing so, I will provide research participants the opportunity to look over transcriptions and analysis of our conversations. After participants have given approval, I will use data contributed to support my analysis. Unless permission is given, real names of participants will be held confidential.

Below, you will find my proposed research questions. These questions are primarily for use as guidelines to direct the conversation. They also indicate my specific interest in their areas of expertise experiences of Filipina Migrant workers and FMC community organizers. My hope is the conversations provide an opportunity for us to learn something together through the exploration of the topic I have described.

Below are the overarching questions of the study:

The overarching research question for this study is: “How do Filipina migrant workers learn to be activists? ” Five related sub-research questions include:

1. What are the human rights issues experienced by Filipina migrant workers that inspire them to be activists?”
2. How do Filipina migrant workers characterize their motivation for participating in community-based migrant centers?
3. In what ways do community-based migrant centers play a role in Filipina migrant workers learning activism?
4. How do Filipina migrant workers perceive and experience the political education and activist curriculum they receive from community-based migrant centers?
5. In what ways does FilCrit pedagogy play a role in Filipina migrant activist identities?

Thank you for your willingness to meet and discuss any questions you may have. I look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Rowena M. Tomaneng
Researcher, Doctoral Student University of San Francisco School of Education
International Multicultural Education

rtomaneng@usfca.edu
tel: (650) 743-9349

**Appendix C:
Consent Form for Filipina Migrant Workers**



**UNIVERSITY OF
SAN FRANCISCO**

School of Education

**Consent to Participate in a Research Study
University of San Francisco • San Francisco, CA**

Title of Study: The Educational Dimensions of Filipina Migrant Workers' Activist Identities

Investigator:

Name: Rowena Tomaneng **Dept:** International Multicultural Education **Phone:** 650-743-9349

Introduction

You are being asked to be in a research study that is exploring the educational dimensions of Filipina migrant workers' activist identities within the context of their involvement in a community-based migrant center. Specifically, this dissertation will research the roles that political education, FilCrit pedagogy, and community organizing play in developing an activist and social justice mindset among Filipina migrant workers who are members of a Migrant Center in Southern California.

You were selected as a possible participant because your profile meets characteristics identified in the study: 1) Identify as female; 2) Birthplace Philippines; 3) Family belongs to working class; 4) Current occupation migrant worker; 5) Minimum six months involvement in the migrant center and; 6) Between 20-55 years old.

We ask that you read this form and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study is to explore the educational dimensions of Filipina migrant workers' activist identities within the context of their involvement in a community-based migrant center. Specifically, this dissertation will research the roles that political education, FilCrit pedagogy, and community organizing play in developing an activist and social justice mindset among Filipina migrant workers who are members of a Migrant Center in Southern California.

Organizations have developed organizing models that are drawing Filipina migrants to become politically involved in meaningful ways for themselves and their transnational community. NAFCON-USA's member organizations, for example, rely on various educational models to engage migrant workers and their allies, in addition to providing numerous opportunities for migrant workers to learn the range of skills needed to carry

out legal and political campaigns. With more knowledge in this area, researchers in multiple fields, such as education, ethnic studies, Philippine studies, political science, sociology, and women and gender studies, can better understand the role that political education and critical pedagogies play in developing an activist mindset and commitment to social justice and change. Teachers who teach social justice issues at multiple levels will also gain from activist education models that may emerge, especially as related to curriculum content and pedagogical tools. Additionally, community organizers and youth leaders can benefit from these Filipina activist stories as they may uncover potential models of community organizing in relation to political education curriculum, critical pedagogies, and activist identities.

Description of the Study Procedures

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to do the following things:

1. Participate in a 45-70 minutes oral interview with the researcher
2. Respond to any follow up questions from the researcher via email or phone call
3. Review transcripts and any other information that will be used in the study

Risks/Discomforts of Being in this Study

There are no reasonable foreseeable (or expected) risks.

Benefits of Being in the Study

Community organizers and youth leaders can benefit from your activist story as it may uncover potential models of community organizing in relation to political education curriculum, critical pedagogies, and activist identities. Sharing your story will also make visible the issues you and other migrants are experiencing and you may gain further advocates in the broader community.

Confidentiality

The records of this study will be kept strictly confidential. Research records will be kept in a locked file, and all electronic information will be coded and secured using a password protected file. Only the researcher will have access to any audio tape recordings, and after transcribed for research study, will be erased. I will not include any information in any report we may publish that would make it possible to identify you.

Payments

You will receive the following payment/reimbursement: visa or target gift card

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

- The decision to participate in this study is entirely up to you. You may refuse to take part in the study *at any time* without affecting your relationship with the investigators of this study or Smith College. Your decision will not result in any loss or benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You have the right not to answer any single question, as well as to withdraw completely from the interview at any point during the process; additionally, you have the right to request that the interviewer not use any of your interview material.

Right to Ask Questions and Report Concerns

- You have the right to ask questions about this research study and to have those questions answered by me before, during or after the research. If you have any further questions about the study, at any time feel free to contact me, Rowena Tomaneng at rtomaneng@usfca.edu or by telephone at 650-743-9349. If you like, a summary of the results of the study will be sent to you. If you have any other concerns about your rights as a research participant that have not been answered by the investigator, you may contact Dr. Terrance Patterson, Chair of the University of San Francisco Institutional Review Board at Patterson@usfca.edu

If you have any problems or concerns that occur as a result of your participation, you can report them to the Dr. Terrance Patterson at the number above.

Consent

Your signature below indicates that you have decided to volunteer as a research participant for this study, and that you have read and understood the information provided above. You will be given a signed and dated copy of this form to keep, along with any other printed materials deemed necessary by the study investigators.

Subject's Name (print): _____

Subject's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

**Appendix D:
Consent Form for Filipino Migrant Center Staff**



**UNIVERSITY OF
SAN FRANCISCO**

School of Education

**Consent to Participate in a Research Study
University of San Francisco • San Francisco, CA**

Title of Study: The Educational Dimensions of Filipina Migrant Workers' Activist Identities

Investigator:

Dept: International

Name: Rowena Tomaneng **Dept:** Multicultural Education **Phone:** 650-743-9349

Introduction

You are being asked to be in a research study that is exploring the educational dimensions of Filipina migrant workers' activist identities within the context of their involvement in a community-based migrant center. Specifically, this dissertation will research the roles that political education, FilCrit pedagogy, and community organizing play in developing an activist and social justice mindset among Filipina migrant workers who are members of a Migrant Center in Southern California.

You were selected as a possible participant because your profile meets characteristics identified in the study:

- 1) Minimum 1 year employment in the FMC,
- 2) Identify as community organizer and Filipina activist
- 3) Experience in delivering education workshops and facilitating discussions with FMC affiliated Filipina migrant workers.

We ask that you read this form and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study is to explore the educational dimensions of Filipina migrant workers' activist identities within the context of their involvement in a community-based migrant center. Specifically, this dissertation will research the roles that political education, FilCrit pedagogy, and community organizing play in developing an activist and social justice mindset among Filipina migrant workers who are members of a Migrant Center in Southern California.

Organizations have developed organizing models that are drawing Filipina migrants to become politically involved in meaningful ways for themselves and their transnational community. NAFCON-USA's member organizations, for example, rely on various

educational models to engage migrant workers and their allies, in addition to providing numerous opportunities for migrant workers to learn the range of skills needed to carry out legal and political campaigns. With more knowledge in this area, researchers in multiple fields, such as education, ethnic studies, Philippine studies, political science, sociology, and women and gender studies, can better understand the role that political education and critical pedagogies play in developing an activist mindset and commitment to social justice and change. Teachers who teach social justice issues at multiple levels will also gain from activist education models that may emerge, especially as related to curriculum content and pedagogical tools. Additionally, community organizers and youth leaders can benefit from these Filipina activist stories as they may uncover potential models of community organizing in relation to political education curriculum, critical pedagogies, and activist identities.

Description of the Study Procedures

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to do the following things:

4. Participate in a 45-70 minutes oral interview with the researcher
5. Respond to any follow up questions from the researcher via email or phone call
6. Review transcripts and any other information that will be used in the study

Risks/Discomforts of Being in this Study

There are no reasonable foreseeable (or expected) risks.

Benefits of Being in the Study

Community organizers and youth leaders can benefit from your activist story as it may uncover potential models of community organizing in relation to political education curriculum, critical pedagogies, and activist identities. Sharing your story will also make visible the issues you and other migrants are experiencing and you may gain further advocates in the broader community.

Confidentiality

The records of this study will be kept strictly confidential. Research records will be kept in a locked file, and all electronic information will be coded and secured using a password protected file. Only the researcher will have access to any audio tape recordings, and after transcribed for research study, will be erased. I will not include any information in any report we may publish that would make it possible to identify you.

Payments

You will receive the following payment/reimbursement: visa or target gift card

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

- The decision to participate in this study is entirely up to you. You may refuse to take part in the study *at any time* without affecting your relationship with the investigators of this study or Smith College. Your decision will not result in any loss or benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You have the right not to answer any single question, as well as to withdraw completely from the interview at any point during

the process; additionally, you have the right to request that the interviewer not use any of your interview material.

Right to Ask Questions and Report Concerns

- You have the right to ask questions about this research study and to have those questions answered by me before, during or after the research. If you have any further questions about the study, at any time feel free to contact me, Rowena Tomaneng at rtomaneng@usfca.edu or by telephone at 650-743-9349. If you like, a summary of the results of the study will be sent to you. If you have any other concerns about your rights as a research participant that have not been answered by the investigator, you may contact Dr. Terrance Patterson, Chair of the University of San Francisco Institutional Review Board at Patterson@usfca.edu

If you have any problems or concerns that occur as a result of your participation, you can report them to the Dr. Terrance Patterson at the number above.

Consent

Your signature below indicates that you have decided to volunteer as a research participant for this study, and that you have read and understood the information provided above. You will be given a signed and dated copy of this form to keep, along with any other printed materials deemed necessary by the study investigators.

Subject's Name (print): _____

Subject's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

**Appendix E:
Interview Questions for Filipina Migrant Workers, English**



**UNIVERSITY OF
SAN FRANCISCO**

School of Education

Title of
Study: The Educational Dimensions of Filipina Migrant Workers' Activist Identities

Investigator:

Name: Rowena Tomaneng Dept: International
Multicultural Education Phone: 650-743-9349

Interview Questions (English)

1. Why did you become a migrant worker? How long have you been a migrant worker?
What type of work have you done?
 2. What are the issues you have experienced as a Filipina migrant worker?
Why do you think you experience these issues?
 3. How do you define activism? Do you consider yourself to be an activist?
Why or why not? Please explain.
 4. What inspired/inspires your activism? How, when, and where did you
learn to be an activist?
 5. What kinds of activism related activities have you participated and who
else was involved?
 6. Why do you participate in community-based migrant centers such as this
one? Why have you chosen this migrant center to participate? How much
time do you spend at this migrant center?

7. In this migrant center, what kinds of activities have you joined? Please describe your experience with these activities. How did you feel about this activities and your participation in them?
8. In your view, what role do community-based migrant centers play in migrant workers' lives? In your view, what would be the ideal migrant center?
9. In your view, what role do community-based migrant centers play in migrant workers' activism? Should migrant centers engage in activism?
10. When you were in the Philippines, did you have experiences with activism? With political education? With activist curriculum? Please describe these experiences and how you felt about being a participant.
11. What is your perception of and experience with political education and activist education?
12. Please describe the content of the political education and activist curriculum you have experienced at this migrant center. How did you feel about this content?
13. What other types of educational workshops have you experienced at this migrant center? Please describe your experience and how you felt as a participant.

**Appendix F:
Interview Questions for Filipina Migrant Workers, Tagalog**



Title of
Study: The Educational Dimensions of Filipina Migrant Workers' Activist Identities

Investigator:

Name: Rowena Tomaneng Dept: International
Multicultural Education Phone: 650-743-9349

Mga tanong sa panayam

1. Bakit ka naging migranteng manggagawa? Gaano katagal ka ng migranteng manggagawa? Anong klaseng trabaho ang ginawa mo?
2. Ano ang mga isyu na naranasan mo bilang babaeng migranteng manggagawa? Sa tingin mo, bakit mo naranasan ang mga isyung ito?
3. Para sa iyo, ano ang ibig sabihin ng aktibismo? Ikinukunsidera mo ba ang iyong sarili na aktibista)? Bakit o bakit hindi? Pakipaliwanag.
4. Ano ang nagbigay/nagbibigay inspirasyon sa iyong aktibismo? Paano, kailan, saan mo natutuhan ang pagiging aktibista?
5. Anong klaseng mga aktibitis na may kaugnayan sa aktibismo ang nasalihan mo at sino pa ang kasali?
6. Bakit ka sumali sa mga organisasyong pangkomunidad na pang-migrante, na kagaya nito? Bakit mo piniling sumali sa organisasyong pang-migranteng ito? Gaano kadaming oras ang iginugugol mo sa organisayong pang-migranteng ito?

7. Anong mga aktibitis ang sinalihan mo sa organisasyong pang-migranteng ito?
Pakilarawan ang iyong karanasan sa mga aktibitis na ito. Anong pakiramdam mo sa mga aktibitis na ito at ang iyong partisipasyon dito?
8. Sa iyong pagtingin, anong papel ang ginagampanan ng mga organisasyong pang-komunidad na pang-migrante sa buhay ng mga migranteng manggagawa? Sa iyong pagtingin, ano ang dapat na huwaring organisasyong pang-migrante?
9. Sa iyong pagtingin, ano ang papel na ginagampanan ng mga organisasyong pang-komunidad na pang-migrante sa aktibismo ng mga migranteng manggagawa? Dapat bang makilahok sa aktibismo ang mga organisasyong pang-migrante?
10. Noong nasa Pilipinas ka, may mga karanasan ka ba sa aktibismo? May mga edukasyong pang-pulitikal ba? Na may kurikulum ng aktibista? Pakipaliwanag ang iyong mga karanasan at ano ang naramdaman mo bilang isa sa nakasama dito.
11. Ano ang iyong pag-unawa at karanasan sa mga edukasyong pang-pulitikal at aktibista?
12. Pakilarawan ang laman ng kurikulum ng edukasyong pang-pulitikal at aktibista, na narasan mo sa organisasyong pang-migrateng ito. Anong naramdaman mo sa nilalaman nito?
13. Ano pang klaseng gawaing pang-edukasyong ang narasan mo sa organisasyong pang-migranteng ito)? Pakilarawan ang iyong karanasan at naramdaman sa pagsali dito.

**Appendix G:
Interview Questions for Filipina Migrant Center Staff**



**UNIVERSITY OF
SAN FRANCISCO**

School of Education

Title of

Study: The Educational Dimensions of Filipina Migrant Workers' Activist Identities

Investigator:

Name: Rowena Tomaneng Dept: International MulticulturalEducation 650-743-9349 Phone: 9349

Interview Questions (Filipino Migrant Center Staff)

1. What are the issues you have experienced as a Filipina migrant/immigrant? Why do you think you experience these issues?
 2. How do you define activism? Do you consider yourself to be an activist? Why or why not? Please explain.
 3. What inspired/inspires your activism? How, when, and where did you learn to be an activist?
 4. What kinds of activism related activities have you participated and who else was involved?
 5. Why do you participate in community-based migrant centers such as this one? Why have you chosen this migrant center to participate? What is your role in this migrant center?
 6. In this migrant center, what kinds of activities have you participated in? Please describe your experience with these activities. How did you feel about this activities and your participation in them?

7. In your view, what role do community-based migrant centers play in migrant workers' lives? In your view, what would be the ideal migrant center?
8. In your view, what role do community-based migrant centers play in migrant workers' activism? Should migrant centers engage in activism?
9. What is your perception of and experience with political education and activist education? Have you been impacted by any particular curriculum? Please explain.

**Appendix H:
Diwang Pinay Program Zine**



RISE RESIST UNITE 2017

DWARANG PINAY



JOURNEYS OF RESISTANCE



Act I
 SKIT
 The Bakery Workers
 Gloria, Grace, Teresa, Marann Linda

Act II
 SKIT
 The Caregiver
 Lorena, Michelle, Lola Mel, Agent, Patient
 POEM
 Take a Risk
 SONG
 Himig Ng Pag-Ibig

Act III
 SKIT
 The Bakery Workers Fight Back
 Gloria, Grace, Teresa, Mar' am Linda
 SONG
 Face Everything and Rise
 SKIT
 Dark Times Ahead

Act III
 SKIT
 The Workers Unite
 Teresa, Lorena, Grace
 POEM
 Rise Resist Unite
 SONG
 Hawak Kamay (Tribute to Parents)

Closing Performance

Welcome

Welcome to our joint cultural showcase *Diwang Pinay: Journeys of Resistance!* *Diwang Pinay*, or Spirit of the Filipina, is a national project of GABRIELA-USA put on by different GABRIELA organizations all over the United States to tell the stories of Filipina women from the community to the community. We collected transcripts, letters, and poems from Filipina migrant women through a series of house visit interviews and workshops. We used their words to craft a script based on their journeys of growth and resistance. Most of us aren't professional actors or playwrights or directors. We are Filipina migrant woman workers and/or Filipina-American women-united by our desire to tell the stories of our struggles, challenges, and victories through writing, singing, poetry, acting and dance.

Our production highlights issues that the Filipino community faces back home in the Philippines and abroad as migrants. Two recent events make this show and the theme *Journeys of Resistance* particularly timely: NBC's cancelled *Mail Order Family* sitcom and mass deportations under a hostile Trump administration. In October 2016, GABRIELA-USA and MIGRANTE successfully called for the cancellation of NBC's comedy show *Mail Order Family* about a widower living in the United States who purchases a mail order bride from the Philippines. The would-be show not only perpetuated the stereotype of Filipina women as servile commodities, but also disregarded the reasons why people are forced to migrate away from the Philippines, the violent reality of human trafficking, and the government-programmed export of Filipinos to countries all over the world as cheap labor.

Today in 2017, the undocumented segment of the Filipino community lives in fear of mass deportations. Parents toss and turn at night due to their worries, afraid to go to work or send their children to school in the morning for fear of their families being ripped apart. Although undocumented migrants contribute to the economy by working the most low-paying, labor-intensive jobs in the agriculture, food, and service industries, they face unsafe working conditions, wage theft, and constant threats of deportation from their employers. Migration is a human right. People deserve to find a livelihood to help their families survive.

Thus, we dedicate this year's production to the *Journeys of Resistance* of Filipino migrants, of whom over 6,000 leave the Philippines every day due to prevalent poverty, landlessness, and joblessness. In particular, we want to honor the continued resistance and resilience of Filipino women, who make up the majority of the people who leave the Philippines to help their families survive. They endure discrimination and racism, predatory agencies and traffickers, sexism, physical and sexual violence, and inhumane working conditions all to provide for a better life back home.

Finally, this show would not have been possible without the support of our communities. Thank you to all of our volunteers who helped with designing this beautiful program zine, set-up, clean-up, ushering, registration, concessions, tabling, and parking. Thank you to the Carrie Hamilton Theatre at The Pasadena Playhouse for hosting our community production. Thank you to all of our sponsors and endorsers for making this show happen. And thank you for showing your support by filling the seats in this playhouse and watching our production to hear our stories firsthand!

Enjoy the cultural showcase tonight, but know that the struggles don't stop here. We hope to see you laugh, cry, get angry, sad, hopeful as you sit in the audience. But we hope the seed of those feelings in your hearts blossoms into a desire to get organized, join a grassroots organization, heal and share our stories with one another, and take collective action to defend our communities and our rights. Let's build people power to solve the problems we see in our society and make meaningful change together!

— Members of GABRIELA Los Angeles & MIGRANTE Southern California

Gabriela LA

GABRIELA LA is a grassroots organization serving Filipinas in the Los Angeles community through education, organizing, campaigns, and cultural work. GABRIELA LA is part of GABRIELA in the Philippines, a Filipina women's alliance founded in 1984 with more than 200 organizations, institutions, desks and programs of women seeking to defend the rights and welfare of all oppressed Filipino women and children.

info@gabriela.org
 facebook.com/gabrielaosangeles
 gabriela.org

Migrante

MIGRANTE Southern California is an organization committed to defending and advancing the rights and welfare of Filipino Im/migrant workers around the world. MIGRANTE Southern California is part of Migrante International, which was founded in 1995 and has over 200 member-organizations in over 23 countries, making it the biggest organization of overseas Filipinos all over the world.

migrantesocial@gmail.com
 facebook.com/migsocial
 migrantinternational.org

One Billion Rising Dance

Members of GABRIELA Los Angeles and Migrante Southern California will come together during the program to dance One Billion Rising. Launched five years ago on February 14, 2012, One Billion Rising is part of a global campaign that brings people together from across the world to rise against violence against women. Statistics have revealed that 1 in 3 women in the world will be beaten or raped during her lifetime, adding up to one billion women and girls. GABRIELA Los Angeles and Migrante Southern California calls on family, friends, and supporters to join the campaign and use music, dance, and education to work together to end all forms of violence against women and work towards systemic change and justice in our community.



Minerva Vier – Director

Originally from Cebu, Philippines, Minerva Benedicto Vier is a Filipino-American actor, writer-director-producer, voiceover artist and sketch comedienne. She received her BFA in Film Studies from Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles and an MFA in Theater Arts at The Actors Studio Drama School in New York. As an actor, Minerva has appeared on tv in the Andrew Dice Clay comedy series on Showtime, DICE, on the Fox sitcom, New Girl, on the daytime dramas, *The Young & the Restless* and *General Hospital*, on-stage, and in many plays for Center Theater Group, Casa 001, Playwrights Arena, Will & Company and Latino Theater Company among others. As a writer-producer, Minerva has penned and produced the plays *Stateline girls*, *Marine and Lucky*, *An American Bridesque Tragedy*, as well as the short films *The Spedale* and *Her Man* and the webseries, *Wingin' It*. She also works as an on-camera and voiceover talent for commercials. At home, she is the mama to a handful of the cutest rescue dogs and kitties.

Ermita "Nene" Alabado – Maram Linda

Ermita R. Alabado was born in Isabela Negros Occidental. She's the fifth out of seven children. She is married to "Tolo" Alabado and they have three kids. She has been in the U.S. for five years. She worked as a kitchen supervisor in the Philippines and at Lamande Bakery. She is currently working as a nanny.

Gabrielle Sibal – Patient – Music Ensemble

Gabrielle is a community organizer with GABRIELA Los Angeles. She writes, sings (and raps, maybe), amateur voice acts, and reads as outlets for her creativity and enthusiastic energy for social movements, people power, and collective action. Gabrielle is honored to organize in a movement that celebrates the legacy of strength, softness, and versatility of Filipino women, throughout history and today.

Judy Alba – Gloria

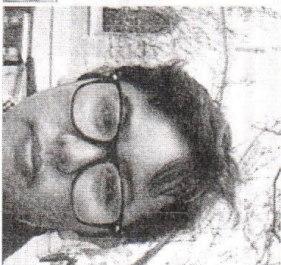
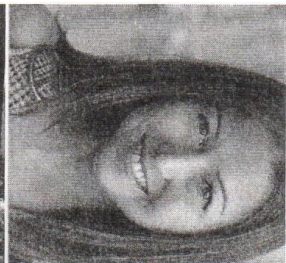
Judy Alba was born in Ginoog City, Misamis Oriental, Philippines. She graduated with a Bachelor's of science in Elementary Education in 1991. She worked in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia from 1992 till 2000 as a caretaker. She came home to the Philippines but on 2010, she applied to work to the U.S. as a hotel worker. She's currently working as a caregiver and is a member of Migrante Los Angeles.

Karen Roxas – Grace – Musician (Guitar)

Karen Roxas was born in Manila, Philippines. She immigrated to the US with her family when she was 13 years old. She attended colleges in University of California, Los Angeles and graduated with a Bachelors of Arts in Sociology. She interned at Filipino Migrant Center as Health Education Intern, then switched to assisting with wage theft and human trafficking case work after. She currently works at Sequoia Innovations as an Administrative Secretary and Insurance Business Manager, and organizes with Migrante Los Angeles after work hours.

Louise Jean Luis – Actor, Vocalist – Lorena / Caregiver

Louise Luis was born in Manila to a single mother and was raised by her grandmother in the beautiful town of Quezon City. Louise is a survivor of labor trafficking. She is now engaged in civic life, actively involved with workers' rights, and is finishing school in Child Development Studies in LA and working at the Unified School District in Montebello and Torrance. She is fulfilling her journey of resistance.



Above (Top-Right): Minerva Vier, Ermita "Nene" Alabado and Gabrielle Sibal

Above (Top-Left): Judy Alba, Karen Roxas and Louise Jean Luis

Cast

Mariell Abad – Michelle / Daughter
Mariell Abad moved from Cavite, Philippines to Carson, CA almost two years ago. She is a Junior at Carson High School and an active member of Filipino Reaching for Engagement and Empowerment (FREEE) and a youth volunteer of Filipino Migrant Center (FMC).

Nikole Cababa – Agent – Musician (Guitar)
Nikole Cababa is a community organizer and member of Gabriela Los Angeles. She became involved with Gabriela in 2014 because of their campaign to end violence against women, and now serves as the mass campaign's coordinator. She is also the Deputy Secretary General of BAYAN USA, an alliance of 20 progressive and anti-imperialist Filipino organizations.

Xenia Arriola – Lola Mei – Music Ensemble
Xenia is an active member of GABRIELA L.A. She serves as a recreation specialist for Long Beach Unified School District and teaches private music lessons on the side. She has finished the music applied program at Long Beach City College and has assisted the LBCC music program as a student piano accompanist. She has also received her Bachelor of Arts in Music performance from Whittier College and performed in monthly musicals and recitals. Xenia hopes to one day open a non-profit organization that offers music and arts classes to the community.

Xenia Tupas – Teresa – Music Ensemble
Xenia Tupas worked with non-governmental organizations and rural communities on human rights, land rights and sustainable rural development issues for more than 30 years in Negros Island in the Philippines. At 59, she is a caregiver in the Los Angeles area and more than 7000 miles away from her three children and their growing families.

Supporting Cast – Janelle Viray, Terrie Cervas, and Theresa Jaranilla

Music Ensemble – Alliana Belidhon, Carnille Alabado, Donna Belidhon, Hiyas Saturday, Megan Foronda, Manchie Caliboso, Mariah Oca, Minna Belidhon and Paula Abad

Crew

Hiyas Saturday – Stage Manager
Marijo Perpeña – Assistant Stage Manager
Kim Sazon – Tech and Videographer
Jedi Jimenez and Juan Pablo Guevara – Sound/Tech Visual
Rochelle Lingat – Lights



Above (Top-Bottom)
Mariell Abad and Nikole Cababa

Above (Top-Bottom)
Xenia Arriola and Xenia Tupas

Steering

Terrie Cervas (Head), Annalou Lingat, Bev Tang
Gabrielle Sibal, Janelle Viray, Karen Roxas
Megan Foronda, Nikole Cababa, Theresa Jaranilla

Logistics

Gabrielle Sibal (Co-Head), Janelle Viray (Co-Head)
Miliynn Mapalo, Strach Fortuna

Program

Megan Foronda (Co-Head), Terrie Cervas (Co-Head)
Diandre Fuentes, Hiyas Saturday
Theresa Jaranilla, Xenia Arriola

Script-Writing (Sub-Committee)

Theresa Jaranilla (Head), Gabrielle Sibal, Hiyas Saturday
Karen Roxas, Marjo Pempera, Megan Foronda
Minerva Vier, Xenia Arriola

Music (Sub-Committee)

Megan Foronda (Co-Head)
Xenia Arriola (Co-Head)
Menchie Caliboso

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Act I
Act II
Act III

**Act I-POEM
Take A Risk**

I have to take the risk
350,000 pesos
the agency is selling us

I have to take the risk
One month I only received \$8000
We are working 24 hours. I realize I am in trouble.
Everything trembles

I have to take the risk
Get everything and get out!

I have to take the risk
Don't use the telephone!
She don't want to release me. I don't even eat
And you just tell them that you're ok?

I have to take the risk
Of course it's hard.
But if I think of the future of my children,
That's the reason I decided to come here

We took the risk

**Act I-SONG
Himig Ng Pag-Ibig**

(Tagalog)
Hoo-hoo-hoo hoo-hoo
Hoh-hoh-hoo hoo-hoo

Sa pagssapit ng dilim akoy naghinhintay pa rin
Sa iyong maagang pagdating
Pagkat ako'y nababalisa kung 'di ka kapiling
Bawat sandali mahalaga sa akin.

Tulad ng ibong malaya ang pag-ibig natin
Tulad ng langit na kay sarap marating
Ang bawat tibok ng puso'y kay sarap damhin
Tulad ng himig na kay sarap awitin.

Chorus 1
Nan nanana nan nanana nan nanana nan nanan!
Nana nana nana nanan!
Nan nanana nan nanana na!
Nana nana na!
Nan nanana nan nanana nan nanana nan nanan!
Nan nanana nana nanan!
Nan nanana nan nanana na!
Nana nana na!

At ngayon ikaw ay nagpakik sa akin galing
Luna ng pag-ibig kay sarap hapusin
Tulad ng tubig sa batis hinahagkan ng hangin
Pag-tibig ang liaw sa dibuy natin.

Tulad ng ibong malaya ang pag-ibig natin
Ang tibok ng puso'y kay sarap marating
Langit man ay na-is niyang marating!
Ang bawat tibok ng puso'y kay sarap damhin
Ang tibok ng puso!
Tulad ng himig ng pag-ibig natin.
Tulad ng himig ng pag-ibig!

Chorus 2
La lala lala
[Na na na na na nanan]
[Nana nana nana nanan]
La lala lala
[Na na na na na nanan]
[Nana nana na!
La lala lala la la

(English)
Hoo-hoo-hoo hoo-hoo
Hoh-hoh-hoo hoo-hoo

I'm still waiting until dusk
For your early return
I'm troubled without you
Every moment is important for us

Our love is like a free bird
So sweet to reach like heaven
Every beat of our heart is so romantic
Like a song so delicate to sing

Chorus 1
Nan nanana nan nanana nan nanana nan nanan!
Nana nana nana nanan!
Nan nanana nan nanana na!
Nana nana na!
Nan nanana nan nanana nan nanana nan nanan!
Nan nanana nana nanan!
Nan nanana nan nanana na!
Nana nana na!

And now that your back to my arms
Tears of love so sweet to touch
Like fresh water kissed by the wind
Love is the light in our lives

Our love is like a free bird
(free bird)
So sweet to reach like heaven
(Heaven is his/her wish)
Every beat of our heart is so romantic
(Every heartbeat)
Like a song so delicate to sing
(Like a hymn of love)

Chorus 2
La lala lala
[Na na na na na nanan]
[Nana nana nana nanan]
La lala lala
[Na na na na na nanan]
[Nana nana na!
La lala lala la la

Act II-POEM
Fight Another Day

Over there, everything is fresh.
Unlike here, everything is frozen.
Here you're not even done earning and
your wage is already gone.
Sa pilipinas, ang hawak ko lang ay
notebook, bolpen
I was working as a teacher. I was qualified.
I never felt in the Philippines what it was like to
be a squatter. But I left. It here
in America.

My life was all work.
Bahay, trabaho, Trabaho, bahay.
Wandering around the streets between
to bid time.
Work, wander, work.

"Sir, what will I do with extra money if paalay
na paalay ang ketawen ko?
I had not earned any pay even though I worked
over eight hours a day for a week.

Ang hiap, Ako ang naglilinis
ng buong bahay—
Clean the toilet. When you're done, wash
your hands.
Okay, stop that now and wash all
the dishes.

Clean the Kitchen.
Take him to the bathroom.
Bathe him, dress him, feed him, carry him.
I cared for him. I did the work of
muscle people.

We never say no, that's what I notice
with Filipinos.
May utang na loob ako
I was so naive.

We were offered to different employers.
I felt like I'm a slave.
I couldn't eat. I couldn't sleep.
Each night I drink Nyquil to dull myself.
I want it to be night.
I want it to be dark.

It was like we were not inspired before,
only living to not die, existing only
if I die here. I just thought, if I die here, I
can't see my children anymore.

I imagine the faces of my children
I have to stay strong for my family, for sure
I have to stay strong for my family.

My employer tried to get my papers
from me, keep me hostage.

I didn't let her.
I reached my limit at Lumakas ang loob ko,
that's when I said
This is it. I will leave this place.

Tama na.
Ayoko na.
Hindi ko na kaya.

I really fought for it.
I was able to know my rights, that
undocumented people have rights, too
Now I'm not anymore afraid.

Before, I just bowed my head all the time.
Now, I know.
I got smarter.
I struggled and came out stronger.
I can answer and say something
back to them.

They said, you just used him.
I said, no, you used me.
I can say no, Karapatan ko.

It's me who left.
It's me who has the strongest will
I imagine the faces of my children and it
is no longer right.
It is no longer darkness.
And I know I can fight another day.
Together we can fight another day.

Act I
Act II
Act III

Act II – SONG
Rise Everything And Rise

(Tagalog)

Verse 1

Times are tough, I know you're tired
I know what you are going through
I feel your pain and your sorrow
I'm right beside you, one with you

Just as the sun rises after the storm
Pagkakarapog ng bagyo, siskat din ang araw
Lahat problema may solusyon

Pre-Chorus

Hindi ka naglisa
Lahat tayo magkakarapog
Di naman ibig sabihin na
Kapag nasa ilalim kany doon ka nalang

Chorus

Face everything and rise
Believe in yourself
Rise above the tough times
We've got each other when we need help

Verse

Don't give up hope, we can break this bind
We'll take it one day at a time
If you need to cry, I'll be here
Through community we can heal

Just as the sun rises after the storm
Pagkakarapog ng bagyo, siskat din ang araw
Lahat problema may solusyon

Pre-chorus

Hindi ka naglisa
Lahat tayo magkakarapog
Di naman ibig sabihin na
Kapag nasa ilalim kany doon ka nalang

Chorus

Face everything and rise
Believe in yourself
Rise above the tough times
We've got each other when we need help

Bridge

Huwag susuko, huwag matakot
Freedom is close, we will struggle through
Dahil darating din ang magandang bukas

Chorus x2

Face everything and rise
Believe in yourself
Rise above the tough times
We've got each other when we need help

(English)

Verse 1

Times are tough, I know you're tired
I know what you are going through
I feel your pain and your sorrow
I'm right beside you, one with you

Just as the sun rises after the storm
When the storm is over, a new day rises
All problems have a solution

Pre-Chorus

You are not alone
We are all together
It doesn't mean that
If we are at the bottom, we will always stay there

Chorus

Face everything and rise
Believe in yourself
Rise above the tough times
We've got each other when we need help

Verse

Don't give up hope, we can break this bind
We'll take it one day at a time
If you need to cry, I'll be here
Through community we can heal

Just as the sun rises after the storm
When the storm is over, a new day rises
All problems have a solution

Pre-chorus

You are not alone
We are all together
It doesn't mean that
If we are at the bottom, we will always stay there

Chorus

Face everything and rise
Believe in yourself
Rise above the tough times
We've got each other when we need help

Bridge

Don't give up, don't be afraid
Freedom is close, we will struggle through
Because a beautiful tomorrow will come

Chorus x2

Face everything and rise
Believe in yourself
Rise above the tough times
We've got each other when we need help

Written by Camille and Erika Alabado, Aliana, Donna, Mirna, and Jennie Belthony,
Merche Calhoso, Megan Foronda, Rida, Tobi Galang, Xenia Tupas, Minerva Vier
Music by Merche Calhoso and Megan Foronda

Act II
Act III
Act III

Act III - POEM Rise Resist Unite

In my dreams, I have returned to the land of
the ripe mango sun,
Where the roosters shake their proud red crests,
beat their emerald wings,
and crow for a new day.

We have journeyed together,
Pagod na kami sa aring paglalakbay
Masakit ang paa namin
Our feet are weary and our calves ache
Our journeys of resistance have been
long and tiring but
we have dreamed of our tomorrows together.

I dream of paved streets and a clear blue sky,
free from gray clouds of smog,
Sa aking pangarap nagtatrabaho
mananggawa at magsasaka para sa buyan
I dream of a country where workers and farmers
work side-by-side,
Contributing their knowledge to further
their nation
With minerals mined, combined, and formed
With crops, plentiful and abundant,
ready for harvest
Our riches will be protected from the greedy
grasp of foreign nations
I dream of a country where there is enough for all
Hangad ko'y isang buyan kung saan may sapat
para sa lahat

I dream of living in my country without
being forced to leave
Kung saan hindi na kailangang umalis
upang maghanap-buhay
I wish for fathers to stay at home,
to read to his children, share the burden of
the housework
For mothers to hold their children close and
watch them grow
Instead of sending them off to faraway nations
With tearful waves goodbye
Na mayakap ang ating mga anak,
Maaruga at mapalaki
Sa halip na luhang pinaghhiwalay
Nitong marahas na lipunan

I dream of a time when there is a plug in the
brain drain of the nation
Hindi na kailangan umalis ang mga
doktor at nar
Malunus na nila, mga sakti ng sambayanan

When our doctors and nurses stay in our country
in the hospitals to treat disease, illness, and
injury for all who need care

When our architects and engineers
build factories and highways
Nagtatrabaho ang mga siyentipiko
Sa bagay lab para maglikha ng
bagong teknolohiya

Scientists work
in laboratories to create new technology and
clean energy

Musikeroy kakanta, ng mga awit ng paglaya
Mga alagad ng singing ay magpipinta
Ng isang bagong bukas

Musicians will sing, artists will paint a new
and bright future
Students sitting in desks in neat aisles with
eager brown arms shooting up
to answer questions about their people's history,
to claim their futures

I rise to see the dreams of liberation
for women come true
I rise to demand all that is missing
from the motherland
Mga lathanan, shelter for everyone
Mabuting kaunugan,
Good health for all
Lupa para sa mga magsasaka
Free education
Land to till,
Plentiful jobs

Sapat at nakabubuhay na sahod
To heal the nation from the chains of poverty
Together, we rise for lasting peace with justice
Together, we resist corruption and repression
In our government
Together, we unite for our families, for the
freedom of our nation!

Act III - SONG Hawak Kamay

(Tagalog)
Minsan madarama mo kay bigat ng problema
Minsan mahihirapan ka at magsasabing 'di
ko makakaya?
Tumingin ka lang sa langit
Baka sakaling may masumpungang
Di kayo akoy lawagin
Malalaman mong kahit kailan

Hawak-kamay
Di kita iwan sa paglalakbay
Dito sa mundong walang katyakan
Hawak-kamay
Di kita bibitawan sa paglalakbay
Sa mundo ng kawalan

Minsan madarama mo
Ang mundo'y gumuhos sa lalim ng yong mga
paa
At ang agos ng problema'y tinalangy ka
Tumingin ka lang sa langit
Baka sakaling may masumpungang
Di kayo akoy lawagin
Malalaman mong kahit kailan

Hawak-kamay
Di kita iwan sa paglalakbay
Dito sa mundong walang katyakan
Hawak-kamay
Di kita bibitawan sa paglalakbay
Sa mundo ng kawalan

Wag mong sabihin mag-iisa ka
Laging isipin meron kang kasama
Narito ako oh, Narito ako
Sa mundo ng kawalan
Hawak-kamay, Hawak-kamay
Sa mundo ng kawalan

Written by Yeng Constantino

(English)
Sometimes you'll feel
The problems are so heavy
Sometimes you'll have a hard time
And say you can't go on
Just look up at the sky
There might be something to hold on to
Or you can call me
And you'll know anytime

Hold my hand
I won't leave you in your journey
In this world of uncertainty
Just hold my hand
I won't let you go alone in this journey
In the world of nothingness

Sometimes you'll feel
The world is crumbling under your feet
And the tide of problems
Are taking you away

Just look up at the sky
There might be something to hold on to
Or you can call me
And you'll know anytime

Hold my hand
I won't leave you in your journey
In this world of uncertainty
Just hold my hand
I won't let you go alone in your journey
In the world of nothingness

Do not say you are alone
Always think there's someone with you
I am here, I am here

Hold my hand
I won't leave you in your journey
In this world of uncertainty
Just hold my hand
I won't let you go alone in this journey
In the world of nothingness

With hands held
With hands held
With hands held
With hands held

In the world of nothingness

Curtain Call

Act I
Act III
Act III

Curtain Call

Curtain Call

Act I
Act III
Act III

Curtain Call

JOURNEYS OF RESISTANCE

MARY JANE

One you look for your sons
 Almost look your life
 You were used, abused
 By those you trusted
 Then neglected
 By the government!

But those who look the same journey
 Will always fight for you.

ALDA

It starts from the heart of your people's land
 A journey of displacement
 And a struggle to reclaim
 What is rightfully yours

RECCA

A decision to fight
 Among the most oppressed
 A step that others might never imagine
 But is the only choice
 For those who face
 The worst violence of the state

EDEN

The hundreds of journeys
 To defend human rights
 That led to your last...

And continued
 By your daughters,
 Comrades
 And the people you have touched.

Above and Opposite
 Hiyas Saturday "Journeys of Resistance"



Appendix I:
Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino (Tagalog, Brochure Version)

ay bunga ng pandaigdigang sitwasyon ng paghahari ng imperyalismo at pagpapahirap nito sa maraming mga bansa. Layunin ng IMA na pagbuklurin ang mga organisasyon ng mga migrante at mga taga-sporta para sa karapatan at kagalingan ng migrante at para sa pagtigil sa komodipikasyon ng mga migrante manggagawa.

7. Ang International League of People's Struggles (ILPS)

Ang International League of People's Struggle (ILPS) ay pandaigdigang pormasyong anti-imperyalista ng mga pangmasang organisasyon mula sa iba't ibang bansa. Itinatag noong 2001, nakilala sa dagdig ang ILPS sa kanyang paelaban upang gapin ang imperyalismo, sa pangunguna ng US, at ang mga polisiya nito sa iba't ibang bansa tulad ng Pilipinas.

Sa pamamagitan ng ILPS Study Commission on Concern No. 16 (On Migrants, Refugees, Homeless and Displaced Peoples), binubukod nito ang iba't ibang pangmasang organisasyon at mass-based na mga NGOs upang palalimin pa ang mga isyu ng migrasyon at gayundin ay maglunsad ng mga nagkaka-isang pagkilos para dito. Aktibong isinusulong ng ILPS Study Commission on Concern No. 16 ang paghubo ng isang International Migrants Alliance na bubuain ng mga organisasyon ng migrante ng iba't ibang lahi.

8. Mga institusyon na nagse-serbisyo sa migrante

May mga NGOs at institusyon na nariyan upang magbigay ng tulong sa mga migrante na kasyal na nangangailangan. Bukod pa rito, mayroon din silang mga programa na ang pangunahing layunin ay tumulong sa pagtatayo at pagpapalakas ng mga pangmasang organisasyon at aliyansa ng mga migrante.

Nangunguna sa mga institusyon na ito ang Mission for Filipino Migrant Workers o Mission na kabiliang sa mayor na programa ang paralegal counseling at pag-tulong sa mga kaso ng migrante. Gayundin, nagsasagaw rin ng mga pang-edukasyon at pagsasamay ang Mission sa layunin na palakasin pa ang mga orghnasyon ng migrante sa Hong Kong. Ang Mission ay mayroon ding programa sa shelter—ang Bethune House Migrant Women's Refuge para sa mga na-terminate at walang ma-tirahan.

Samantala, ang Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM) ay may programa ng edukasyon, serbisyo, at pag-oorganisa sa iba pang bansa sa rehiyon Asya Pasipiko tulad ng Macau, Taiwan, South Korea, Australia, Japan, at mga bansa sa Middle East tulad ng Saudi Arabia at UAE.

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Kursong Oryentasyon para sa mga Migranteng Pilipino

Inilalabas ang dokumentong ito bilang bahagi ng ating layunin na organisadhin ang pinakamalawak na bilang ng mga Pilipino sa labas ng bansa. Inililinaw sa kursong ito ang katangian at kalagayan ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat, ang kaunsiyong ping-ungad na sapilitang migrasyon ng mga Pilipino, ang tungkulin ng progresibong kilusan ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat at pamilya nito, at ang mga organisasyon at iba't ibang pormasyon na nagsisulong ng karapatan at kagalingan ng mga migranteng Pilipino at pamilya.

Ang kurso na ito ay ibinibigay sa lahat ng mga kasapi ng mga organisasyon sa ilalim ng progresibong kilusan ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat at pamilya. Bilang oryentasyon, ibinibigay ito sa pinakamagandang panahon ng pagrekluta ng kasapi ng mga pangmasang organisasyon o mga aliyansa.



1

Balangkas

I. Ang nakararaming migranteng Pilipino ay naghihirap, inaapi at pinagsasamantalahan.

A. Ano ang katangian at kalagayan ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat?

B. Paano naghihirap, inaapi at pinagsasamantalahan ang migranteng Pilipino?

K. Walang pag-aasang makabalik at mamuhay ng disente kasama ng pamilya ang migranteng Pilipino habang may malawakan at pwersakang migrasyon.

II. Saan ba nagmumula ang malawakan at pwersang migrasyong ng mga Pilipino.?

A. Ang sosyo-ekonomikong sitwasyon sa Pilipinas

B. Ang Labor Export Policy (LEP)

III. Ang pagkakamit ng tunay na pagbabago sa lipunan at pagtatayo ng isang malaya, demokratiko at masaganang Pilipinas ang sagot sa problema ng migrante at ng malakawan at pwersakang migrasyon.

A. Kailangang resobahin ang ugat ng dahilan ng malawakan at pwersakang migrasyon ng mga Pilipino upang ito ay mawakasan.

B. Bakit at paano tinitignan ang mga pang-araw-araw na isyu ng karapatan at kagalingan ng mga migrante?

K. Walang pag-aasang makabalik at mamuhay ng disente kasama ng pamilya ang migranteng Pilipino habang may malawakan at pwersakang migrasyon

IV. Ang progresibong kilusan ng migranteng Pilipino at ang tungkulin nito.

A. An-ano ang mga tungkulin ng progresibong kilusan ng migranteng Pilipino at pamilya nito?

B. Sinu-sino ang bumuhos sa progresibong kilusan ng migranteng Pilipino at pamilya sa Pilipinas?

Nota:

Ibinibigay ang Kursong Oryentasyon para sa Migranteng Pilipino sa loob ng isa at kalahati hanggang dalawang oras.

2

3. Ang Migrant International

Ang Migrant International ay tanging pandaigdigang alyansa ng mga organisasyon ng Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat at pamilya sa Pilipinas. Ang Migrant International ang nangungunang pormasyon sa pagpapakilos sa mga migranteng Pilipino sa buong daigdig upang labanan ang iba't ibang polisiya na umaatake sa karapatan at kagalingan ng mga migranteng manggagawa.

4. Ang Migrant Sectoral Party

Ang Migrant Sectoral Party o MSP ay itinatag sa pangunguna ng Migrant International upang isulong ang paglalaran para sa mga karapatan at kagalingan ng mga migranteng Pilipino at pamilya sa larangan elektoral. Simula 2003, mabilis na natayo at nakapagpalapad ang MSP sa iba't ibang mga bansa kung saan may konsentrasyon ng mga migrante at gayundin ay sa iba't ibang rehiyon sa Pilipinas.

Ang MSP ay patuloy sa masigasig na lobbying work sa loob ng Kongreso upang pigilan ang mga batas at polisiya na nakasasama sa mga migranteng Pilipino. Gayundin, sa pamamagitan ng pakikipagtulungan sa mga alyadong partylist, katulong ang MSP sa pagbabalangkas ng mga batas na makakapagpaluwag ng sitwasyon ng mga Pilipino sa labas ng bansa.

5. Ang Asian Migrants Coordinating Body (AMCB)

Ang Asian Migrants Coordinating Body (AMCB) ang pormasyon ng mga organisasyon ng mga migrante ng iba't ibang nasyunalidad sa Hong Kong (Pilipino, Indonesian, Thai, Sri Lankan at Nepali). Ito ang pangunahing nagkakampanya hinggil sa karapatan at kagalingan ng mga migranteng manggagawa sa Hong Kong tulad ng isyu ng wage cut at levy. Nagtutulungan din ang mga kasapi ng organisasyon nito sa iba't ibang kampanya ng bawat organisasyon.

6. Ang International Migrants Alliance (IMA)

Ang IMA ay isang pandaigdigang pormasyon ng mga organisasyon ng migrante ng iba't ibang lahi. May presensya ng mga kasapi ng IMA sa halos lahat ng rehiyon sa buong mundo. Itinatag ito noong 2008 sa Hong Kong at pinangunahan ng mismong mga migranteng manggagawa.

Binubuklod ng IMA ang pinamalawak na seksyon ng mga migranteng organisasyon na naninindigan na ang kasalukuyang pwersakang migrasyon

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migrante ay gayundin ay mga kampanyang pambansa ang saklaw.

Kabilang din sa ating tungkulin ang pakikipag-ugnayan sa mga migrante ng iba't ibang nasyunalidad at mga progresibong kilusang manggagawa sa iba't ibang bansa upang ipaglaban ang pangkalahatang karapatan at kaalangan ng mga manggagawang migrante sa bawat bansa at sa buong daigdig.

Tayo rin ay nakikisisa sa ginagawang paglaban ng mga lokal na union manggagawa at mamamayan para sa kanilang kapakanan. Sinusuportahan natin ang kanilang mga hangarin at pagkilos.

B. Sinu-sino ang bumubuo sa progresibong kilusan ng migranteng Pilipino at paninya sa Pilipinas.

1. Mga Pangmasang Organisasyon at Alyansa

Ang mga alyansa at pangmasang organisasyon ay ekspresyon ng organisadong pagkilos ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat.

Ang mga pangmasang organisasyon na itinatayo o tina-transporma mula sa pagiging tradisyunal, ay yaong may progresibong oryentasyon. Ito ang mga organisasyon na nagmumula, nagpapakilos, at nag-o-organisa sa mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat sa balangkas ng mga tungkulin ng progresibong kilusan.

Sa loob naman ng mga alyansa ay binubuklod ang iba't ibang mga organisasyon sa isang kumon na layunin. Maaring ang mga alyansa na ito ay taktikal o yaong tumutugon lamang sa kagaya't na isyu (Halimbawa: Coalition Against State Exaction o CAGE na laban sa sobrang singilin ng pamahalaan).

Mayroon ding mga alyansa na mas pangmatagalang ang batayan ng pagkakaisa. Ito ay maaaring alyansa ng mga organisasyon mula sa isang probinsya o rehiyon sa Pilipinas o kaya ay alyansa ng mga organisasyon na may isang interes.

2. Ang United Filipinos in Hong Kong

Ang United Filipinos in Hong Kong (UNIFL-HK) ay itinatag noong May 1983 sa rurok ng paglaban ng mga Pilipino sa dikadadurayang Marcos kasabay ng paglaban sa mga di-makatarungang polisiya nito sa mga migrante. Ito ang kumakatawan sa pinaka-progresibo at militanteng seksyon ng migrante sa Hong Kong.

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1. Ang nakararaming migranteng Pilipino ay naghihirap, inaapi at pinagsasamantalahan



A. Ano ang katangian at kalagayan ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat?

Ang mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat ay isang sektor ng lipunang Pilipino. Sa pagtatapos 2010, mahigit 11.2 milyong Pilipino ang nakakalat sa 239 bansa sa daigdig. Ito ay 28% ng kabuuang lakas-paggawa sa bansa. Noong Oktubre 2011, may 1.35 milyong Pilipino ang lumabas sa bansa na mas mataas ng 5.3% sa nakararang taon. Kung isasama ang paninya ng mga migrante, masasabing 30–40% ng mga Pilipino ay naka-depende sa pagtata-trabaho sa labas ng bansa ang kinabuhay.

Ang karamihan sa mga migranteng Pilipino ay mula sa uring magsasaka, manggagawa at mga propesyunal. Dahil sa problema ng kawalan ng lupa at mga usaping kaugnay nito, disempleyo, kakulangan ng sweldo, at kawalan ng seguridad sa trabaho, napipilitan silang mangibang-bayan para mabuhay at bumuhay ng paninya.

Higit pa sa bilang, ang pagiging sektor ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat at ang kanyang paninya ay nakabatay din sa pagiging kumon ng mga usapin at suliraning kanilang kinakaharap. Kinakaharap ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat ang usapin sa pagtugon sa pangangailangan ng paninya, sahod, katayakan

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ng hanapbuhay, diskriminasyon, pang-aabusong pisikal, sekswal at mental at ang emosyonal, pisilohikal at sosyal na epikto ng pagkawalay sa pamilya.

Nahahati sa dalawang mayor na kategorya ang mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat —yaong mga pansamantalala lamang (migrante) at yaong mga permante nang naninirahan sa labas ng bansa (immigrante).

Sa dalawa, nakarami yaong mga migranteng mangagagawang Pilipino o mga Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs). Sila yaong mga nagtatrabaho sa pakrika, konstruksyon, barko, serbisyo, entertainment, upisina, ospital, at iba pa.

Mataking bahagdan ng mga migranteng mangagagawang Pilipino ay tinatawag din na mga undocumented (TNT sa Amerika, Bilog sa Japan, OS sa Hong Kong) o yaong mga walang legal na papeles. Dahil sa kanilang kundisyon, dumadanas sila ng higit pang mga pagsasamantala at pang-apani kumpara sa mga legal na OFWs.

Paparaming kababaihan ang natutulak ding mangibang-bayan na karaniwan ay para maging mga domestic helpers, au pair, o kaya ay entertainers. Ang pagami-migrante ng mga kababaihang Pilipino ay dahil na rin sa malalang siwasyon ng kababaihan sa Pilipinas at gayundin ay ang availability ng trabaho na stereotipe na pamabae. Mararami ding kababaihang migrante na nakasalalay ang pananatili sa ibang bansa bilang asawa ng banyaga o dili kaya ay mga mail order brides.

Samantala, ang mga Pilipino naman na permante nang naninirahan sa labas ng bansa ay nagmula rin sa pagiging mga migranteng mangagagawa. Dahil sa kolonisasyon at sa kaakibat nitong kasaysayan ng migrasyon, ang mga migranteng mangagagawa na ito ay nagpasya nang maging mga "citizens" ng ibang bansa. May iba na dinala na ang kanilang pamilya doon at mayroon din naman na doon na nagkapamilya.

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IV. Ang progressibong kilusan ng migranteng Pilipino at ang tungkulin nito



A ng progressibong kilusan ng mga migranteng Pilipino at pamilya ay binubuo ng mga pang-masang organisasyon, aliyansa at iba pang pormasyon na nagsusulong ng karapatan at kagalingan ng mga migranteng Pilipino at pamilya sa balangkas ng layunin ng tunay na pagbabago sa lipunang Pilipino. Ito ay mahigpit na nakakawing at naka-ugnay sa mga progressibong organisasyon sa Pilipinas.

A. Anu-ano ang mga tungkulin ng progressibong kilusan ng migranteng Pilipino at pamilya?

A ng ating pangkalahatang tungkulin ay pukawin, organisahin at mobilisahin ang mga migranteng Pilipino para paglaban ang kanilang karapatan at kagalingan at mahinok silang sumuporta't lumahok sa makabayang kilusang pagbabago sa Pilipinas.

May dalawa itong magkakawing na bahagi - ang paglaban sa karapatan at kagalingan ng migrante at ang paghinok sa kanilang sumuporta't lumahok sa kilusang pagbabago. Ito'y di magkatungaling bahagi kundi magkakomplementaryo sa isa't isa. Hindi dapat sila pinaghhiwalay na parang maaring gawin ang isa nang hindi ginagawa ang kabiliang bahagi.

Upanag isulong ang tungkuling ito, naglulunsad ang kilusan ng mga kampanya sa loob at labas ng Pilipinas na nakatuon sa mga kaegyat na usaping pang-

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migrante — ang siyang nag-iiba dito sa ibang mga grupo. Pangkagalingan ng mga kasapi nito o di kaya ay paglulunsad ng mga proyektong pang-komunidad. Sa iyang mga pagkakatagan ay lumalabok din sila sa mga laban na nakatuok sa mga mayor na karapatan ng mga migrant, halimbawa, ang usapin ng pagkatalas ng sabbod.

Subalit may mga grupo din na inililigaw ang landas ng paglaban ng mga migranteng Pilipino patungo sa ekonomismo at reportismo. Sa unang tingin ay tipong nagbabandila sila ng progressibong mga kaisipan. Ngunit kung susuriin ang kanilang linya at praktika, makikita na kanila lamang tintingnan ang usapin ng migrasyon sa pang-ekonomiya nitong aspeto. Ibig sabihin, ang kwestyon lamang sa kanila ay paano matutugunan ang kagyat na mga pang-ekonomikong problema ng migrant. Kaya naman ang mayor na kanilang programang ipinatutupad ay mga livelihood projects, kooperatiba, re-integration, savings at kung ano-ano pang mga negosyo.

Hindi naman masama na biyang-pansin ang kaayat na pangangailangang pang-ekonomiya ng mga migrant. Sa katunayan, isa itong usapin ng karapatan at kagalingan. Subalit ang alisin ito, at masahol pa ay itatwa, sa konteksto ng pang-ekonomiya, pampolitika at panlipunang kalagayan ng Pilipinas ay malaking pamloko. Iimatwa ng linya ng mga grupong nabanggit ang usapin ng imperyalismo at mga urhing kasapkat nito sa Pilipinas at ang pagsasamantala ng mga ito sa mayorya ng sambuganan. Kaya nga hindi nakakapag-taka na mahulog ang kanilang mga panawagan sa usapin ng reporma at hindi pagbabago ng sistema.



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Sa hanay nila makikita ang pangalawa, pangatlo, o pang-apat na heneryasyong Pilipino (halimbawa ay F11Am sa Amerika, F11Can sa Canada, o F11Oz sa Australa).

Mayroon ding mga Pilipino na lumikas ng bansa dahil sa problemang sibil at pulitikal. Sila ang mga tinatawag na mga political refugees. Kabilang sa kanila ang mga refugees mula sa Mindanao na tumawid ng Sabah dahil sa digmaan sa kanilang lugar. Gayundin, nariryan ang mga naging political refugees dahil sa tinutugis ng gobyerno dahil sa kanilang pagtutlig sa mga polisya ng pamahalaan at paglahok sa kiuisan sa pagbabago ng lipunan. Laging nasa pangamb ang kanilang buhay at seguridad mula sa pamahalaan at galamay ng mga naghaharig uri.

Meron ding mga mitsunerong Pilipino at mga estudyante na pinadala ng pamhlya, ng pamahalaan o ng mga pribadong kumpanya upang mag-aral at mag-tryin sa labas. May mga mangilan-ngilan din na mga Pilipino na nasa mataas na posisyon sa mga transsyunal at multinasyunal na korporasyon. May mga Pilipino ding nasa mga konsulado at embahada o iba pang ahensya ng pamahalaan na nagpapatupad sa mga mapagsamantala at mapangigipit na patakaran at programa nito.

B. Paano naghihirap, pinagsasamantalan, at inaapi ang mga migranteng Pilipino?

Hindi maddali, maganda o masaya ang buhay ng mga migranteng Pilipino. Sila ay naghihirap, pinagsasamantalan at inaapi dahil sa patuloy at lumalalang problema sa Pilipinas, mga problema sa mga employer at banyagang bansa, paghihirap at mga usaping kaugnay ng pagkawalay sa



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panilya, pagsasamantala ng mga pribadong ahensya ng rekrutment, at ang pagpapabaya ng gobyerno kasabay ng sari-saring paninigi ng mga migranteng Pilipino.

1. Paglala ng krisis panlipunan sa Pilipinas

Isang katotohanan na ang karamihan sa mga migranteng Pilipino ay siyang tumatayong breadwinner sa pamilya. Sa kanila pangunahing umaasa ang pamilya para sa pantustos sa mga pangunahing pangangailangan tulad ng tirahan, pagkain, pananamit at edukasyon. Gayundin, sa kanila rin umaasa ang pamilya laluna sa mga pangkagipnang siwasyon tulad ng pangangailangang medikal.

Kaya nga sa tuwina ay bagabag ang mga miranteng Pilipino kung paano matutugunan ang pangangailangan ng pamilya sa harap tumitinding krisis sa bansa, pagtas ng presyo ng mga bilihin, pagtas ng pamasahe, at iba pa. Sa anumang suliranin ng pamilya na dulot ng problema sa Pilipinas, hindi mathiwalay dito ang mga migranteng Pilipino.

2. Suliranin sa mga employer at sa dayuhang bansa

Pagdating sa labas ng bansa, kumakatahap ang mga migranteng Pilipino sa mga problemang pang-ekonomiya, panpulitika at pang-sosyal mula sa kaniyang amo at govyerno ng dayuhang bansa.



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Maari ding ipaglaban ang karapatan at kagalilingan ng mga migranteng manggagawang Pilipino sa dayuhang pamahalaan at among pinagtarabuhuran. Sa paglaban sa karapatan at kagalilingan sa dayuhang bansa, kailangang nakitisa ang migranteng manggagawang Pilipino sa mga migranteng manggagawa ng ibang masyunalidad at sa mga progresibong kilusang manggagawamismo ng bansang kinapapalooban.

Ang paglaban sa karapatan at kagalilingan ng migranteng Pilipino ay nasa balangkas ng pagsusulong ng kilusan para sa pambansang pagpapalaya at tunay na demokrasya. Ang pinakakongkretong ekspresyon ng tungkiling ipaglaban ang karapatan at kagalilingan ng migranteng Pilipino ay ang mahimok silang sumupportat lumahok sa makabayang kilusang pagbabago sa Pilipinas.

Ang dalawang usapin na ito na magka-komplementaryong isinusulong ang siyang ibinabandilang progresibong kilusan ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat at ng pamilya nito.

K. Ano ang pagkakataon ng progresibong kilusan ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat sa iba pang mga grupo?

Ang pagkilala ng progresibong kilusan ng mga Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat at ng kaniyang pamilya sa katumpakan ng prinsipalidad ng pagbabagong panlipunan upang lutasin ang pwersahang migrasyon—habang tinutugunan din ang kagayal na mga usaping pang-karapatan at pangkagalilingan ng mga



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isinusulong ng estado. Ibinibigay nito ang tunay na kapangyarihan sa uring bumuhô sa mayorya ng mamamayang Pilipino at hindi hinahayaan na liang uring nagsasamantala lamang ang nakikimabang sa sistemang pang-ekonomiya, pampolitika at pantiipunan ng bansa.

Kung mananatili lamang na tinutugunan ay ang pang-araw-araw na isyu ng karapatan at kagalilingan ng mga migrante, wala itong pinagka-iba sa "charity work" na sumasagot lamang sa mga kagyat na pangangailangan pero hindi tinuturo ang pinagmumulan nito. Sa ganito, mananatili lamang na paulit-ulit ang problema ng mga migranteng Pilipino.

B. Bakit at puano tutugunan ang mga pang-araw-araw na isyu ng karapatan at kagalilingan ng mga migrante?

Ang isyu ng migranteng manggawang Pilipino sa kaniyang karapatan at kagalilingan ay isang demokratikong isyu. Dapat na binibigyang-pansin ang pangaraw-araw na karanasan ng mga migranteng Pilipino sa pagsasamantala, pang-apat at pagtatapak sa kaniyang mga karapatan. Kung hindi mai-ugnay ang mga panbansang usapin sa partikular at kagyat na problema ng mga migrante, magmimistula na lamang itong diskusiyong "akademiko" at "lutang" sapang-araw-araw na karanasan ng mga migranteng Pilipino.



Ang paglaban para sa karapatan at kagalilingan ay dapat na pangunahing nakaturok sa nakatayong pamahalaan sa Pilipinas. Sapagkat ito ang dapat na pangunahing nagbibigay ng proteksyon at pangangailaga sa ating karapatan at kagalilingan bilang mga dayuhang manggagawa sa ibang bansa. Ito rin ang may pakana ng LEP. Ito rin ang pangunahing instrumento ng mga naghanang-uri sa Pilipinas upang panatilihin ang bulok na pantiipunang sistema sa ating bansa.



Kabilang sa kaniyang mga pang-ekonomiyang suliranin ay ang matabang pasahod, underpayment, forced savings, kawalan ng kaseguruhan sa trabaho, at ang masamang kundisyon sa lugar na pinagta-trabahan. Binabalikat ng mga migranteng manggagawa ang ganitong pagpapahitap kaalinsabay ng paggampan ng mga gawang marumi, mabigat, mahirap at mapanganib na kadalasy naayawan ng mga lokal na mamamayan. Trabahong Kalabaw at walang pagtaas sa ranggo ang karaniwang napapasaikan ng migranteng Pilipino. Ang iba sa kanila ay pwersado pang pinagbabayad ng buwis ng lokal na pamahalaan.

Daogdag pa dito, lalo na sa panahon ng krisis, isinasalarawan pa ng mga dayuhang gobyerno ang mga migranteng manggagawa bilang mga "mangaagaw ng trabaho". Ito ay kaniyang ginagawa upang mabansang bigwas sa kanila ng mga lokal na manggagawa dahil sa kaniyang mga polisiya na umaatake sa kabuhay at trabaho ng mga lokal na mamamayan. Pero sa aktwal, tuloy pa rin ang kaniyang iskema ng labour importation. Bukod sa nakasisiguro na sila ng murang manggagawa, nagagawa pa nilang wasakin ang hanay ng uring manggagawa. Iinakda nilang mas mababa ang sahod na tatanggapin ng mga migranteng manggagawa kay sa tinatanggap ng lokal na manggagawa para paglabanin sila sa isat isa. Ang mga migranteng manggagawa ay nagagamit bilang "scapegoat" sa pag-atake sa mga karapatan at kagalilingan ng lokal na manggagawa at sa pagwasak sa kilusang manggagawa rito.

Lalo pang pinalalala ng mga polisiya ng mga banyagang gobyerno ang sitwasyon ng mga migranteng manggagawa. Kabilang dito ang mga polisiya sa pagbababa ng sahod, pagtutis sa mga undocumented na migrante, pagkakatil

ng kanilang karapatang sibili at mga kautusan na nagpapalala sa kanilang kundisyon sa paggawa. Hindi rin pinapayagan ang karamihan sa mga migranteng manggagawa na sumali sa mga unyon. Gayundin, mabhan sa iyan, karamihan ng mga bansang nag-i-impport ng mga migranteng manggagawa ay hindi nagbibigay ng karapatan sa kanila na maging mamamayan ng bansang kanilang kinatalagan.



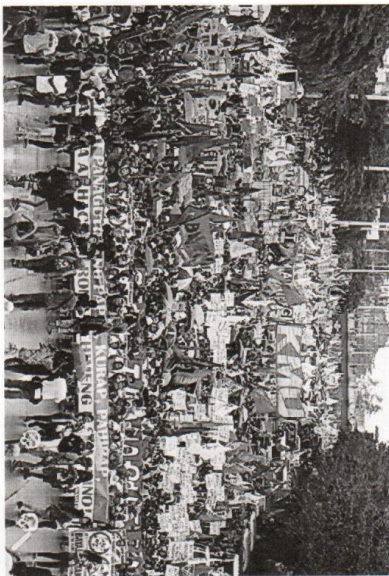
Samantala, talamak rin ang rasisimo at diskriminasyon laban sa mga migrante. Makikita ito sa mga panbansang polisiya na nakatuon sa mga migranteng manggagawa. Gayundin, maging sa lipunang gingawalan ng mga migrante ay lagapap ang mga panamaw, ugali at kilos na lantaran o dili ay kaya ay may bahid ng rasisimo at diskriminasyon. Kung minsan, ang rasisimo at diskriminasyon ay dumudulo pa sa karahasan laban sa mga migrante at imigrante katulad ng mga kaso sa Canada kung saan ilang kabataang Filipino-Canadian na ang nagiging biktima ng karahasan bunga ng rasisimo at diskriminasyon.

3. Mataas na singil ng mga pribadong rekruter

Sa simula pa lamang ng migrasyon ay pinagssamantalahan na ng mga pribadong rekruter ang mga migrante sa pamamagitan ng paninigiil ng malaking halaga. Hinuhutuhan sila ng pagkataas-taas na processing fee ng mga pribadong ahensya. Marami ang nabihiktima ng pantoloko ng mga rekruter. Karamihan sa kanila ay nagsasanta ng mumunting art-arian o nangungutang ng may malaking pakong na interes upang makapagtrabaho sa ibang bansa sa pag-asang makakayanag bayaran ng kanilang kikitian ang inutang. Baon na kaagad sila sa utang bago pa man umalis ng Pilipinas.

Karamiwan, ang mga pribadong rekruter ay may sabwatan pa sa mga pribadong pantarigan na lalong naglalagay sa mga migranteng Pilipino sa mainding kagipitan.

III. Ang pagkakamit ng tunay na pagbabago sa lipunan at pagtatayo ng isang malaya, demokratiko at masaganang Pilipinas ang sagot sa problema ng migrante at ng malawakan at pwersahang migrasyon



A. Kailangang resolbahan ang ugat ng malawakan at pwersahang migrasyon ng mga Pilipino upang ito ay mawakasan

Nararapat lamang na wakasan na ang lipunang mala-kolonyal at mala-pyudal. Kaakibat nito ay ang pagpawi ng LEP. Sapaekat hindi maahihwalay ang migrasyon at ang mga migranteng Pilipino sa konteksto ng kalagayan sa Pilipinas at ng sambugayan, nararapat lamang na tumahok ang mga migrante at ang kanilang pamilya sa kilusan para sa pagbabago ng lipunan.

Sa pagkakamit ng isang tunay na malayang bansa, matatarka ng mamamayang Pilipino ang sariling direksyon ng pag-unlad at tataasahin ng mamamayan mismo ang likas na yaman ng bansa. Ang tunay na demokrasya naman ay nagsisi-guro na ang interes ng malawak na mayorya ng sambugayan ang siyang

Ito’y ginagawa ng pamahalaan sa kabila ng katotohanang tayo’y tao at ang kita natin ay nanggagaling sa ating hirap at pagod.

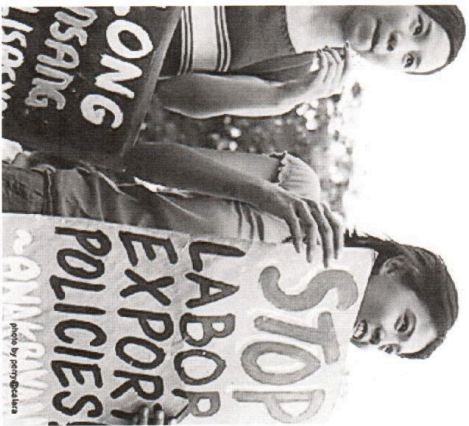
Ang konsepto na ang tao ay isang kalakal ay matagal nang napatunayang mali ng kasaysayan. Ito ay isang konseptong pyudal kung saan ang tao ay itinuring bilang isang “chattel” tulad ng baka o baboy.

Sinasabi ng pamahalaan na tayo raw ang nagkussang mangibang-bansa dahil sa mas mataas ang sahod dito. Pa-insulto pang dinadagdag na ito raw ay dahil sa ating pagmamansang makapangibang-bansa at mabigyan ng marangyang kabuhayan ang ating mga pamilya sa Pilipinas.

Ngunit dapat nating unawain na ang migrasyon o ang paglikas sa ibang bansa upang maghanapbuhay at manirahan ay isang karapatang pantao, lalo na sa sitwasyong mahirap ang kabuhayan sa sariling bansa, walang makitang

trabaho o walang sapat na trabaho para sa lahat, at matindi ang nangyayaring pagsasamantala, pang-aalipin at panunupil sa mga mamamayan. Kaya hindi dapat tayo

mahiya o maging depresso sa ating desisyong magtrabaho sa ibang bansa. Hindi naman ito isang malayang desiyon kundi dikta ng pangangailangan.



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4. Sobrang singilin, pagnegosyo ng serbisyo at pagpapabaya sa migranteng Pilipino

Mula sa rekrutment hanggang sa pagha-hanapbuhay sa labas ng bansa, patung-patong ang mga singilin ng gobyerno sa mga migrant. Ang mga singilin ito ay tuwina ay pinapapalamutan ng islogan “pagpapahusay ng serbisyo” at pilit pinatatanagap sa mga migrant ang prinsipyo ng user’s pay. Sa praktika, pagpapabaya at kawalan ng serbisyo naman sa aktwal ang ipinapakita ng pamahalaan sa mga migranteng Pilipino.

Pag-proseso ng papeles, authentication, verification, Medicare, passport at kung ano-ano pang mga singilin ang ipinapalaw ng gobyerno. Iba’t iba ang pangalan, iba’t iba ang gimik, pero isa ang layunin – ang hudutan ng pinakamalaking pera ang mga migrant.



Bukod pa dito, pilit na pinalulunok ng gobyerno sa mga migranteng Pilipino ang prinsipyo ng user’s pay. Ibig sabihin, kailangang bayaran kahit ang kalili-litang serbisyo nila. Serbisyo na sa umpisa pa lamang naman ay karapatan ng migrant na makuha at responsibilidad ng gobyerno na ibigay. Cauti-ong-gantio ang prinsipyo sa tialim ng kasalukuyang OWWA Omnibus Politics na ibinandera ng gobyerno sa pangunguna ni DOLE Sec. Patricia Sto. Tomas. Sa polisiyang ito, pinaliti pa lalo ang serbisyo ng OWWA sa mga migranteng Pilipino habang istrikong ipinatupad naman ang polisiya na kung sino lamang ang “updated” sa pagbabayad ng OWWA ang makakakuha ng serbisyo nito.

Ngunit kung praktika ang pag-uusapan, wala naman talagang serbisyon ibinibigay ang gobyerno sa mga migrant. Kapag ang isang migrant ay nagka-problema, inabot ng siyam-siyam bago umakasyon ang konsulado o embahada:

nariyang papauwinn na lang imbes na pagglaban ang kaso ng migrateng Pilipino, nariyang walang matuluyang OWWA center at nariyang abutin ng mahigiti pa sa dalawang buwan bago mawati ang bangkay ng sinamang-palad na migrateng Pilipino.

Sa maraming beses na pagkakatagan ay napatunayan na ang kawalan ng serbisyo at pagpapabaya ng gobyerno. Ibat ibang mga dahilan ang ginagamit ng mga overseas posts ng gobyerno at maging ng mga ahensya tulad ng DOLE at DFA sa Pilipinas upang takasan ang kanilang responsibilidad na magbigay ng tulong sa mga may problemang migrante.

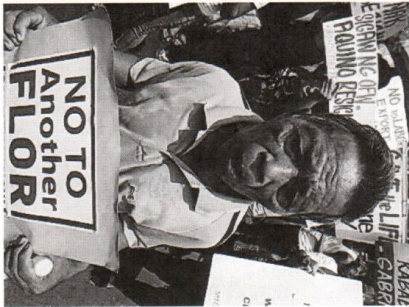


5. Ibat ibang porno ng pagsasamantala sa kababaihang migrante

Sa lipunang Pilipino, mababa ang pagtingin sa mga kababaihan. Ang pang-aabuso at pang-aapi sa mga babae bilang migrante.

Bukod sa mga polisiyang nagsasamantala sa mga migrante sa pangkalahatan, andyan din ang mga polisiya ng mga dayuhang gobyerno na ang partikular na inaakke ay mga kababaihang migrante. Kabilang na dito ang pagtanggap ng mga karapatan at benepisyo bilang babae ng mangagawa. Halimbawa na nito ay ang pakalang pagtatanggal ng maternity benefits para sa mga kababaihang migrante sa Hong Kong.

Gayundin, maraming mga babaeng migrante ang nagiging biktima ng



kanilang industriya, agrikultura at sektor pang-serbisyo.

Subalit ang panlabas na salik na ito ay sekundaryo lamang sa pangunahing panloob na ugat sa nangyayaring sapilitang malawakang migrasyong Pilipino. At ang salik na ito'y pansamantala at pabugso-bugso lamang. Sa muli't muling pagsulpot ng matinding krisis ng kapitalismo, ang mga migrateng mangagawa, kabilang na ang mga Pilipino, ay aakusahang mang-aagaw ng trabaho. Sa katalunan, sila ay sasabihing pasamin ng lipunan. Liban sa Estados Unidos, Canada at sa ilang bansa sa Europa, ang karamihan sa migrateng Pilipino ay pipilitin o mapipiliang unmuwi dahil sa wala naman silang karapatang maging mamamayan sa bansang kinapapalooban.

B. Ang Labor Export Policy

Ang LEP ay ang sistematikong programang pagluluwas ng lakas-pagagawa na pakana ng naghaharng uri at gobyerno ng Pilipinas. Nagstimla ito sa pamahon ni Marcos bilang isang pakana para kumita ng foreign exchange para pambyad ng utang, matbsan ang malaking problema ng disempleyo at kahirapan na nagdululot ng dikumento sa mamamayan at isang ohhetibong dahilan sa kanilang paglahok sa kilusang pagbabago, at mapanatili ang kasalukuyang panlipunang kaayusan.

Ang esensya ng LEP ay gawin tayong isang produkto o commodity na ibinebenta sa labas ng bansa. Ito'y sa pamamaraan ng paggamit sa ating kita bilang isang item sa foreign exchange earnings ng pamahalaan. Para tuloy tayong isang panluwas na kalakal tulad ng laruan, pantalong Lewis o sapatos na Nike na pinoproseso sa ating bansa at niluluwas sa mga kapitalistang bansa.



malalaking panginoong may lupa na kumukontrol sa malalawak na lupang agrikultural at ang mga kumprador-burgas na siyang daluyan ng mga produktong ini-export sa labas ng bansa at mga produktong ng mga imperyalista na ipinapasok sa Pilipinas. Ang estado naman na pingahabaran ng mga malalaking panginoong may lupa at kumprador-burgas ang siyang ginagamit nila upang pamanahin ang ganitong klase ng sistema sa pananamang itan ng makinarya ng militar, ng burukrasya at mga batas, at panlilinlang sa mamamayan

Samantala, inilulugmok naman ng sistemang ito ang mayorya ng sambaynang Pilipino sa kahitapan at pang-aapi. Hindi natutugunan ang malala at matagal nang problema ng magsasaka sa kawalan ng lupa, pagsasamtala ng mga panginoong may lupa, at mababang sahod ng mga manggagawang bukid. Ang mga manggagawa naman ay binabarat ang sweldo at binibikina ng malawakang kontraktualisasyon sa paggawa. Milyong mga kabataan naman ang hindi nakakape-arat at isinasadal sa pwersahang pagtatrabaho. Ang mga karaniwang empleyado, sa gobyerno man o sa pribado, ay binabayo lagi ng pagtaas ng mga bilhin at panganih sa kabuhayan.

Mula sa ganitong sistemang panlipunan obhetibong mauugat ang saptiliang migrasyon ng Pilipino sa ibayong-dagat upang maghanapbuhay. Dahil sa walang mahinap na trabaho sa ating bansa, natural na mula sa pantloob na migrasyon ay saptiliang tutungo palabas ng bansa ang Pilipino upang maghanapbuhay.

Sekundaryo dito, nar'yan ang panlabas na salik ng "panghaharak" ng ibang mga bansa sa manggagawa ng Pilipinas at iba pang atrasadong bayan. Bahagi ng iskena ng mga malalaking dayuhang kapitalistang bansa ang pag-angkat ng murang lakas-paggawa mula sa mga atrasadong bansa na kaniyang kailangan sa



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karahasan at abusong sekswal. Malaganap ang ganitong mga kaso laluna s amga bansa kung saan ang tinig sa kababaihan ay mababa. Dagdag pa, lalong lumalala ang trafikong ng kababaihan na karaniwan ay naglalagak sa kanila sa prostitusyon.

Samantala, dahil sa kulturang pyudal, karaniwan din ay ang mga babae ng migrante ang sinisisi pagdating sa mga problemang pampamilya na dulot ng pwersahang migrasyon.

6. Salitrana sa pamilya

Ang pagkahiwalay sa pamilya at ang pag-iral ng artipisyal na pag-angat sa kabuhayan ay nagiging sanhi ng iba't ibang mga problema sa pagitan ng mag-asawa o ng magulang at anak. Nar'yan ang breakdown ng marriages, pagkalulong ng mga miyembro ng pamilya sa mga bisyo at bawal na gamot, at teenage pregnancy – ito ang ilang panlipunang epekto ng saptiliang pagkakahiwalay ng pamilya at pagkasisira ng unatawag na "social fabric" ng lipunan.



Kung susunatin, ang mga problema at isyung kinakaharap ng migranteng Pilipino ay umiikol sa usapin ng sahod at kabuhayan, karapatan sa komprehensibong esensya nito, serbisyo na sa pangunahin ay dapat gobyerno ng Pilipinas ang magbigay at proteksyon laban sa pang-aabusong at pagsasamtala.

Ang mga isyu na unatake sa mga ito ay maaaring nungmunla sa dayuhang gobyerno at mas madalas kaysa hindi ay sa gobyerno mismo ng Pilipinas.

Ito sa kongkretong sinasabing karapatan at kagalingan ng mga migranteng Pilipino.

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K. Malang pag-asang makabalik at mamuhay ng disente kasama ng panilya ang migranang Pilipino habang may malawakan at pwersahang migrasyon.

Hindi mare-resolba ng malawakan at pwersahang migrasyon ang mga suliranin at paghihirap ng mga mamamayang Pilipino. Sa kamayan nga, ang lalo pang paghirap nito ay higit pang nagpapakita ng kawalan ng pag-asa ng mga migranang Pilipino na sa wakas ay makapiling ang panilya at mamuhay ng disente sa Pilipinas.

Bagaman at may artipisyal na pag-angat sa buhay ang panilya ng migrante, io ay nanatili lamang habang may kaanib ng panilya na nagha-hanapbuhay sa labas ng bansa. Maging ang edukasyon ng anak o kapatid ay hindi nagiging daan para maka-uwi na ang mga migrante. Ito pa nga karaniwan ang nagiging daan upang ang mismong kapatid o anak ay mag-trabaho din sa labas ng bansa.

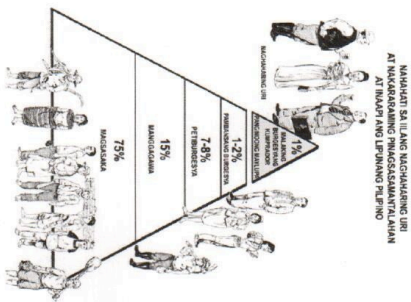
Maaring may ilan na nagagawang mamuhay na ng tuluhan sa Pilipinas sa pamamagitan ng pagtatayo ng maliliit na negosyo. Ngunit sa harap ng krisis sa bansa, marami sa mga ito ay nalugi o nanganganib na. Kayat marami sa kanila ay bumabalik bilang migrante.

II. Saan ba nagmumula ang problema ng malawakan at pwersahang migrasyon ng mga Pilipino?

Ang nangyayaring malawakan at pwersahang migrasyong Pilipino sa ibayong-degar at ang mga kaakit na mga suliraning ibimbunga nito ay pangunahing manguat sa panloob na panlipunang kalagayan ng Pilipinas - ang kawalan ng trabaho at sapat na kabuhay dito - at sa patakaran mismo ng pamahalaan na gawing isang katakal ang migrante.

A. Ang sosyo-ekonomikong simwosyon sa Pilipinas

Malala-kolonyal at mala-pyudal ang lipunang Pilipino. Sa iatim ng sistemang ito, ang katakhan ng mga mamamayan ay nabubuhay sa kahirapan at disempleyo sanantulang may ilan na patuloy na nakikinabang. Ang ganitong kalagayan ang nagutulak sa milyong mga Pilipino upang manghambag-bayan at maghanap ng kabuhayan.



Ang lipunang mala-kolonyal at mala-pyudal ay atrasado, agraryo at pre-industrial. Nagpahati sa bansa ang dikta ng imperyalismo – sa pangunguna ng US – na siyang nagtataka ng mga polisiyang pang-ekonomiya, pampulitika, pagmilitar, at pang-sosyal. Pnanatili ng imperyalismong US ang pagiging atrasado at pyudal ng Pilipinas upang manatili hiong kuthanan ng murang hila na mga materyales at murang lakas paggawa, kasabay ng pagiging baagsakan nito ng mga produktong imported. Dahil sa ang hila na materyales ay napaka-mura at ang gastos ng ekonomiya ay mataas, na dinadagan pa ng matinding korupsiyon, laging nalulugi ang bansa na siya nanang kinakapital pa lalo ng imperyalismo upang itubog ang Pilipinas sa utang.

Pinakikinabangan ng imperyalismo at malalaking dayuhang kapitalista ang ganitong sistema kasama ang kanilang mga lokal na kasapkat – ang mga

FMC News: The official newsletter of the Filipino Migrant Center

FMC News



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Filipino Migrant Center
2125 Santa Fe Ave,
Long Beach, CA 90810
Phone: (562) 600 0362

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FMC Stands with Immigrant, Refugee and Muslim communities

Filipino Migrant Center rejects President Trump's immigration executive orders attacking and criminalizing immigrants, refugees and Muslim communities.

The executive orders calls for the suspension of refugee programs and limits the number of refugees the United States it welcomes, bans entry of individuals from seven Muslim-majority countries (Iraq, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Yemen). Furthermore, it aims to punish cities who pledge to provide sanctuary and protection to undocumented immigrants, increase resources to carry out mass immigration enforcement and deportation on the national and local level and construct a border wall.

As a community organization serving the Filipino immigrant community in Southern California, we stand in solidarity with the thousands of advocates, community groups and organizations, elected officials and majority of the American public in denouncing these orders which have already resulted in human rights violations this past weekend. Hundreds of individuals were illegally detained in various major airports throughout the country, prevented from boarding the plane headed for the U.S., and prevented from receiving legal counsel. Many were legal permanent residents.

The recent pronouncements made by President Trump only promotes and legitimizes irrational acts of hate, violence, discrimination, bullying and harassment of our communities.

Our communities continue to suffer from harmful mischaracterizations that portray us as threats to the economy, national security and public safety of the country. We are witnessing the detrimental impacts these have on our children. Discriminatory, xenophobic, and unjust policies and laws targeting immigrants, refugees and Muslims in the United States are not new. They have historically been used as weapons to divide our communities and distract us from the real threats--those who are responsible for and benefit from the systematic oppression of our Black, Brown and poor, working Long Beach, CA 90814



class communities.

We oppose the impending mass deportation of thousands of undocumented immigrants that will break apart thousands of families, leaving children without their parents. They are not criminals but a resilient and courageous people who have experienced great sacrifices to keep their families alive.

We are against the policing of our communities and demand that the planned increased resources for immigration enforcement must be re-directed towards education, health care and other severely underfunded social services.

We believe in respecting the rights and humanity of all people regardless of religion, national origin, legal status, race, ethnicity and gender.

The Filipino Migrant Center is committed to continue providing education, resources and support to Filipino immigrant families in Southern California. We encourage members of the Filipino community to join us in raising our voices, organizing and building our collective power in solidarity with other vulnerable communities to uphold and defend the rights of all immigrant, refugee and Muslim families.

FMC Marches with Long Beach Community in Inauguration Day March

January 20, Long Beach — the Filipino Migrant Center marched in Downtown Long Beach with other community groups to condemn President Donald Trump's stances that can drastically worsen the conditions of many people, particularly low income communities.

The peaceful march, attended by about 200 community members was planned to coincide with Trump's inauguration that same day. Throughout his campaign and after the elections, he has repeatedly promised to deport immigrants, expressed

plans that would limit access to health care for many, and has used inflammatory speech that harms immigrants, women, the LGBTQ community, the black community, and many others.

The march was organized by May Day Long Beach Coalition, which the Filipino Migrant Center is a part of. The coalition aims to unite the community to resist the anti-people policies that the new administration is pushing for. Only through an organized and united community can we stand up to this challenge.

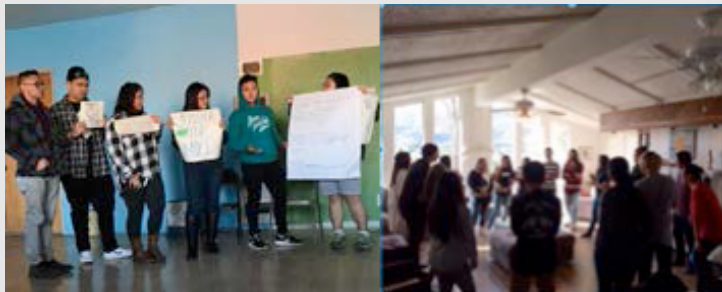
Filipinos Reaching for Education and Empowerment (FREE) Youth Leadership Program

Inaugural Leadership Cohort

15 Filipino high school youth from Carson and Long Beach completed six-week leadership development workshops to cultivate their collective leadership skills and enhance their capacity and participation to improve their health & wellness, education, schools and neighborhoods. The workshops were held every Saturday at Veterans Park Sports Complex in Carson from January 14-February 18, 2017. The youth engaged in dialogue with one another about issues that are important to them and were equipped with tools to develop solutions with their voices and perspective at the center.

Some of the concerns they identified were: mental health, safety, bullying, constant violence between different ethnic groups and students inside their schools, family issues, lack of understanding in schools about challenges facing Filipino migrant youth and resources to support pathways for college and higher education.

In the next coming months, the youth committed to using the skills they have learned to reach more Filipino youth in their schools and communities to connect them with resources, provide mentorship and support, and engage them in youth-led activities that nurture youth leadership and empowerment.



Photos from some of the various F.R.E.E. workshops



Cabrillo High School Afterschool Program

The F.R.E.E. (Filipinos Reaching for Education and Empowerment) leadership program will continue at Cabrillo High School in West Long Beach by providing Filipino youth with opportunities to receive after school academic tutoring and mentorship to support them in reaching higher education and developing their leadership in their school and community.

The F.R.E.E. program at Cabrillo HS will be from February 22 – May 31, 2017 and will take place on Tuesdays and Wednesdays (3:00pm-5:00pm) in Mrs. Banares room

(Room 1105).The students will be tutored and mentored by community volunteers and college students from Cal State Long Beach and surrounding universities and colleges. In addition, Filipino youth will participate in social justice educational and cultural workshops grounded in community organizing and actio

For more information, please contact Alex at alex@filipinomigrantcenter.org



Protecting the safety, health and dignity of immigrant families

Know and Defend our Rights as Immigrants

Los Angeles- On January 24, the Filipino Migrant Center, Migrante Los Angeles, and Interfaith Movement for Human Integrity (IFMHI) co-sponsored a Know Your Rights training in Eagle Rock. Reverend Art Cribbs, from the Filipino American United Church of Christ, welcomed all to his church and opened the training with a prayer.

The training, which brought together community and church members, aimed to educate community members on the rights that all people have in the event that they are stopped or searched by law enforcement on the street, in their cars, at home, or at work. The presentation included information regarding possible ways to adjust one's immigration status in the US via various types of immigration visas or under pertinent laws, such as: the Violence Against Women Act, a T Visa for victims of human trafficking, and a U Visa for victims of crimes. During the presentation given by



FMC, attendees also had the chance to ask questions to the legal resource speaker.

The event was organized by as a response to the recent deportations, raids, and attacks against migrants and muslims. Organizers encouraged all attendees to join FMC, Migrante Los Angeles, IFMHI, and other community based organizations as a way to build our community power to defend our rights. For information on future Know Your Rights trainings and forums in your area, please contact FMC at info@filipinomigrantcenter.org.

Immigration Community Dialogue

Twenty community leaders and members from Torrance United Methodist Church, Wilmington United Methodist Church, Cal State Dominguez Hills, El Camino College, LA Harbor College and Carson High School participated in a community dialogue organized by the Filipino Migrant Center in response to President Trump's immigration executive orders. FMC presented a brief overview of the executive orders and the harmful consequences these policies would have on the safety and well-being of all our communities, immigrants and non-immigrants.

Participants had the opportunity to share their concerns for and stories of immigrant families and young people in their churches and schools. They developed action steps to ensure Filipino families receive accurate education, tools and resources to understand



and protect their rights, and enhance partnership with other churches, community groups and individuals. As a result of the engaging dialogue, the community members committed to forming a support network for Filipino immigrant families especially those living, studying and working in Carson and Torrance.

FMC Partnership with Churches

In our commitment to protect our immigrant communities, the Filipino Migrant Center is partnering with churches throughout Southern California to provide sanctuary and other resources to vulnerable immigrants at risk for deportation.

On February 1, the Filipino Migrant Center attended a Sanctuary Training co-sponsored by various faith groups including the Episcopal Sanctuary Task Force of the LA Diocese, the Presbytery of the Pacific, Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice (CLUE) Los Angeles and the United Methodist Cal-PAC Immigration Task Force.

At this training, FMC staff joined with over 125 other individuals who were concerned about the situation of immigrant communities and wanted to begin to find ways to meet the needs of the community.

The training focused on the Sanctuary Movement of offering refuge to immigrants in need and offer a safe place to stay while their legal case is in process either for a few days or extended amount of time.

Churches are recognized by USCIS as sensitive locations which means that ICE is not supposed to come into churches.

FMC will be actively partnering with churches to create support networks for families vulnerable to the increasing threats of arrests, detention and deportation



