

MOBILITY AS CAPABILITY

INTERMEDIARY DISCOURSES ON THE STATE OF
LABOR MIGRATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

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To my family, for all the hard work

ABSTRACT

Massive labor migration in the Philippines has been persistent for more than 40 years. This has been mainly provoked by the country's weak economy, continually suffering from insufficient regular jobs, work compensation packages and policies that ought to provide and protect the welfare of laborers. However, in most cases, migrants escape precarious work only to end up in more precarity, endangering their lives. What's more alarming is the case for undocumented or irregular Filipino migrants, whose experiences of abuses are more difficult to be heard than regular migrants, and whose rights are most often neglected. Because of the killings of migrant OFWs in the 1990s, Migrante International was conceived as an intermediary pushing for migrant rights and welfare, handling thousands of cases of abuse and advocating for socio-economic reforms in the Philippines. As such, Migrante continuously produces political remittances representing migrants' voices through its statements online, subsequently constructing the migration problem back home. I probe this construction, including the framing of the capability of movement among undocumented migrants through intermediary discourses of Migrante. Specifically, I look at (1) how intermediary discourses conceptualize the migration problem through framing mobility as capability among Filipino migrants and (2) how such discourses serve as political remittances in the process of democratization back home. I first assess the persistence of the labor export policy in the Philippines, reconstruct the moral argument for migration and analyze Migrante's discourses using Sen's and Foucault's thoughts. I then empirically argue that the migration problem in the Philippines is characterized by lack of health and social security, insufficient policy, logistic and financial aid, migrant rights use and abuse and anti-immigration sentiments and movements in OFWs' host countries. This is further fueled by government neglect towards stemming and resolving the root problems of migration, attacks on OFW critics and migrant rights activists and disregard for respecting the fundamental democratic experience of the Filipino people. I also claim that Migrante's discourses serve as political remittances of migrants' needs and interests, which challenge the participatory system of whatever form of democracy present in the country. Its disposition as progressive and humanitarian also establishes its subject positions as a moral actor interested in truth games concerning the migration problem, heavily shaped by government policies and strategies back home.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
DFA	Department of Foreign Affairs
DOLE	Department of Labor and Employment
FDA	Foucauldian Discourses Analysis
GDP	gross domestic product
GRD	Global Resource Dividend
MI	Migrante International
NDFP	National Democratic Front of the Philippines
NSB	National Seamen Board
OEDB	Overseas Employment Development Board
OFWs	Overseas Filipino Workers
OSSCO	One-Stop Service Center for OFWs
OUMWA	Office of the Undersecretary for Migrant Workers Affairs
SONA	State of the Nation Address
TNT	<i>Tago ng Tago</i>
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
WPR	What's the problem presented to be?

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“I had to eat the dog’s food to survive.”

– Maria, a Filipino domestic worker in Brazil
from Bachega (2017)

Introduction

Massive labor migration in the Philippines has been persistent for more than 40 years.¹ This has been mainly provoked by the country's weak economy, which for decades continually suffer from insufficient regular jobs, work compensation packages and policies that ought to provide and protect the welfare of laborers. Additionally, the proliferation of contractualization in the domestic labor economy and of cheap labor export have put the lives of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs)² at risk from abuse. The media have plagued the world of news reports on countless deaths of OFWs who intended to seek “greener pastures” in the first place: among them Flor Contemplacion, hanged to death in Singapore in 1995 after allegedly being tortured to accept blame for a murder case, Joanna Demafelis, whose body was discovered in the freezer of an abandoned apartment in Kuwait in 2018 after being tortured and strangled by her Lebanese and Syrian employers, and recently Jeanelyn Villavende, who suffered from sexual abuses in the months before she was murdered, still in Kuwait, in December 2019. These and many more abuses pose vulnerability among OFWs spread around the world, particularly those in authoritarian states. What's more alarming is the case for undocumented or irregular Filipino migrants,³ whose experiences of abuses are more difficult to be heard than regular migrants, and whose rights are most often neglected.

With these security threats, the discourses on the state of labor migration in the Philippines have shifted from not just an economic one but also to a political one, zooming into the many facets of migrant lives, their mobilities and capabilities as well as transforming

¹ This study delves into the immediate present before the pandemic caused by the spread of Novel Coronavirus (disease called Covid-19) from Wuhan, China beginning late 2019. I discuss the limitations of my thesis given the epidemiological situation in the last chapter.

² A term collectively used to refer to Filipino migrants.

³ More commonly known in Filipino (based on Tagalog) as TNTs or *Tago ng Tago*, which means migrants hiding from authorities.

migrant experiences into political remittances playing a role in migration politics back home. This does not only bring into light the many challenges the Philippines faces as one of the biggest labor-sending countries in the world and, ideally, as a provider of well-being and human development to its people. At the heart of this thesis, this also emphasizes the production of human capabilities and functionings and how they affect migrants' prospects towards claiming a better life.

Decentering from the whole literature of Filipino labor migration as mainly an economic phenomenon, I follow recent scholarly moves to underscore the importance of political agency, that is, that migrants must not just be seen as economic actors but should also be considered participants in the process of politically and socially shaping the current state of labor migration politics—and even beyond, democratization—in the Philippines (Kressler and Rother, 2016). Additionally, what has been mostly missing in academic conversations of agency in political remittances and participation are the lived experiences of undocumented migrants, which provide different perspectives that are potential contributions towards expanding the understanding of OFWs as political agents. However, given the notorious difficulty of gathering data on undocumented migration, more so interviewing undocumented migrants, I instead look at the social organization of migration rights through the lens of intermediaries, which mediate between the personal reasonings of migrants in achieving the lives they want to lead and the public reasonings of both sending and receiving countries in giving migrants aid.

Amid this backdrop, this thesis intends to probe the state of labor migration in the Philippines and the capability of movement among undocumented migrants through intermediary discourses. Specifically, I look at (1) how intermediary discourses conceptualize the migration problem through framing mobility as capability among Filipino migrants and (2) how such discourses serve as political remittances in the process of democratization back home. I undertake all these by laying out the first three chapters as foundational, providing the historical-economic, theoretical and methodological contexts of this study. I then empirically address the main questions in the fourth chapter. Finally, I conclude the study with a synthesis of discussions, limitations and prospects for future research and policymaking.

STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The first chapter of the study serves as the background of the state of labor migration in the Philippines and how this affects the lives of OFWs and endangers their welfare. The persistence of labor export in the country brings into light the question of who benefits from economic remittances the most and necessitates the question of government accountability towards responding to the needs and demands of OFWs. Especially in the case of undocumented OFWs, their state of migration experience is more difficult, provided the challenges of mobility. This chapter further probes into the realities shaping the capabilities and mobilities of undocumented migrants and opens the discussion on the formation of political remittances, political mobilization through the help of intermediaries and concerns of integration.

The second chapter is the theoretical base of this study, anchored on Amartya Sen's (1999, 2009) writings on capabilities. Sen's work expands the discussions of human development in varying fields, from welfare economics, to development studies, and to political philosophy, concerning himself beyond normative questions of justice, well-being and social choice (Robeyns, 2006). Underpinning significance in concepts such as a person's functionings—their beings and doings—and capabilities probe into the dynamics—and, indeed, limitations—of normative approaches of measuring and weighting components of human development. I follow Sen's freedom-based conception of justice that is concentrated on the provision of opportunity and choice by sending and receiving countries to individuals towards taking advantage of the combinations of their human advantages in leading the lives they want. In this chapter, I reconstruct the moral argument for migration through Sen's conception of human agency, capability and poverty deprivation. I also explore the idea of mobility as (1) both a capability-in-itself and a shaper of other capabilities and (2) a relational application of global justice. This reconstruction of the moral argument for migration sets the theoretical and empirical attempt of this thesis to contribute towards expanding the discourse on the capability paradigm in practice.

Particularly through a non-normative approach, I put the concept of movement as a significant influence in the formation of capability perceptions among undocumented OFWs,⁴ complemented with an axiomatic grounded approach of selecting capabilities which undocumented OFWs themselves deem important towards claiming human development.⁵ I plan to capture – through the lens of intermediaries – what OFWs perceive and value as important capabilities by examining the issues they face with limited movement, that is, without the aid of legal documents, leading for example towards precarious work and exploitation, among others. I therefore assume that focusing on movement as an important capability would lead me to find more concrete functionings centering on the claim of migrants towards human development.⁶ In this thesis, I investigate at least three elements of the capability of movement: first, the ability to move – having material and nonmaterial resources to move; second, the right to move – how the state of being undocumented itself affect movement; and third, the option not to move – how the absence of liberty to move limit individuals' choices.

Methodologically complementing this, I draw on a Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) of the press releases, statements and campaigns of Migrante International – claiming for the lives undocumented migrants want to lead – and how these serve as political remittances aiming to shape migration politics in particular and the state of democratization in general back home, all towards providing migrants opportunities and choices in claiming human

⁴ In this thesis, the terms mobility and movement are used interchangeably. The plural form mobilities refers to the circumstances of movement permitted by the elements of the capability of movement I enumerate in Chapter 2.

⁵ Robeyns (2006) discusses that capabilities and functionings have been used in non-normative settings, claiming for example their employment in ethnographic research and in other explanatory analyses. She cites the work of Arends-Kuenning and Amin (2001) on rural Bangladesh, where education among girls and women are perceived to be an important human capital, or more broadly, as capability.

⁶ This process might necessitate that I come up with a preliminary index of functionings found in the literature of migration as well as look into conventional indicators and components of human development published in reports such as the Human Development Report by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). I might also need to assess migrants' perceptions and values of capabilities that might fit into or deviate from the conventional indices available and subsequently provide an exploratory analysis. Instead of these, I extrapolate the relevance of the issue of non-commensurability in Chapter 2. This emphasizes pluralities and combinations of human advantages that cannot be weighed based on an equally one-dimensional level. This justifies acknowledging the contextual nature of inquiry on capability sets of migrants as well as setting up contextual priorities on such capability sets.

development. The third chapter focuses on this, where I particularly adopt Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine's (2017) four-part FDA guide.

The fourth chapter contains the empirical part of the thesis, where I argue that the migration problem in the Philippines is characterized by lack of health and social security, insufficient policy, logistic and financial aid, migrant rights use and abuse and anti-immigration sentiments and movements in OFWs' host countries. This is further fueled by government neglect towards stemming and resolving the root problems of migration, attacks on OFW critics and migrant rights activists and disregard for respecting the fundamental democratic experience of the Filipino people. I also claim that Migrante's discourses serve as political remittances of migrants' needs and interests, which challenge the participatory system of whatever form of democracy present in the country. Its disposition as progressive and humanitarian also establishes its subject positions as a moral actor interested in truth games concerning the migration problem, heavily shaped by government policies and strategies back home.

I conclude by answering my research questions, elaborating some contributions of this study and stating the limits of and future research prospects that can be generated from this study.

INTERMEDIARY SELECTION AND STUDY AREA

Currently, there are around 200 Filipino labor organizations spread across different parts of the world, protecting the rights of migrants and refugees and shaping the political discourses of labor migration in the Philippines. From such organizations, I selected Migrante International as my case as its networks comprise more or less the same number of organizations globally, and whose campaigns and statements usually gather more than 160 signatories from such networks. Migrante International has served as an umbrella organization for many migrant groups since 1996, following Contemplacion's death. I don't however delve into specific receiving countries where organizations part of Migrante's networks are present. Acknowledging different socio-political and economic contexts of migration across different parts of the world where Filipinos are living, I loosely theorize the significance of mobility as

capability in the overall Filipino migration experience, especially those who are in undocumented or irregular situations. I instead select the Philippines as a study area of the transformation of migration politics and the state of democratization given the discourses of political remittances of the loosely general Filipino migration experience abroad based on discourses of capability and mobility found in the discourse analysis of Migrante's press documents online. I now begin this task by first discussing the state of labor migration in the Philippines in the next chapter.

CHAPTER I

The state of labor migration in the Philippines

This chapter serves as the background of the state of labor migration in the Philippines and how it affects the lives of OFWs and endangers their welfare. I first explore the literature to assess reasons why labor export persists in the Philippines. Together with this, I provide a historical backdrop on the boom of massive labor migration. I also discuss Pres. Rodrigo Duterte's migration policies amid the social organization of migrant security in the country. I conclude by examining migrants' prospects for reintegration in the domestic economy.

LABOR, EMPLOYMENT, MIGRATION

Four decades of massive export of Filipino workers have yet to see significant progress not just as a solution to poverty, unemployment and underemployment but also in terms of human development in the Philippines. The weak economy of the country has forced Filipino migrants to flee it due to the lack of regular jobs, higher wages and pro-labor policies (Migrante International, 2017). Instead of addressing this problem, the Philippine government continues to promote cheap labor export through institutionalizing the Philippine labor export policy and fortifying contractualization in the domestic labor economy. Although OFWs generate a steady stream of economic remittances to the country, totaling to around 10% of the national GDP and resulting to a positive macroeconomic outlook (Pernia, 2011; Baggio, 2014), the growth of remittances has declined over the years and did not actually responded to national poverty reduction (Migrante International, 2017; Pernia, 2011).

Regardless of this, the government still fails to see that exporting labor does not simply answer income and economic inequalities in the long run. Aside from this, it also causes other

problems risking the lives of OFWs.⁷ This chapter seeks to answer the question of the persistence of labor export amid its inability to solve the problems of the weak economy of the country. This issue will be tackled by understanding the Philippine government's economic priorities and its effects to millions of lives opting for international migration where "the grass is significantly greener" (Rother, 2009, p. 259). Furthermore, the disposition of the government is examined in the ways it connects migration, welfare and development through a brief analysis of government policies and speeches that would give light to the persistence of labor export amid the challenge it faces in contributing to the issues of the national economy, particularly poverty reduction, and its responses to migrant vulnerability to and needed protection from abuses by illegal recruiters (e.g. financial) and employers abroad (e.g. physical and sexual).

Going back to the huge percentage of positive responses of workers' experiences abroad based on Kessler and Rother's (2016) study, this positivity must be understood in the form of what I term as *sacrificial persistence* – that is, they just put on a "happy face" because even though they are earning more abroad and helping their families back home, they actually make the choice between "the dollar versus being homesick" (Kessler and Rother, 2016, p. 91). Aside from this, in particular cases such that of Saudi Arabia, migrant worker experiences are "characterized by constant fear of getting involved with the police", which Rother (2009) establishes as a "recurring theme being that of sexual abuse of both men and women by police" (pp. 263-264). This earlier work by Rother (2009) claims that the migrant experience in Saudi Arabia faces major downsides, as in similar cases where host countries are considered to have undemocratic political systems. In this study, the case of Saudi Arabia can be considered to loosely represent non-democratic regimes and that negative experiences of migration come

⁷ In looking at the experiences of OFWs as migrant actors playing important external roles in democratization processes, Kessler and Rother (2016) found out that a huge percentage of OFWs responded positively about working abroad. Although this finding debunks the "conventional, stereotypical notions that migration is a negative rather than a positive experience" (Abao, 2016, p. 530), there remains 21% that have experienced problems in their host country, and this percentage is concentrated in countries that the study considers to be undemocratic, e.g. Saudi Arabia and the Middle East. Even though migrant workers reported to have positive experiences in Saudi Arabia, there remain negative answers collectively amounting to 45%, which is almost at par with the percentage of positive experiences (Kessler and Rother, 2016).

from the restriction of movement, victimization through discrimination and suffering from maladjustment and which results to difficulty in coping (Rother, 2009).

This chapter also complements the brief analysis on government views through examining Kessler and Rother's (2016) findings about (1) the weak economy causing forced migration, (2) the government disposition on labor export and its responses to negative experiences of migration, and (3) their prospects for reintegration. These make up the scope of political remittances, referring to opinions and attitudes of support or the opposite among current OFWs on the present state of labor export instigated by the Philippine government.

Kessler and Rother (2016) demonstrate the effects of migration experiences on the political attitudes of OFWs in varied political settings. Their study's employment of extensive large-N surveys to first-time and returned migrants as well as in-depth interviews of returned migrants opens the theoretical debates on the broader landscape of transmitting political ideas towards influencing the trajectories of political reproduction in the Philippines. This provides the backbone of this chapter on the cross-case representativeness of migrant attitudes in transforming political discourses of labor migration, welfare and development in the country. This is particularly helpful in employing an analysis of interviews undocumented migrants and how their political remittances contribute to existing debates, since they do not only form a nontrivial number of Filipino working diaspora and provide significant impacts in increasing capital inflow of the country through economic remittances – their lived experiences also significantly vary from that of legal migrants, and therefore their capability sets (mired by problems of mobility) and political remittances.

Because studies focusing on the intersection of migration, welfare and development have complexities that remain unstudied, making works on such intersection “necessarily speculative” (Solomon 2017), more attention is needed here, and thus, this chapter is conceived. The following sections exploit this speculation as various literature on OFWs are integrated with discourse analysis of government views. With such, this chapter adds more nuance to the argument that migrant experience does not only produce economic remittances but also actively play in influencing the disposition of the government towards forced migration, labor export, and other problems arising from negative migration experiences. The

need to theorize political remittances, therefore, emerges out of the growing attention given to migrants as external agents helping shape the maintenance or transformation of the reproduction of Philippine politics, and to a bigger extent, the country's democratization experience.

USE AND ABUSE? PERSISTENCE OF LABOR EXPORT IN THE PHILIPPINES

Is labor export a good development policy? Pernia (2011) probes this question by examining the sustainability of labor export in responding to the needs of the Philippine economy. He notes that temporary labor migration gained considerable attention in the 1970s among Asian countries as a “stopgap measure while governments are trying to implement policy reform to whip their economies into shape” (p. 14). This has been especially observed in China, India and the Philippines, few of the biggest labor-sending countries in the world (Rother, 2009). However, while the encouragement of labor migration in the first two countries are temporary and has largely faded in many other Asian countries neighboring the Philippines, the latter's temporary labor strategy has stretched up to four decades and into a new administration that promises to help ease the issues of labor migration by ending contractualization and providing better reintegration programs for OFWs to come back to the domestic labor economy (Migrante International, 2017).

While the populist catapult of Duterte, then Davao City mayor, into the presidency in 2016 gave hope to the mass public who have been exhausted by the cyclical structural problems in the government (Tidwell, 2016; see Curato, 2017), the promises he mentioned in the course of his campaign, particularly the insurance of welfare of OFWs, have yet to see their effect. Instead of making migration “optional and not a necessity” in the initial days after he assumed office, Duterte's promise made a reverse turn – that is, turning back to “the same neoliberal policy of labor export when it comes to peddling Filipinos' cheap and docile labor to the global market” (Migrante International, 2017). The perpetuation of this neoliberal approach to labor begins with the emergence of the phenomenon of labor migration in the country. After the US

succeeded Spain in occupying the Philippines, a demographic increase of Filipino migrant workers steadied since 1906, particularly tracing the first batch of labor export in Hawaii (Baggio, 2014, p. 2). In the four decades after the institutionalization of labor export, beginning with then dictator Ferdinand Marcos, such demographic increase has constantly been explained by increase in unemployment and the lack of decent jobs, which bring more economic constraints to the already financially struggling population of Filipino laborers (Asis, 2006).

In the different administrations following Marcos and leading to the current regime, “the implicit adoption of overseas employment strategy by the Philippine government” has been continually forged (Baggio, 2014, p. 1). After the implementation of the 1974 Labor Code under Marcos’s administration (and the establishment of the Overseas Employment Development Board or OEDB and the National Seamen Board or NSB), the years leading to the fading out of Martial law and Corazon Aquino’s installment as the chief executive of the country saw a more explicit encouragement of labor export given the pressure during the latter’s time to boost economic development after decades of lag due to the previous administration’s corruption, graft and debt scandals. In the 1990s, the controversial death sentence given to Contemplacion by the Singaporean government, instead of curbing forced migration, has given labor export more legitimacy as people clamored for extending more effective OFW protection strategies. This was followed by the promulgation of the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act and the establishment of the Office of the Undersecretary for Migrant Workers Affairs (OUMWA) under the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the same year (Baggio, 2014, p. 4-7).

Various more commitments have been written and signed into law by the Philippine government, but all only lead to promote labor export and never curb the root causes of the weak economy leading to forced migration. This issue persists until now because the Philippine government lacks the necessary long-term answers to the structural issues of the economy intertwined with poverty and corruption. Pernia (2011) claims that the country can rise above this challenge by solving “two twin policy mistakes: (a) a long-lived import-substitution industrialization policy, whose protectionist policy instruments probably helped nurture the culture of corruption that has permeated the social fabric, and (b) a short-lived population

policy” (p. 30), which led to an excess of cheap labor supply desperately seeking few demands of jobs in the country’s domestic economy.

Baggio (2014) on the other hand focuses on the level of labor deployment per se, particularly recommending a long-term plan of “reducing unemployment through the generation of domestic jobs” (p. 10). He also claims that better coordination of the Philippine government with UN agencies and international organization might bring positive effects to future government strategies in coming up with stronger migration policies. This, however, is still viewed as a small step towards rounding up on the concerns of migration, welfare and development embedded on the structures of the weak Philippine economy. Coming up with better migration policies must also entail steps not just towards OFW protection and welfare provision but also the establishment of such protection and welfare provision starting within the domestic economy. The gaps in the issues of labor unemployment, underemployment and poverty must be given ample focus in meeting the demands of the domestic economy and the issues of the labor migration experience.

Although both authors do not suggest being exhaustive in their recommendations, Pernia (2011) might stand more nuanced in understanding the root problems of the Philippine economy leading to forced migration. The need to trace back the needs of the Filipino population begins with a strong population policy that might help meet supply of laborers and demand for jobs. However, this challenge becomes more daunting when this issue is complexly understood in terms of the availability and better quality of labor opportunities in the country. Thus, Baggio’s (2014) recommendations on better migration policies towards OFW protection and welfare provision might be looked upon here as standing on shallow waters if the government approaches the issue bottom-up. But then again, the adoption of better-nuanced development strategies that are first anchored on the needs of laborers – that is, that they are genuinely heard first-hand as proportionate participants in the process of consultation, deliberation and creation of labor strategies – remains highly neglected in the midst of the larger macroeconomic priorities of the government.

This is where political remittances of OFWs come in. Given that the labor export policy in the Philippines still persist despite the failure to solve issues of poverty, unemployment and

underemployment together with the absence of substantial changes towards aiming for a better state of human development for the population (Baggio, p. 9), the weakness of the country's economy thus continually perpetuates forced migration and subsequently endangers the welfare of OFWs from being used and abused both by their own government and in host countries where they are working with fear, or at least, with just "putting on a happy face" (Kessler and Rother, 2016, p. 91) to get by the day and help their families back home through economic remittances. The vitality of the voices of the labor migration experience brings into discourse the question of who benefits from economic remittances the most and provokes the government to respond to their needs and demands in the process of either maintaining or transforming the reproduction of Philippine politics.

DUTERTE'S POLICIES AMID POLITICAL MOBILIZATION

There are recent movements towards labor migrant security in the country. In the years Duterte has been installed as president, labor migration movements coming from different unions and civil society organizations have pushed policies that commit to ensuring welfare and security among OFWs facing maltreatment, illegal recruitment and human trafficking, among others. As a response, Duterte signed into law the creation of the Office for Social Welfare Attaché by amending the Migrant Workers Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995. Such office is "expected to manage cases of distressed overseas Filipinos, undertake surveys on the situation of OFWs, establish a network of overseas-based social welfare agencies, and monitor the complaints or queries of OFWs and their families" (ABS-CBN News, 2019). As Duterte stated, "The police attaché will connect you *dito sa Pilipinas kung ano ang problema* (here in the Philippines to address the problem). And they will be trained to help you in legal matters of how to do it in the meantime that you are not here to solve the problem" (Merez, 2019).

The establishment of police or social welfare attachés comes as an initial move towards the full creation of a Department of Overseas Filipino Workers, which Duterte reiterated in his 2019 State of the Nation Address (SONA) in July. This plan has been instrumental for him during his presidential campaign roughly four years ago, and which gained him a strong support

from Filipino migrant workers around the world (Tomacruz, 2019; see Ranada, 2016). His rise as a populist leader invoked popular sovereignty derived from the people's support, and whose support is also fueled by promises that, following Arato (2018), identifies with the will of the “genuine” people, as if pursuing a collective, homogenous demand. Duterte's rhetoric, including his promises to provide migrants due protection, has fetishized the people who are exhausted of the broken promises of liberal democracy (Chen, 2016), and has extricated them from the enemies who are perpetrators of such broken promises. Thus, the promise to establish a department mandated to protect migrant rights and provide them welfare eschews attractiveness among a public whose members are, in one way or another, connected to the 10 million Filipinos working abroad.

Although such plan is yet to be fully implemented, program refinements have been introduced to cater to the needs of OFWs. For example, early on in his term, Duterte implemented a one-stop shop policy for migrant workers, with the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) establishing the One-Stop Service Center for OFWs (OSSCO). Through this center, Filipinos who plan to work or are currently working abroad can easily access all government frontline services in one place. OSSCO and the establishment of police attaché ultimately lead to the creation of the department catering to the OFWs. Duterte stressed the need to rush this creation to respond to sentiments of maltreatment and other forms of abuse. He said that, “*Apurahin ko 'yang Department of OFW*” (I will rush the creation of the Department of OFW), during a thanksgiving event for OFWs in Quezon City (Merez, 2019).

“*Bawal na 'yang recruitment diyan sa labas* (outside recruitment will no longer be allowed)... that kind of mechanism of recruiting Filipino workers abroad has been abused and abused and abused. *Mga kababayan ko puro biktima, puro kawawa* (my countrymen are the poor victims).” This rhetoric appeals to the sentiment of the larger Filipino working diaspora who “often grapple with labor issues and recruitment woes while some need legal assistance for alleged involvement in criminal activity” (Merez, 2019).

This call, as Tomacruz (2019) reports, can also be further attributed to the “headlines on the execution of workers including the recent execution of a 39-year-old Filipino worker in Saudi Arabia in January 2019 and the gruesome 2016 murder of Filipina Joanna Demafelis in

Kuwait.” This also calls into question the extent of capacity of the government to respond to situations involving human trafficking and the legal needs of Filipino diaspora, including cases of irregular migrants, intertwined with other transnational issues (La Viña and Laluna, 2018). Particularly, the case of Mary Jane Veloso on Indonesian death row since 2010 due to drug trafficking saw a commotion of lagging, if not ill-equipped, responses from the Philippine government (for recent news, see Tehusijarana, 2019; Buan, 2019). This calls into attention the government’s satisfaction with its responses to labor migrant workers’ welfare in different parts of the world, as their security faces threats from issues of labor rights and freedom of expression, if not generally due to the influence of political systems shaping such rights in countries hosting them (Kessler and Rother, 2016; Solomon, 2017):

“This administration's *malasakit at serbisyo* (care and service) program has of course reached the Filipinos who labor in foreign lands....To ensure their welfare, protection, and their access to government services, the establishment of the Department of Overseas Filipinos [is needed] to sufficiently address that particular need” (Merez, 2019).

PROSPECTS FOR REINTEGRATION

This chapter revolves around the central question of what the reasons for the persistence of labor export in the Philippines could be if it does not solve the weakness of the country’s economy and rather endangers the welfare of OFWs. I found out that the government’s neglect to solve the issues of forced migration goes back to its neoliberal economic disposition and its macroeconomic priorities. Even though labor export as a development strategy now lags in its capacity to sustain its promises since the decades its institutionalization started, the government’s focus is mainly on the GDP contribution brought about by OFW’s economic remittances. However, because the overall outlook of the economy is already shifting, and in recent years considered as newly industrializing, the government’s present infrastructure projects (e.g. Build Build Build program consisting of thousands of infrastructure projects) might generate more jobs that are suited for the development of the population’s talent pool coming from OFWs’ investment in the education of their family members.

This end goal is still difficult to grasp, though, given that many of such projects are still yet to be started. The question of reintegration then becomes blurry for all as the government focuses on the institutionalization of OFW support rather than the rapid national development policy roadmaps concentrating on domestic investment, employment and poverty alleviation strategies. Thus, reintegration mostly remains on the hands of OFWs themselves, that is, if and when they are fully capable of going back to the country and remain financially capable with the domestic economic conditions available to them. If not, then the continued preference to look for greener pastures remain, and thus, the constant security threats, too. This then turns the issue to political remittance.

Since OFWs face different issues of vulnerability embedded throughout their labor migration experience, their political remittances serve as one of the most important forms of remittances transmitting political values, attitudes and views that in turn cause for mobilization and social organization, such as that of Migrante International's cause to protect OFWs and solve the issues of the weak economy leading to forced migration. This mobilization then contributes to shaping government responses towards making the state of reproduction of Philippine politics favor OFWs' pleas. The refinement of the migration act of 1995, the establishment of police or social welfare attachés, and the move towards creating a department solely focusing on OFWs are significant steps towards fulfilling labor migrants' demands. However, the government rhetoric must transcend beyond OFW support for protection and security; it must travel back to the root causes of employment and poverty, and other issues crossing their own intersections, such as corruption, labor exploitation and human rights, towards delivering the kind of development its population deserves.

I now elaborate on the concept of human agency through Sen and explore theoretical explanations of the capability paradigm in building this study's case on the provision of mobility as capability through intermediary discourses as political remittance towards helping migrants attain the lives they want to lead.

CHAPTER II

Mobility as capability: reconstructing the moral argument for migration

Recent scholarship on moral arguments for migration examines the implications of fair treatment in the discussion of global justice and extends it to the provision of freedom to migrants who suffer from violations of human dignity. Amartya Sen's writings on human capability and Thomas Pogge's argument for the rectification of historical global injustice both point to the provision and enhancement of life but differ on the understanding of human agency. Pogge criticizes Sen for the latter's notion of man as *homo economicus*, where human agency presupposes rationality. Pogge argues that Sen's account of global poverty is mired by the latter's limited conception of human in human agency, one detached from complex real-world problems, particularly when it comes to the analysis of poverty and human agency in the global level. Looking at this issue, Pogge (2005) goes on to examine the present-day implications of global poverty through the historical contexts of unequitable distribution of global resources and the structural injustices that come with it. He proposes the Global Resources Dividend (GRD), a radical redistribution of global resources, as a compensatory scheme for the unjust consequences of the global political rule, and thus the exercise of colonialism and imperialism, by rich countries that have compromised human dignity among the poor. However, this scheme, although already similarly existing in several rich countries such as the United States, poses problems of sovereignty interference, priority and commitment.

This chapter intervenes in both problems Sen and Pogge face. I attempt to reconstruct the moral argument for migration by first arguing that the reading on Sen's conception of man as agent is short-sighted, given his extrapolation on the limited notion of rationality and its impact on personal and public reasonings. This is important when looking at migrants as agents of personal reasonings mediated by intermediary discourses. Such mediation from social

organization looks at (1) how rational personal reasonings of migrants are when claiming the lives they want to lead and (2) how state authorities through government actors and institutions produce public reasonings that take account the intermediary-mediated personal reasonings of migrants.⁸ I then look at the significance of this debate on human agency and personal and public reasonings in exploring the idea of mobility as (1) both a capability-in-itself and a shaper of other capabilities. Human agency and mobility mutually reinforce each other and therefore shape the kind of personal reasonings produced by migrants, of which intermediary reasonings are based. Such reasonings, through constant compromise and dialogue with the state, ought to expand the horizon of capability and subsequently recognize the importance of opportunity and choice in broadening concerns and commitments people have towards enhancing the general state of human life and – albeit narrowly – outside of it.⁹ This puts into concern not only internal mobility but also international mobility, advanced by arguments on freedom of movement (Carens, 1987, 2000; Oberman, 2016). As another angle to this debate, I also approach the idea of mobility as (2) a relational application of global justice. Since Pogge’s GRD is difficult to be fully realized, I instead look at the provision of mobility opportunities and choices as a way of contributing to the aim of GRD. Through the aim of achieving fair treatment in rights provision across state borders, I theorize on the elements of the capability of movement, taking into account both the moral human rights approach and poverty approach in applying Oberman’s (2016) concepts of personal interests and political interests situated in the debate on the freedom of movement. I conclude by tying back human capability towards development as freedom and freedom as justice. This reconstruction of the moral argument for migration

⁸ Fair representation of migrant rights by intermediaries can here be assessed in both positive and negative lights. Because no one is ever fully rational, as rationality is embedded on different social realities shaping different combinations of human advantages, migrants “might not fully know” what they want in pursuit of leading better lives. On a positive note, the mediation provided by intermediaries gives migrants platform in helping them channel their pursuits through common sets of rights, needs and interests. On a negative note, given that the idea of capabilities is to create/have opportunities and choices to become who/what, intermediary mediation can only be ever so helpful to a certain extent. The question of mediation as help in this situation becomes apparent when asserting the argument that migrants should have the right, opportunity and choice to become who/what they want even if it does not help them lead better lives. This concern on mediating between personal and public reasonings can be possibly resolved by constant compromise and dialogue between interested parties facing issues of context.

⁹ Sen (2009) briefly mentions that extending the range of capability applications would also extend to concerns that, to some extent, are outside the coverage of human life. This includes animal rights and climate justice.

sets the theoretical and empirical attempt of this thesis to contribute towards expanding the discourse on the capability paradigm in practice.

SEN AND POGGE ON HUMAN AGENCY

The capability paradigm, which has been pioneered by Sen, aims to assess the well-being and quality of life of people and approaches the idea of justice based “on the effective opportunities that people have to lead the lives they have reason to value” (Robeyns, 2006, p. 351). As opposed to conceptions of capabilities based on utility and resources, Sen’s (2009) approach is freedom-based, that is, that human capability should be geared towards the achievement of combinations of functionings in life in order to make sense of people’s individual advantages, focusing “on the freedom that a person actually has to do this or be that – things that he or she may value doing or being” (p. 231-232). This freedom is a manifestation of human development, where combinations of functionings are ideally provided and expanded for the people to widen the concerns and commitments they have towards having the kind of life that they have reason to value. Sen emphasizes that the capability paradigm does not aim to create a system of order to be followed in society, serve as a design for its organization and develop a specific formula for policy decisions. Its aim for the flourishing of human freedom is attained through the ability of people themselves to realize the meaning, or creatively interpret, their freedom, emphasizing the importance of doing away with the idealization of the understanding of the problem of justice.

This presentation of people as rational in general is deemed problematic by several scholars. Crocker (2008) for example notes the problem of human agency in Sen’s idealization of the ability of people to realize what they have reason to value, what they need and want. Maboloc (2020) elaborates this briefly, explaining that human agency “presupposes rationality but not everyone actually possesses such an attribute due to our differentiated circumstances, including political violence, disability, or the lack of access to good education” (p. 6). The differences in people’s capacity as moral agents therefore are not thoroughly considered. Maboloc suggests this as a seemingly weak egalitarian understanding of human capability. This

critique of equality of human capability underscores the need to reconsider the extent to which Sen's concept of parametric variations towards achieving functionings¹⁰ can help illuminate the complexity of capability in general. Crocker terms Sen's understanding of human agency as non-actual agency because of it does not reflect actual conditions on the ground. The reason for this might be that Sen is too optimistic about – or that he leaves critically unexplored – the capacity of people to choose what they have reason to value, what they need and want. I argue that this is a short-sighted reading of Sen that does not consider his valuation of the nuances of public reasoning and its constitution towards curbing poverty and capability deprivation. I discuss this first position of the paper in the next section.

Apart from this, the extent and limits of (rational) human agency in Sen's conception of the capability paradigm concerns Pogge when it comes to the intersections of spaces where poverty and injustice are analyzed. Pogge claims that Sen mostly focuses on the domestic causes of poverty and therefore misses out on the historical embeddedness of domestic issues within the contexts of world politics. Such contexts involve unjust institutions from affluent societies that have taken advantage of the poor (mostly the Global South) throughout history, for example through colonialism and imperialism, and thus have moral obligation to the latter. This could come in the form of reparations in order to curtail global poverty and reform the global economic order. Pogge proposes the Global Resources Dividend (GRD) to redistribute global resources from affluent countries to the Global South not as an aid but as a way to compensate for the negative effects the poor suffers from due to the unjust accumulation of wealth by such affluent countries throughout human history and the global political order that the latter have led as hegemons (Maboloc, 2020). This positive duty of the rich to help guarantee the moral rights of the poor is only partial; Pogge emphasizes more on the importance

¹⁰ Sen (1997) enumerates at least five significant sources of parametric variation emerging from different types of contingencies leading towards the achievement of functionings: (1) Personal heterogeneities, noting biological issues on illness, disability, gender and age, among others, (2) environmental diversities, including the influences of climatic circumstances to people's daily lives, (3) variations in social climate, elucidating the influences of social conditions that include "public health care and epidemiology, public educational arrangements, and the prevalence or absence of crime and violence in the particular location" (p. 385), (4) differences in relational perspectives, stressing the differences in behavior patterns among communities that have different customs, beliefs and traditions, and (5) distribution within the family, claiming the importance of income utility of the family towards propagating well-being and freedom as well as furthering different family members' interests. Sen also discusses these variations in *The Idea of Justice* (2009, p. 254-257).

of negative duty not to harm the poor. GRD can be interpreted as both contributing to the provision of the poor's inalienable right to live. And to live freely, the poor must not be constrained of the current setup determining global injustice and engendering global poverty (Urbano, 2012). GRD thus does not only constitute in financial support for the poor but also must be geared towards abolishing the unjust global economic order perpetuating global injustice and poverty. However, the problem facing this in practical terms would lie on issues of sovereignty intervention, priority and commitment among affluent countries. Setting up the dividend entails a moral institutional problem of practicality that intervenes on policy decisions and the prioritization by the rich of their own people. Additionally, the role of the United Nations and other international organizations in the propagation of both positive and negative duties and subsequent actions might also cause rifts against rich countries that deem such duties as hindering an active sovereignty supposedly geared towards the human development of their respective citizens. Thus, the dividend might be economically taxing on the part of affluent countries and the welfare of their citizens to extensively commit themselves to reducing – if not eradicating – global injustice and poverty.

The problem however on active sovereignty is in its relational status: countries do not exist in a vacuum and are challenged by varying and intersecting political, economic and social phenomena shaped by domestic and international affairs. Because there is no uniquely pure sovereign country in this sense, they therefore resolve to cooperation with each other to advance their interests. The relational nature of active sovereignty must thus be understood in terms of inequality in the global order, which gives more countries, in this case the rich ones, better leverage or bargaining power in cooperating with and influencing policy decisions of other countries. It is here that the moral relevance of GRD is greatest. Although I do not advance a counter-critique on the problem of GRD as universally unrealistic, I focus on introducing mobility as a contributing factor towards realizing some features of GRD's aim. Towards this line, I also explore the idea of mobility as both a capability-in-itself and a shaper of other capabilities towards curbing non-actuality in human agency. This two-fold premise composes the second position of the chapter, discussed in its penultimate section.

LIVES, FREEDOMS, CAPABILITIES

Sen's (2009) freedom-based capability approach is closely linked to the comprehensive outcome of the opportunity aspect of freedom.¹¹ This argues for the importance of providing opportunities for people to pursue their objectives, those that they have reason to value, in a manner that also considers the process of choice involved within one's ability to do so, including having available choice alternatives. This ability to choose, which somehow presupposes rationality, makes the bulk of criticism against Sen on the conception of human agency. As a defense of Sen, I counter-argue the idea of non-actuality in human agency by revisiting his concept of poverty deprivation and extending it towards understanding interactions of agencies among people shaping each other's lives.

The ability to choose is influenced by the cleavages brought about by, and that which shape, natural circumstances and social choices. Sen brings into focus the relationship between resources and poverty, which are "both variable and deeply contingent on the characteristics of the respective people and the environment in which they live" (p. 254). These contingencies shape the parametric variations of the lives people can lead towards achieving functionings. Therefore, poverty, complicated by such cleavages and contingencies, results in capability deprivation, where the already perverse problems of poverty are exaggerated by problems of varying capabilities barring the poor to lead their lives. The idea of rationality as a presupposition of human agency therefore is not always straightforward. Such cleavages and contingencies often become tools of conditioning for the poor to think limitedly when it comes to leading lives they have reason to value. More so, limited reasoning is shaped by the deprivation of capabilities, which made impossible for people to evade due to chances and circumstances, for example, of physical and mental disability. In this sense, the bigger problem is not non-actuality; it is the non-commensurable differences of advantages considered by people as relatively rational human agents.

¹¹ Sen (2009) notes the value of freedom based on two aspects: the opportunity aspect and process aspect of freedom. Additionally, he claims that the opportunity aspect of freedom can be understood in terms of its culmination outcome and comprehensive outcome. The importance of these differences is manifested in critical arguments of freedom, where Sen gives more focus on the comprehensive outcome of the opportunity aspect of freedom. An extensive account of this can be found in *The Idea of Justice* (p. 228-230).

Non-commensurability highlights pluralities of human advantages whose value cannot be reduced on an equally one-dimensional level. Because advantages are plural, diverse and non-commensurable, taking into account different parametric variations, there is no one single general way of evaluating a choice as a homogeneously equal good for everyone. From here, reasoning, and more specifically public reasoning, comes into the picture. Sen argues that “[r]eflected evaluation demands reasoning regarding relative importance,” highlighting the power of public reasoning in extending valuations’ reach, reliability and robustness (p. 240). To the extent that personal reasoning does not fully equip the capacity of people to lead their own lives, public reasoning attempts to help in the form of justified interference. The fruitfulness of public discussion and deliberation, Sen notes, “can lead to a better understanding of the role, reach and significance of particular functionings and their combinations” in order to produce justified comparative judgments between personal and public reasoning, which in itself guarantees the operational nature of the capability approach, that is, that its application is not necessarily limited by constraints of the failure to weigh different capabilities. Additionally, because justified public reasoning operates in a self-reflexive way, it attempts to balance – if not even out – problems of non-actuality miring the rational human agent from valuing their ultimate needs and wants in their lives.

In the context of undocumented political and economic migrants, the presupposition of rationality by human agency is influenced by choices and circumstances that, to an extent, they cannot control. This includes questions of why they left their home countries, chose to be undocumented and endanger their lives and survival due to their (il)legal status, among others. Therefore, the guarantee of reasoning towards achieving the lives they want to lead must also come from cooperating agents apart from themselves. Social and political organization significantly advances their voices and provides a continuous self-reflexive way of making their voices and their contingencies clearer. Such agents extend to the likes of intermediaries such as nonprofits and international organizations working together with government institutions towards reaching an equitable and justified compromise out of public reasoning. However, there can still be dangers to this, which public reasoning must use to protect itself from: first, collective reasoning can result in a collective action that does not guarantee all the

freedoms for everyone, and second, there are constant manipulations of voices and discourses in the process of intervening reasoning due to differing political, economic and social agendas. This presents intersecting and often conflicting issues of plural and diverse needs and wants that shape the lives people have reason to value and, although not without criticisms,¹² brings back the importance of agency to the people and not just the state and its institutions.¹³

MOBILITY AS CAPABILITY

Undocumented political and economic migrants suffer from different political, economic and social circumstances that have been shaped by the unjust global order. Pogge's GRD aims to help guarantee them the provision of their inalienable right to life and the constituting factors embedded towards their living freely. However, since a radical global reparation is not fully at work, albeit there are some existing forms of compensatory support from affluent countries,¹⁴ being undocumented in a foreign land is still a conditionality of human agency barred from achieving functionings that would supposedly lead migrants to live the life they value. Since both positive and negative duties towards curbing poverty and not harming the poor as a universal project can be quite taxing in the form of a dividend, I do not attempt to counter-argue criticisms against it being unrealistic. This is because of the difficulty to bypass commitments and priorities of the rich to support their own citizens first. I instead appeal to the guarantee of mobility by these affluent countries to undocumented migrants not just as one alternative of the dividend towards fulfilling both positive and negative duties against poverty and the unjust global order but also as a way of mobilizing, or if one may like, *capabilizing*,

¹² Sen clarifies the analytical nuances of the 'priorities claim' and 'redundancy claim', where he rejects Ingrid Robeyn's position against the latter claim as irrelevant to the former towards the demand to shift from transcendental theorizing among justice theorists to a theorizing about change that is justice-enhancing. Sen also acknowledges, and adds to, the clarifications John Davis and Fabienne Peter contributed in their own works tackling *The Idea of Justice*. See Sen (2012) for an elaboration.

¹³ Sen (2009) critiques the centrality of institutions as guarantors of justice in Rawls' (1999) *Theory of Justice*, juxtaposing the relational position of human capability which underscores that justice can also be achieved by humans as agents in themselves, separate to some extent from institutions. This contains the bulk of *The Idea of Justice*'s introductory chapter (p. 1-29).

¹⁴ Pogge (2007) cites the United Nations reporting that majority of rich countries "never gone anywhere near devoting 0.7% of their FNNI to official development assistance (ODA)", which was a UN target for the year 1975. Instead, Pogge notes that "ODA shrank throughout the prosperous 1990s, from 0.33% in 1990 to 0.22% in 2000. In the aftermath of the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, ODA is back to 0.33% in 2005, but only about one-tenth of this \$106 billion in ODA is spent on basic social services" (p. 26).

them to contribute to the economy, or if not, then to the greater good of their respective countries. In cases where migrants cannot contribute to the economy, public discussions and deliberations can produce justified reasoning of fair treatment that practically appeals to them, including the attainment and valuation of happiness, recognition and representation towards a more diverse, inclusive, tolerable, understanding and lively state of life. Concerns of divisiveness must be addressed through the progression of reasoning that is checked and balanced by opposing ideals, and which benefits and consequences must be weighed, interpreted and analyzed altogether, towards the achievement of a truly free society. This valuation of happiness, well-being and capabilities of diverse peoples become the burden of public reasoning towards valuing freedom, and thus, to some extent, democracy. Sen notes democracy as public reason in the attainment of the goals of justice, which is not to achieve perfect justice but to lessen, if not eradicate, injustices surrounding the human agencies, functionings and capabilities of people towards achieving the life they have reason to value, whatever it may be from their perspectives.

For the migrants, specifically, I introduce mobility as a capability-in-itself and a significant influence in forming their capability perceptions. Public reasoning here looks at the axiomatic grounded approach of selecting combinations of capabilities which migrants themselves deem important towards achieving the life they want to lead. This necessitates that public reason also looks into the issues migrants face with limited movement, that is, without the aid of legal documents, leading for example towards precarious work and exploitation, constrained access to health, education and other opportunities, and even the inability to access basic physiological needs such as shelter and food, among others. I therefore assume that underscoring mobility as an important capability could find and enumerate more concrete functionings with relative importance towards a better life. In the next section, I connect this by introducing at least three elements of the capability of movement.

ELEMENTS OF THE CAPABILITY OF MOVEMENT

There are at least three elements of the capability of movement that affluent societies, intermediaries and migrants themselves could work together to provide for the latter through public reasoning: the ability to move, the right to move and the option not to move. First, the ability to move refers to having physical and material resources to move, which includes monetary investment incurred in the process of working abroad. However, considering income and wealth situations of migrants and the consequences of poverty on their human capitals as well as the (dis)advantages they present when analyzed based on Sen's parametric variations argument, migrants are left with little possibility to escape precarious work and its vulnerabilities. In the case of Filipino migrants who have chosen to be or found themselves in irregular situations, most have experienced illegal recruitment and human trafficking. One reason for this might be that migrants themselves are sometimes partners in irregular migration since there are insufficient incentives for them, such as welfare benefits, to avoid irregular migration. This is one of several explanations for the persistence of irregular migration, as Battistella and Asis (2017) noted. Some more stem from political-legal problems that are relevant in the second element of the capability of movement, the right to move.

The right to move mostly concerns the moral obligation of states (both sending and receiving) in providing migrants legal premium that entice them to stay or revert to being documented. Battistella and Asis (2017) elucidate more reasons, specifically in the context of Gulf states, relevant to this discussion: migration pressure, insufficient international cooperation and lack of strong policy implementation and monitoring. In all these, what ought to be considered central in achieving "safe and sound migration" is respect for the human rights of migrants (p. 332). Policies from both sending and receiving states must therefore be attuned to the protection of migrants' rights, particularly including irregular migrants, in order to provide them better chances and choices in life. Most importantly, states must put premium to enhancing and expanding migrant capabilities by respecting that migrants have personal and political interests, drawing from the argument of freedom of movement (Oberman, 2016). Migrants have a human right to move "based on their interest in making important personal decisions and engaging in politics, free from state restrictions on the range of options available

to them” (p. 52). This right to movement must be acknowledged by states when coming up with policies and strategies seeking for the best interests of migrants, particularly those in irregular situation. The state of being undocumented itself affects movement, especially in relation to other functionings and capabilities. With this, providing legal channels to undocumented migrants do not only open opportunities for them to choose their beings and doings and capacitate them to access more rights; they also give migrants the option not to move, the third element in the capability of movement.

The option not to move concerns issues of freedom and voluntariness. Following Olsaretti (1998), “freedom is about the options...available to us, whereas voluntariness regards the way in which the nature of those options affects our will” (p. 53). She goes on to explain that claims of freedom are descriptive and claims of voluntariness are explanatory (“explaining why an agent acts as she does”), with both conceiving “the distinction between ‘being free to act’ on the one hand, and ‘acting freely’ on the other, where ‘acting voluntarily’ means ‘acting freely’ with the addition of an element of information to it” (p. 53-54). In the context of migration, political and economic migrants are alike in that poverty – and other similar circumstances of unfreedoms – forces people out, with many ending in irregular situations. Furthermore, taking into account the situations undocumented migrants are trapped with, the absence of liberty to move limits their choices. To volunteer to migrate, that is to act freely, is not entirely an act of freedom but one that is contingent on chances and choices available to the migrant. This puts into light the importance of the option of migrants not to move when considering their chances and choices in living in states they deem more beneficial to their pursuit of good life.

With these elements, the idea of mobility as capability and in relation to other capabilities can be considered an emancipation – borrowing Pogge’s term – from capability deprivation, and thus, a part of the bigger movement to curb global injustice and poverty. Additionally, with mobility as a right at hand, leading the lives people want also becomes a project of human development, advancing freedoms as a positive duty of the rich, curbing unfreedoms as the latter’s negative duty and altogether making an alternative case of reparation

for the ones suffering from the violation of human dignity based on the historical contexts of the unjust global order present today.

RECONSTRUCTING THE MORAL ARGUMENT FOR MIGRATION

The reconstruction of moral argument for migration in this paper rests on the following: (1) reexamining the criticism of Sen's human agency as non-actual agency by revisiting his nuances on human capability and poverty deprivation and emancipation, (2) exploring the idea of mobility as both a capability-in-itself and a shaper of other capabilities towards curbing non-actuality in human agency, and (3) arguing for mobility as a relational application of global justice that contributes to the aim of GRD, which is reparation for the poor, especially those who chose – indeed, are forced to choose – to be undocumented economic and political migrants.

First, I argued that the reading on Sen's conception of man as agent is short-sighted. Sen (2012) discusses John Davis's analysis of *The Idea of Justice*, particularly emphasizing the dependence of his "constructive expectations from open public reasoning, [his] celebration of agency freedom and indeed many of the major constituents of [his] theory are conditional on [his] conception of what people are like" (p. 173). He further explains that "[t]he ability to reason and to interact, which gives power to public reasoning, enhances the relevance and reach of agency freedom" (p. 174). From this, it should not be about the claim that everyone will always apply reasoning (both personal and public) amid life challenges; instead, "certain understandings may emerge if they were to undertake public reasoning seriously, which they have the ability to do" (p. 176). This last part does not consider the extent of this ability of human beings, for example, those with physical and mental disability, and those whose reasoning is conditioned by capability deprivation out of parametric variations. I argued that by extending the self-reflexivity of reasoning, and more importantly public reasoning, those who can't reason for themselves can be supported by such "certain understandings" Sen discusses. These understandings can be developed through the form of recognition and

representation, among others, guaranteeing that these people and their loved ones live the life that is valuable based on the level of judgment of public reasoning.

Second, I introduced mobility as a contributing factor towards realizing some features of GRD's aim, which can be both the positive duty of curbing global injustice and poverty and the negative duty of not harming the poor. From this, I also contended that the idea of mobility as both a capability-in-itself and a shaper of other capabilities serve as a way of mobilizing, or if one may like, *capabilizing*, them to contribute to the economy, or if not, then to the greater good of their respective countries. This therefore goes back to the question of agency freedom, where freedom is limited by the conditions barring reasoning from achieving the lives people want to lead. Through mobility as capability, the commitment and priority problems on and of affluent countries can be directed in ways where they also benefit when capacitating migrants to contribute to the economy, or where they can't, resorting to continuous public reasoning until certain understandings on the welfare of society, that which might include happiness, well-being, recognition and representation as forms of freedom, advance the project of human development in that society. Reasoning thus becomes manifested too as democratic reasoning when considering mobility as capability and providing ways to realize such as beneficial towards enhancing the state of justice in the world.

Ultimately, fair treatment as a question of capability deprivation and emancipation is achieved upon the provision of capabilities to enhance human agency and subsequently recognize the importance of freedom in broadening concerns and commitments people have towards enhancing the general state of human life. As for the migrants, limited movement limits their capability and limited capability further limits their already limited movement, trapping them in a cyclical system of violence against human dignity and robbing them of their inalienable right to live, to survive, to be treated fairly. Migrants as human agents must be given advantages to voice out their needs and wants, their capability preferences, towards living the life they value. If for certain circumstances, they fail to reason out in the midst of discourses on political, economic and social cleavages affecting them, public reasoning must look into the value of their personal reasoning – or judge situations and conditions they are under – and come up with a continuously self-reflexive judgment as a justified interference that puts importance

on the combinations of human advantages of migrants towards the achievement of their functionings and capabilities. This makes them able to claim for human development as freedom because they would be given the right of choice in life.

In the next chapter, I investigate the value of personal reasoning mediated by intermediary discourses of power serving as political remittances of migrants, shaping the migration problem in the Philippines and probing democratic reasoning of the government.

CHAPTER III

Between migrants and intermediaries: towards a Foucauldian discourse analysis

This chapter establishes the methodological context of this thesis. I employ Foucauldian discourse analysis in analyzing Migrante International's campaigns and press statements online. I touch on the FDA approach of theory as methodology and explain the process of truth-making through discourse legitimacy following Foucault's concepts of power, knowledge as discourse and subjectivities. I also discuss the compatibility of Sen and Foucault on discourse and capability. I then briefly discuss the context of FDA in this study, the process of data collection and analysis, and the limits and trustworthiness of this thesis.

TRUTH-MAKING THROUGH DISCOURSE LEGITIMACY

This thesis frames FDA based on the relationship between power, domination and resistance in contemporary society and how discourses are framed and produced through such relationship (see Foucault, 1972, 1982). The legitimacy of discourse is shaped by epistemes or regimes of power influencing the existence, experience and reasoning of the human being. The production of truth and knowledge as discourses is an exercise of power based on epistemes, which "are defined by the structural relations between various concepts" and which "replace one another in abrupt and arbitrary discontinuities" (Bevir, 1999, p. 347). Based on this, individuals are defined by concepts, desires, beliefs, and so actions provided by epistemes. In this way, "our meanings, experiences, reason, and so truth are not simply given to us as stable and fixed objects" but that epistemes, social structures, and discourses construct them and shape our identity (p. 347). However, as Foucault opposed the idea of the autonomous individual and an objectivist epistemology given the view that the individual does not have

pure experiences nor pure reason, his work faces two important criticisms on the extent of human agency and justified reasoning. First, “if the subject is a product of a regime of power, how can [they] act innovatively, and if [they] cannot act innovatively, how can we explain changes within a regime of power?” Second, “if all claims to truth merely hide a will to power, if we reject all notions of objectivity, then on what grounds can we assert the superiority of our preferred theories and values?” (pp. 357-358).

These questions find relevance in this thesis, especially, first, on the discussion of the capability of human agent to define and achieve the life they have reason to value, and second, on the question of coming up with a justified public reasoning of what combinations of capabilities and functionings a society should value given the context of its political, economic and social needs. Discourses of migration as culturally and socially constructed representation of reality are then defined based on the premise of agency and reasoning. To solve the issues of autonomy and objectivist epistemology, especially when approaching political science through Foucault, Bevir (1999) shifts from “epistemes” and “regimes of power” to “tradition” as a conception of social structure.¹⁵ This tones down Foucault’s “overtly hostile view of objectivism towards an acknowledgement of the possibility of local reasoning” and, in the context of this thesis, opens up to the possibility, first, of agency where migrants are seen to have the capability of “organizing their beliefs in accord with their own notion of best belief”, and second, of an anthropocentric epistemology, through justified reasoning catering a compromise/dialogue between personal reasonings mediated by the social organization of Migrante International and public reasonings instilled in government policies and strategies aiming to provide and protect migrant welfare.¹⁶

¹⁵ Tradition “implies that the relevant social structure is one in which the subjects are born and which then acts as the background to their later beliefs and actions whilst also allowing for the possibility of their modifying, developing, and perhaps even rejecting much of their inheritance...Because the idea of tradition suggests that subjects can modify their inheritance for reasons that make sense to them, it also encourages us to move away from Foucault’s overly hostile view of objectivism towards an acknowledgment of the possibility of reasoning.” (Bevir, p. 358).

¹⁶ “A rejection of autonomy does not entail a rejection of agency. To deny that subjects can escape from all social influences is not to deny that they can act creatively for reasons that makes sense to them. On the contrary, we must allow for agency if only because we cannot individuate beliefs or actions by reference to social context. Because different people adopt different beliefs and perform different actions against the background of the same social structures, there must be an undecided space in front of these structurers where individual subjects decide what beliefs to hold and what actions to perform for reasons of their own. Individuals can act creatively in ways

SEN AND FOUCAULT ON DISCOURSE AND CAPABILITY

Discourses have systematic structures that can be analyzed archaeologically and genealogically: the former through the identification of the core elements of discourses and the relations that create them, and the latter through the investigation of discourse formation by structures of power and their practices (Peet and Hartwick, 2009).¹⁷ Power, which represents the potential fluidity of social relations, acts on those who are “free subjects” but are struggling with domination and who may engage in resistance (Nash, 2010). In approaching Foucault’s analytics of power, the operations of power relations and dynamics can be understood by the production of objects and subjects. Domination and resistance are a constant dialectic of power relations, an ongoing mode of action upon actions which manufacture objectivities (through truth-making) and subjectivities (those shaped by truth-making) (see Foucault, 1982).

In this thesis, taking into account agency and reasoning, the conception of discourses intuitively refers to the conception of capabilities. The connection of discourse and capability can be discussed in terms of what I suggest as the discourse of capability and the capability of discourse. The former discusses what has been laid out as *prima facie* capability sets and combinations by agents (government institutions, intermediaries, individuals), regarded as given and important in society. This situates capability as it is in practice, variedly constructed in policies, programs and strategies by government actors involved in “truth games”. Meanwhile, the latter touches upon the concept of adaptive preferences, where people “suffer from thinking that things are impossible when actually they are possible. We are simply socialized in believing they are not” (Robeyns, 2018). This is very much related to perception formations of people on their capability to reason out and make their reasonings included in the collective, justified public reasonings of society.

Through this connection of discourse and capability, I analyze intermediary political remittances of labor migration and the process of democratic reasoning back home. Following

which are neither fixed nor even properly limited by the social context or regimes of power in which they have their being” (Bevir, p. 358).

¹⁷ This thesis uses the terms archaeology and genealogy in simplistic terms. The process of archaeology is used to “identify certain socio-political practices and techniques long obscured and resisted”, and is complemented by the process of genealogy to “connect them together, and develop a picture of social and political control that helps explain present conditions” (Holder, 2019, p. 75)

Cheek (2008), I incorporate Sen's and Foucault's respective thoughts of capabilities and discourses of power as theory-as-methodology in this thesis. "Whatever the theoretical frame that is informing the understandings of discourse will also inform and shape the understanding of discourse analysis that is in use" (p. 2). In this study, the employment of FDA uses both concepts of discourse and capability in analyzing the campaigns and press statements of Migrante International online. I now discuss the context of FDA in the section below.

FDA IN THIS STUDY

Since no Foucauldian methods of analyzing discourse strictly exists (Hook, 2007), the theoretical premise of Foucault's analytics of power guides the conception of FDA and complements the use of Sen's capability approach in this thesis. I utilize the methodological guidelines set by Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2017) for conducting Foucauldian discourse analysis in psychological research and tailor them such that they cater to the political questions of this study. In the process of collecting data, I gathered press statements and campaigns of Migrante International found in their online website from their first post to the last preceding the first post related to Covid-19 issues. I nonetheless consider posts which appeared during the time of epidemiological crisis if they do not contain topics and themes related to the issue at hand. The sorted table containing the entry posts (with corresponding publication dates, website links and codes for citation used in the next chapters) appears in the Appendices of this thesis. I then move on to analyze each entry, making up the corpus of statements of this thesis, by following the guidelines below:

Table 1. Some methodological guidelines for conducting Foucauldian discourse analysis

Problematizations	Problematizations refer to historical events in which objects and practices are made 'problematic' and therefore visible and knowable. They often form at the intersection of different discourses and expose power/knowledge relations. Problematizations serve an epistemological and methodological purpose of allowing the analyst to take up a critical position in relation to how problems are formed and to show how they constitute objects and practices.
Technologies	Technologies are practical forms of rationality for the government of self and others. There are two kinds of technologies appropriate for psychological inquiry: technologies of power and technologies of self. Technologies of power seek to govern human conduct at a distance while technologies of the self are techniques by

which human beings seek to regulate and improve their conduct. Technologies are also ‘truth games’ realized either on a larger political scale or among local and specific instances of local interaction.

Subject Positions	Subject positions define the historical limits of what can be written, said or practiced. Identifying subject positions allows the analyst to investigate the cultural repertoire of discourses available to speakers. They are not only positions on which to ground one’s claims of truth or responsibility, but they allow individuals to manage, in quite complex and subtle ways, their moral location within social interaction.
Subjectification	Subjectification refers to the ethics of self-formation. Foucault understands ‘ethics’ in a practical sense of human beings constituting themselves as subjects of a moral code. Ethics is the practical work of submitting oneself to a set of moral recommendations or obligations. Practices of self-constitution may adhere to standards or techniques imposed upon the self in order to attain wisdom, beauty, happiness, perfection, etc.

Source: Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2017, p. 118)

LIMITS AND TRUSTWORTHINESS

I share the same arguments presented by Cheng (2018) in their anti-bullying policy study using FDA. First, FDA is a plural term, as reflected by Foucault’s frequent rethinking of methods and avoidance of their systematization given his opposition to “all totalizing conceptions or grand narratives that seek to justify claims to knowledge and truth” (Springer and Clinton, 2015, p. 88). This means that throughout Foucault’s “complex, difficult, nuanced and, at times, flawed and contradictory” thoughts, concept of discourse and its methodology, he provides the researcher the challenge of clearly contextualizing the study that attempts to draw analysis from his writings. (Hook, 2007, p. 543; Cheek, 2008). This provides the researcher the discomfort of being confronted with the question of how to analyze discourse situated within the context of the study. Here, I utilize the guide presented by Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2017), and draw inspiration from some more FDA methodological strategies (e.g. Scheurich, 1994; Bacchi, 2009) to tread this limit and attempt to produce “powerful and imaginative” interpretations of the Migrante International discourses at hand (Taylor, as cited in Ball, 2015, p. 309).

Second, such interpretations also go without limits: there is a risk of meaning imposition drawn from interpreting texts. However, following Foucault’s perspective, analysts are inevitably constructed by discourse, produced and reproduced by discourse and, like

research itself, are producers of discourse (see Cheng, 2018). The issue of “misinterpretation” however can albeit be by moving “*in* and *out* of the text instead of remaining *within* the text” (Hook, 2007, p. 543, italics in original). Additionally, a corroboration of the findings generated from textual analysis should come from “reference to certain extra-textual factors” such as the following “pivotal conditions of discourse”: “history, materiality, conditions of possibility” (pp. 542-543). This provides the employment of FDA credibility when it comes *not* to a complete picture of the reality, but instead to a consistent theoretical construction drawn from a “partial or situated reality” (Cheek, 2004, p. 147) – and better utilized in examining theoretical and practical assumptions of problems – of labor migration and undocumented labor migration this study attempts to investigate. With this, situated together with the previous chapters establishing the historical-economic and theoretical contexts of this thesis, I proceed to the next chapter employing FDA and presenting my findings and analyses.

CHAPTER IV

Intermediary discourses as political remittances

This chapter presents a Foucauldian discourse analysis of the state of labor migration in the Philippines and the capability of movement among undocumented migrants through Migrante International's online press statements and campaigns.¹⁸ With the aid of this thesis' historical-economic and theoretical chapters, I methodologically situate the discourses through Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine's (2017) four-part FDA guide: (1) problematizations, where the problem of migration is constructed and represented; (2) technologies of power and of self, where regularities creating the migration issue are rationalized by the government and are subsequently challenging Migrante, and with which the latter attempts to navigate itself vis-à-vis its discourses serving as political remittances in the course of such regulations; (3) subject positions, where Migrante establishes its moral position on the migration issue, situated within social interactions of regulatory conducts of truth games; and (4) subjectification, where the ethics of self-formation of migrants as subjects of a moral code is constructed in Migrante's discourses towards attempting to transform migration politics back home.

PROBLEMATIZATIONS

In the wake of the high rate of unemployment and job insecurity in the Philippines, Migrante responds to the pressing demands of OFWs to counter the problems the latter face amid the historical perpetuation of economic labor migration and the failure of Duterte's promises to support the needs of the people, particularly the clamor of Filipino migrants whose number amounts to around 10% of the total population of the country. Migrante, founded in 1996

¹⁸ Migrante International is herein subsequently referred as Migrante. The corpus of statements used for the FDA in this study is found in the Appendices. For codes used for citation, see Table 2.

following Contemplacion's death, sees itself as a socio-civic organization actively defending Filipino migrant rights and welfare through public awareness of their problems, critical analyses of the labor export policy program of the Philippine government, handling and assistance of cases of migrant abuses, such as human trafficking, kidnapping, torture and murder. Later on, as the number of OFWs bloated, their work extended to "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" (Migrante International, n.d.). With over 200-member organizations across 23 countries, its core programs on rights and welfare, campaigns and advocacy, education and research, network and lobbying and international solidarity have shaped the way they respond to migration politics both within and outside the Philippines. This has provided Migrante's discourses avenues to be transformed into political remittances in challenging the participatory processes of Philippine democracy when it comes to its current disposition on migration issues, particularly amid Duterte's promises since his popular presidential campaign up to the present.¹⁹

Analyzing the press statements and campaigns released by Migrante through their website,²⁰ this chapter yields four important themes comprising the social organization of migrants' discourses as political remittances. First concerns the lack of health and social security back home. Currently, Migrante calls out the revocation of the Universal Health Care law, which has been temporarily halted by the government as of writing. This law imposes mandatory monetary contributions for a national health care insurance that is barely present in countries hosting OFWs.²¹ Second, insufficient financial assistance and other administrative and logistical support for OFWs who continually experience job loss or income reduction as well as the lack of economic relief. Additionally, visa and labor problems and lack of consular and labor aid perpetually figure as critical core issues reflecting the inability of the government

¹⁹ This paper does not include dispositions solely covering the recent issue of Covid-19, which merits a research of its own given differences of context. However, statements covering Covid-19 issues that are also applicable pre-pandemic are included.

²⁰ <https://migranteinternational.org/>

²¹ See Table 3 in the Appendices.

to fully respond to migrant needs.²² Third, the rights of migrants against use and abuse is also a continuous concern that has been made known globally. For Filipino migrants, it is the varied experiences of physical and mental abuse Migrante considers an important aspect neglected by the promises of support expressed by the Duterte government. Since Contemplacion's death, many more cases of morbidity followed, alarming the organization in terms of the magnitude of this problem as the country continues to "bear witness to the lives and struggles of thousands and thousands of Flor Contempacions" (MI188). Particularly, Migrante has been keen on the Philippine government's ties with Gulf countries, including Kuwait, given the death of Dimafelis, shocking the world in 2018 when her body had been discovered frozen for about a year inside her employers' refrigerator. The organization says "Duterte's hardline pronouncements against Kuwait remain to be mere grandstanding and sheer hypocrisy unless problems marking labor conditions in the Philippines are resolved".²³ Fourth, Migrante is also concerned about anti-immigrant atrocities, both rhetorics and actions, not just towards OFWs but also to vulnerable migrants around the world. Over the years, they have been vocal about xenophobic sentiments and abuses cast to Chinese migrants in the Philippines (MI112, MI113), Latin American families caught in the US-Mexican border chaos (MI124), immigrants affected by xenophobic Japanese television shows (MI129) and immigrants denied of social welfare benefits in Trump's US (MI139).²⁴

All these connect with two issues at the core of migrant security: the security of migrant families, both back home and those who have joined migrant family members in their host countries, as well as prospects for integration programs in host countries and reintegration programs back home. Both core issues of course figure in the focus of political remittances of migrants, which here are intermediated by the social organization of Migrante. All the themes associated with these core concerns of migrant security are also embedded on the larger political structure of migration in the Philippines. Although migration remains a transnational phenomenon, this study's focus on the sending country investigates the country's contribution in the matter of labor insecurity affecting – indeed, endangering – millions of lives whose

²² See Table 4 in the Appendices.

²³ See Table 5 in the Appendices.

²⁴ See Table 6 in the Appendices.

experience of migration has been shaped by the long-standing socio-economic and political issues back home. Here, Migrante's discourses yield three more relevant themes in their summation of crafting the migration problem.

First, Migrante is critical of the overall neglect of the Duterte government when it comes to fulfilling its promises of providing utmost welfare to OFWs. In most instances where political issues arise, Duterte is called out as “just too spooked by the mass awakening and growing outrage of the Filipino people against injustices being committed by his regime” (MI21). He has been labeled with harsh comments such as having a “degenerate libido” (MI154) and a “dirty mouth” (MI96), claiming many times that he “has not brought law and order to the country. Instead, he has dragged the entire nation to disgrace by presiding over lawlessness and widespread disorder through the brutality of his state forces” (MI88).²⁵ Second, Migrante emphasizes that Duterte's attacks on OFW critics and migrant rights activists have been more alarming than ever, especially with the case of Jory Porquia's death by unidentified gunmen (MI26). Furthermore, the organization also clamors for the criminalization of volunteerism and humanitarian intervention to stop,²⁶ calling on the government to change its reactionary approaches towards a proactive one that considers the help of advocacy workers as something of value towards solving the common problems the country faces. Third, Migrante provides regard for respecting the fundamental democratic experience of the Filipino people. Given the organization's claim on Duterte's “political agenda in silencing organized voices who are defending their democratic rights” (MI75), the “Fascist attack against the Filipino people's democratic rights and civil liberties” remains steadfast (MI2). This is amid the backdrop of recent cases of “abuse of power” such as the implementation of the Anti-Terrorism Act in early July this year and many others utilized by the government as its technologies of power in rationalizing policies to regulate people's movement.

²⁵ See Tables 3-9 in the Appendices.

²⁶ See Table 7 in the Appendices.

TECHNOLOGIES OF POWER AND OF SELF

Technologies in Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine's (2017) FDA guide reveal rationalities and regularities employed by dynamics of power. In Foucault's (1972, 1982) analytics of power, the relationship of power consists domination and resistance, where power is considered as action upon an action. In this thesis, technologies of power are government mechanisms attempting to control human conduct while technologies of self are the mechanisms employed by Migrante to navigate within the regularities of the government. Because Migrante concerns itself beyond the immediate problems OFWs are facing and engages its attention to the general outlook of politics in the Philippines, its framing of the government's technologies of power encompasses many legal issues aside from problems in migrant assistance. Particularly glaring are the following recent disciplinary/governing techniques: first, the implementation of the Anti-Terrorism Act (MI2, MI15) is susceptible to abuse, where the government, given the law's arbitrary definition of what terrorism and who a terrorist is, "could use [it] to prosecute political opponents" (McCarthy, 2020). Second, the shutdown of ABS-CBN, the Philippines' largest broadcast network (MI21), sent a chilling effect not just to the media community in the country, but also among Filipinos who took to the streets and to social media concerns of free speech and free press (Gutierrez, 2020). Third, continued police and military brutality does not only stifle political dissenters but also took the lives of many human rights defenders from progressive groups (MI15, MI178, MI188).²⁷ These issues, Migrante finds, are central in the government's surveillance, using Foucault's term, on the actions of its citizens.

Such technologies of power however are also met with technologies of self coming from Migrante. As a form of dissent, discourses of Migrante as political remittances are themselves techniques attempting to navigate around government disciplinary techniques. Migrante claims the government is "terrified of collective action from high-minded OFWs and citizens engaged in the struggle for socio-economic change" (MI78). Additionally, the very organization of Migrante as trying to represent migrant voices also serves as a technology of self resisting the "practical forms of rationality", borrowing from Arribas-Ayllon and

²⁷ All issues overlap with the Covid-19 pandemic but is considered in this study as they have already been ongoing concerns years before.

Walkerdine (2017, p. 118), imposed by the government through laws regulating people's movement. Connecting this to the language of capability following Amartya Sen's writings (1999, 2009), Migrante's discourses as political remittances are products of the fused individual/personal reasonings of migrants and the collective/public reasonings of Migrante and its networks of migrant rights defenders. Although the question of fair representation of migrant experiences by Migrante arises, since most members of Migrante are themselves migrants undergoing the issues tackled above, this somehow justifies representation as a compromise between such reasonings. These reasonings, through discourses as political remittances, in turn take the work of social organization toward particularly transforming the politics of migration back home and generally contributing to the discourse of democracy. Such are constitutive of the government of the self of Migrante, attempting to regulate and improve its own conduct towards not just engaging in "'truth games', realized either on a larger political scale or among local and specific instances of local interaction" (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2017, p. 118), but also win it, that is, legitimize its construction of truth and representation of the reality of migration in the Philippines. This construction is of course a product of the subject positioning of Migrante of which it grounds its "claims of truth and responsibility" and its moral location given the interaction of power in the truth game of regulatory technologies (p. 118).

SUBJECT POSITIONS

Three subject positionings of Migrante emerge upon discursively analyzing the rhetoric of its statements online: progressive and humanitarian. First, on being progressive, Migrante can further be seen as anti-Fascist, nationalist and militant. As anti-Fascist, Migrante is vocal about the "repressive" (Migrante Europe, 2019a), "authoritarian" (MI154) and "tyrannical rule" (MI154) of the "criminal Duterte administration" (MI96). Duterte has been called out as "the master of divisiveness and confusion, of thievery and murder" (MI96), with Migrante particularly noting his neoliberal and capitalistic policies as balancing acts between the US and China, most of the time favoring either of the two's interests and inevitably compromising people's welfare. Migrante Europe writes similarly in two separate posts:

In the Philippines, we find the puppet US-Duterte regime is finding pleasure in its harlotry with imperialist rivals China and the United States. Continuing plunder of our country's resources and violation of our economic rights, the Filipino people, including those in diaspora in Europe, has build stronger unity with other oppressed people of the world to resist the imperialist aggression of the US and China (Migrante Europe, 2019b).

Contributing to the global fight against fascism, nazism and neoliberalism as what we are seeing in the broad mass actions in France, Chile, Colombia, Bolivia, Haiti, Lebanon and in many other parts of the world is fundamental to our national democratic experience in the Philippines. (Migrante Europe, 2019b).

The emphasis on national democratic experience of the people relates to the position of Migrante as nationalist. As such, it attempts to strengthen “the will of the Filipino to fight for full national independence, democracy, development through genuine agrarian land reform, national industrialization, social justice and cultural progress” (MI96). If only “the Duterte administration’s economic policies... focus on developing national economy by advancing local industries, agriculture and basic services”, Migrante claims, the problem of forced migration can be addressed (MI173-176). Hence, the regime “should depart from neoliberal policies which focus on increasing dependence on OFW remittances, foreign investments, debt-heavy infrastructure projects” (MI173-176). If not, then Migrante calls on “solidarity and mutual support between the Filipino people and other peoples to unite in defeating and resisting” the administration (MI96).

As militant, this resistance embodies Migrante’s aim of serving the people, not just OFWs, “towards a new government that will uphold and protect our rights and welfare” (MI78). Migrante explains that “[in] all of our militant pursuits, it is...imperative that we commit ourselves to cultivating a deeper understanding” of the problems in the country, challenging the citizens to “[r]ouse...and gird your armooour on! Let us press forward in one accord with all the toiling Filipino masses as we clear the path for a future where no family will ever be torn apart for the need to survive”. With this, Migrante aims to “[b]oldly advance the struggle of Filipino migrants for national democracy and social justice” (MI68).

Second, as humanitarian, Migrante is morally conscious about human dignity, rights and welfare and social justice. In their line of work “promot[ing] migrants’ rights and dignity against all forms of discrimination, exploitation and abuse in the work place and in the

community [as well as] resist[ing] all anti-migrant policies” (n.d.), they have been engaged in thousands of cases of human rights abuses faced by migrants. They likened such cases to the struggles of other sectors experiencing long-standing marginalization and otherization in the country. Connected to this, the following dispositions and sentiments of Migrante reflect the bulk of their statements online:

The problem of forced migration is deeply rooted in the fundamental problems of Philippine society. Our struggle for dignity, rights and welfare, against government neglect and against forced migration plays a very important role in the struggle for genuine freedom and national democracy. The only solution to the problems of the Filipino migrant sector and their families is genuine social change so that families would not have to separated and broken apart in order to survive (MI173-176).

Countless Filipino household workers suffer abuse and maltreatment from the hands of their employers. Their subjection to overwork, hunger, sleep-deprivation and long-term separation from their loved ones makes them more prone to stress, depression and mental health illnesses leading them to uncontrollable emotions and behaviour in many cases (MI118).

This humanitarian turn in their civic service goes back to the themes I have identified in problematizing the migration problem based on Migrante’s discourses as political remittances. OFWs have suffered from issues of health and social security, policy, logistic and monetary assistance, rights abuse and anti-immigration sentiment around the world. Back home, there remain labor exploitation in the domestic economy, threats against human rights defenders and disrespect of the fundamental democratic experience of Filipinos. Thousands of lives of migrants and their families are under vulnerability, and Migrante has been vocal about countless lives sacrificed in stories of horror across the world.²⁸

However, all these characterizations of Migrante’s positionings as an intermediary of migrant rights don’t of course go without a caveat. Migrante has ties with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), which may have shaped the former’s strong disposition against the Duterte administration. NDFP is a “revolutionary united front organization of the Filipino people fighting for national freedom and for the democratic rights of the people” (n.d.). Furthermore, it “seeks to develop and coordinate all progressive classes, sectors and forces in the Filipino people’s struggle to end the rule of US imperialism and its

²⁸ See Tables 5-7 in the Appendices.

local allies of big landlords and compradors, and attain national and social liberation” (n.d.). In 2018, Julie de Lima, the wife of Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) Founding Chairman and NDFP Chief Political Consultant Jose Maria Sison, delivered a keynote address during Migrante’s 8th International Congress, with the main message of “expand[ing] and consolidate[ing] Migrante International and strengthen[ing] the international campaign to oust the terrorist Duterte”. Both in political exile in the Netherlands, de Lima and Sison’s revolutionary work has contributed in the consolidation of progressive organizations pushing forward the national democratic brand of NDFP, which is ideologically based on communism, specifically Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, advocating for left-wing nationalism and against imperialism.

With this backdrop, I can only speculate the explicit connection between Migrante and organizations of the Philippine Left as there is no statement in Migrante’s website confirming it to be affiliated with NDFP. There are however posts against government threats directed to Sison and other issues concerning NDFP, the peace talks and killings of human rights defenders (MI51, MI119). Aside from this, the rhetoric against the government abusing its powers and exploiting the Filipino masses has been more or less the same even before Duterte. The years following Migrante’s conception have also seen blatant criticisms against presidents preceding Duterte (MI140, MI188), with little number of posts containing positive sentiments on government actions and other issues (MI49, MI173, MI91, MI120, MI127, MI128). This opens the political problem in research and practice centered on agency and representation. Given that truth games are played by actors of interest that may regulate Migrante’s conduct, of which is situated within political interactions surrounding the migration issue, its technologies and techniques of legitimating truths of migration discourses are caught up in the power dynamics of producing justified and fair public reasoning. The subject positions of Migrante as both progressive and humanitarian can only speak of what’s genuine and fair in migrant concerns insofar as these are framed or constructed as truths of migrants themselves. Although there can be external corroborations that might contribute to strengthening Migrante’s claims, limits of truth production in games of power between migrants, the government and other actors must be acknowledged. In the process of establishing Migrante’s moral disposition on the migration

issue, given the regulatory conducts of truth games and the interactions they are embedded with, migrants are continually produced and reproduced as subjects of a moral code founded on the winning ends of truth games. In other words, Migrante's subject positions shape the ethics of self-formation of migrants amid the construction of the migration problem and transformation of migration politics back home.

SUBJECTIFICATION

Migrants as subject of Migrante's discourses are reconstructed through the latter's discourses on the state of migration back home and the mobility as capability of undocumented Filipino labor migrants around the world. On these central questions of this thesis, the implications of shaping migration politics touch upon the security of migrant lives and families as well as the prospects of their integration in the states they want to live in order to lead the lives they want. These implications from Migrante's discourses seem to come from the necessity of subjecting migrants to the former's moral grounding as a progressive and humanitarian organization navigating through the problematizations of migration created by truth games and technologies. Migrants are thus caught in the middle of these technologies, one of power, coming from the government, and another of self, coming from Migrante, in the context of this thesis. Looking back at my theoretical extrapolation on agency and reasoning therefore puts these power relations by such actors in active conversation with each other, taking into account the overlap of discourse and capability as concepts I use to theorize on mobility.

Both the capability of discourse and the discourse of capability, as I have briefly argued in Chapter 3, assess illusions of movement and sacrificial persistence among migrants amid governmentality. Actors with interest use discourses as technologies of reason, and through Foucault's concept of knowledge as power, reproduce cycles of objectification (legitimizing what is true) and subjectification (making one a subject of a legitimated truth) towards occupying space. In essence, Foucault's will to knowledge connects to Friedrich Nietzsche's will to power in that movement of migrants in this study becomes subjected to both discourse

and capability and the power dynamics between them, all of which are subjects to the wills of the actors discussed above.

As for the discourses of Migrant, the central unit of analysis of this study, shaping migration politics can also mean valuing freedoms through the employment of democratic reasoning by the government in its policies. First, recognizing Migrant's discourses as important sets of intermediary reasoning provides a continuous flow of compromise and dialogue that helps actors reframe the migration problem in ways that cater to advancing migrants' varied capability sets. With this follows enacting capability laws, which in light of the historical-economic problems set out in Chapter 2, challenges the government to attend to the root causes of migration. This must be based both on (1) the needs and interests of a welfare and rights-based domestic economy, where issues of labor and employment, inequality and poverty, among others, must be resolved, and (2) the transnational cooperation of sending and receiving states, where there must be premium on welfare benefits not only for migrants to remain and/or strive to be in regular situations but also for them to have the option to stay with the domestic economy knowing that it would suffice as a public good for people using different sets of capability to advance the life they want.

This valuation of democracy as a public reasoning opens up discourses of the capability of movement and the extent towards it is relevant towards people's access to opportunities and choices shaped by their chances and circumstances in life. Evidently, given the dismal outlook of migration politics in the Philippines and the problems in Duterte's migration promises, discourses as political remittances are yet to be transformed into concrete laws in the bid to provide better leverage for migrants in terms of welfare, capabilities and development. In the bigger issues of democratization, responding to problems of migration politics also channels what kind of direction the country's democracy is taking. From this, responding to migration politics in particular is also responding to democratization in the country. In the next chapter, I conclude with a summary of findings to my research questions, some remarks on the capability of movement as well as the main research limits of and possibilities beyond this thesis.

Conclusion

This thesis probes the state of labor migration in the Philippines and the capability of movement among undocumented migrants through intermediary discourses. Specifically, I look at (1) how intermediary discourses conceptualize the migration problem through framing mobility as capability among Filipino migrants and (2) how such discourses serve as political remittances in the process of democratization back home. The first question can be approached in two parts: first, the migration problem in the Philippines is characterized by four concerns: lack of health and social security, insufficient policy, logistic and financial aid, migrant rights use and abuse and anti-immigration sentiments and movements in OFWs' host countries. The precarity and vulnerability of the lives of labor migrants are further exaggerated by government neglect towards stemming and resolving the root problems of migration, attacks on OFW critics and migrant rights activists and disregard for respecting the fundamental democratic experience of the Filipino people. In turn, these pose two more security concerns migrants face: the security of migrant families, both back home and those who have joined migrant family members in their host countries, as well as prospects for integration programs in host countries and reintegration programs back home.

As for the second part of the first question, however, the answer is not clear. This is mainly because *Migrante* has rarely published content discussing issues of undocumented migration. Although Battistella and Asis (2017) imply that the entire migration issue must not be separated from the issue of migrants in irregular situations, there is still a significant difference on the discussion of dignity, rights and welfare provision and protection between regular and irregular migrants when it comes to mobility, as this thesis theorizes. The lack of well-directed discourses on undocumented migration only proves how difficult it is to probe into the lived experiences of migrants who are caught up with limited movement, also limiting

their own capabilities, given for example the lack of legal papers and the inability to access health care services, among others.

Meanwhile, I address the second central question of this thesis by looking at the position of Migrante's discourses in shaping migration politics and valuing freedoms through democratic reasoning. The problematizations I found in this study are products of the reconstructions of truths about the migration problem and the use of technologies of power and of self to influence this reconstruction along the way. Migrante's discourses serve as political remittances of migrants' needs and interests that challenge the participatory system of whatever form of democracy present in the country. These discourses are reflections of Migrante's subject positionings as progressive and humanitarian. As the former, Migrante is anti-Fascist, nationalist and militant. As the latter, it is humanitarian in that it is morally conscious about human dignity, rights and welfare and social justice. However, the understanding the role of these discourses must also be situated amid a caveat – that the progressive Left in the Philippines might have an influence in shaping Migrante's regulatory conducts as an agent interested in the truth games of migration problem. This leaves the subjectification of migrants hanging, especially on the question of whether they are represented by Migrante in fair and genuine manners.

I hope to have resolved these central questions with the help of foundational chapters situating my thesis problem and its nuances. Chapter 1 serves as the historical-economic background of this study and argues that the persistence of the labor export policy in the Philippines can be explained by the government's neglect to solve the issues of forced migration, which goes back to its neoliberal economic disposition and its macroeconomic priorities. Chapter 2, the theoretical base of this study, extrapolates from Sen's capability paradigm the importance of agency and reasoning when arguing for mobility as both a capability-in-itself and a shaper of other capabilities as well as a relational application of global justice given the transnational nature of the migration problem. I also discuss the relevance of freedom of movement argument in establishing the elements of the capability movement: the ability to move, right to move and option not to move. I then turn to Chapter 3, which is the methodological context of my thesis. I briefly discuss truth-making in discourses and utilize

Foucault to complement Sen in assessing the compatibility of the concepts of discourse and capability. I extrapolate on the idea of theory as methodology, using both concepts and initially open the discussion on the capability of discourse and discourse of capability. I then move to employ Foucauldian discourse analysis through Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine's (2017) following guide: problematization, technology of power and of self, subject position and subjectification, with which I analyze the corpus of Migrante statements online in Chapter 4, the empirical part preceding this chapter.

CONTRIBUTIONS

The potential contributions of this thesis are three-fold. First, theoretically, I have reconstructed the moral argument for migration, banking on arguments of human agency and reasoning connected to the formation of capability and mobility. Additionally, the marriage of mobility to capability attempts to provide a novel way to understand capability formation and explain the political remittances of migrants based on their capability of movement. I complement this by presenting some elements of the capability of movement, which future studies can further extrapolate on.

Second, methodologically, I my research questions in a non-normative manner, employing FDA and Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine's (2017) guide in coming up with an axiomatic and grounded approach of the selection of capability sets based on discourses from Migrante's corpus of statements online. I also follow FDA's theory as methodology principle by complementing the thoughts of Sen and Foucault on capability and discourse. Attempting to create a conversation between two thinkers from different ends of social thought is too difficult a task, especially when considering the histories of their systems of thoughts, with Sen's analytical beginnings and Foucault's poststructuralist outlook. Nevertheless, I hope to have produced a hybrid discourse of capability and mobility using Foucault's analytics of power in the process of navigating through and amid unfreedoms, following Sen, and in the context of this thesis, reconstructing the migration problem through technologies of power towards the ultimate pursuit of providing migrants opportunities to lead the lives they want.

Third, empirically, I have contributed to understanding the migration issue via political remittances, which decenters from the traditional conception of migrants mainly – if not solely – economic agents. This provides an investigation into the sentiments of labor precarity, inequality and poverty more than the usual data present when discussing these issues. Additionally, I have also probed the situation of undocumented Filipino migration, something that has not been problematized much despite the large population in diaspora without legal documents. This however does not yield much empirical analysis as Migrante's statements on this matter are rather limited. I instead focused more on theorizing to offset this lack in the study.

LIMITS AND PROSPECTS

Among several possible limitations of this study, there are three pressing ones needing attention for future research. First, generalizability and replicability in this thesis, particularly in the empirical part, is difficult to achieve. Sen claims that there are no singular capability sets and advantages while Foucault is critical of issues of universality. Instead of focusing too much on the idea of generalizability in political research, and although I acknowledge this, I have focused more on theory, which can be applied and reapplied in cases of different contexts. Second, my theorizations on the elements of the capability of movement is still novel and yet to be applied in analyzing different phenomena aside from migration. This is connected to the next limit, which tackles the problem of representation. This issue is recurring because of the critical position of intermediaries like Migrante attempting to represent voices that sometimes miss the chance to participate first-hand. Like technologies of power, it is not only migrants who regulate their own conduct to fit in the moral code of society. Additionally, intermediaries do not also act in isolation as their regulatory conducts of the self are influenced by internal members and external actors, including my position as a researcher, and to resolve this requires further scholarship and discussions on the matter at hand. However, all these limits notwithstanding, this study still produces contributions then utilized towards enhancing and expanding literatures on migration, mobility and the capability in practice.

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APPENDICES

Table 2. Online press statements and campaigns of Migrante International

Code	Date	Statement/Campaign	Link
MI1	8-Jul-20	PHILHEALTH MET WITH STRONG OPPOSITION BY OFW GROUPS AGAINST ITS MANDATORY PHILHEALTH AND PREMIUM RATE HIKE	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/07/08/philhealth-met-with-strong-opposition-by-ofw-groups-against-its-mandatory-philhealth-and-premium-rate-hike/
MI2	4-Jul-20	JUNK TERROR LAW! FILIPINO MIGRANTS WILL NEVER BE SILENT. WE'LL FIGHT AGAINST TYRANNY WITH ALL OUR MIGHT!	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/07/04/junk-terror-law-filipino-migrants-will-never-be-silent-well-fight-against-tyranny-with-all-our-might/
MI3	3-Jul-20	SUPREME COURT PETITION FOR MASS TESTING AND RELEASE OF ACCURATE DATA, FILED BY OFW AND OTHER SECTORAL ADVOCATES	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/07/03/supreme-court-petition-for-mass-testing-and-release-of-accurate-data-filed-by-ofw-and-other-sectoral-advocates/
MI4	30-Jun-20	DUTERTE REGIME AT FOUR: OFWS CAST INTO HELL AS DUTERTE'S CRONIES ENJOY PARADISE — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/06/30/duterte-regime-at-four-ofws-cast-into-hell-as-dutertes-cronies-enjoy-paradise-migrante-international/
MI5	26-Jun-20	#FREEPRIDE20: MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL CONDEMNS ARREST OF PRIDE PROTESTERS	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/06/26/freepride20-migrante-international-condemns-arrest-of-pride-protesters/
MI6	26-Jun-20	“WHY DON’T YOU RESIGN AND APPLY AS PR FOR ABUSIVE OFW EMPLOYERS?” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL TO DFA USEC. ARRIOLA	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/06/26/why-dont-you-resign-and-apply-as-pr-for-abusive-ofw-employers-migrante-international-to-dfa-usec-arriola/
MI7	16-Jun-20	STRANDED IN AMSTERDAM: 14 OFWS DENIED ENTRY BACK TO THE PHILIPPINES CITING GOVERNMENT-IMPOSED QUOTA. MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL SEEKS IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE AND REPATRIATION FOR STRANDED OFWS	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/06/16/stranded-in-amsterdam-14-ofws-denied-entry-back-to-the-philippines-citing-government-imposed-quota-migrante-international-seeks-immediate-assistance-and-repatriation-for-stranded-ofws/
MI8	13-Jun-20	“JUNK TERROR BILL! AYUDA HINDI DIKTADURA!” — FILIPINO MIGRANT GROUPS ON THE 2020 INDEPENDENCE DAY GLOBAL MAÑANITA PROTEST	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/06/13/junk-terror-bill-ayuda-hindi-diktadura-filipino-migrant-groups-on-the-2020-independence-day-global-mananita-protest/
MI9	12-Jun-20	INDEPENDENCE DAY: FILIPINO MIGRANTS RIGHTS’ GROUP BLASTS DUTERTE REGIME FOR TERROR BILL AND GARBAGE-LIKE TREATMENT OF OFWS	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/06/12/independence-day-filipino-migrants-rights-group-blasts-duterte-regime-for-terror-bill-and-garbage-like-treatment-of-ofws/

Code	Date	Statement/Campaign	Link
MI10	9-Jun-20	FILIPINO MIGRANTS' RIGHTS GROUP ASSAILS TERROR BILL AS IT AWAITS DUTERTE'S SIGNATURE	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/06/09/filipino-migrants-rights-group-assails-terror-bill-as-it-awaits-dutertes-signature/
MI11	4-Jun-20	HUNDREDS OF OFWS STRANDED AT NAIA; FILIPINO TEACHER IN THAILAND COMMITS SUICIDE; WHERE'S THE 'VIP TREATMENT' ??? — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ASKS MALACAÑANG	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/06/04/hundreds-of-ofws-stranded-at-naia-filipino-teacher-in-thailand-commits-suicide-wheres-the-vip-treatment-migrante-international-asks-malacanang/
MI12	3-Jun-20	OPEN LETTER TO THE 18TH CONGRESS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: FILIPINO MIGRANT ORGANIZATIONS AND MIGRANTS' RIGHTS ADVOCATES OPPOSE ANTI-TERRORISM BILL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/06/03/open-letter-to-the-18th-congress-house-of-representatives-filipino-migrant-organizations-and-migrants-rights-advocates-oppose-anti-terrorism-bill/
MI13	2-Jun-20	“UNITE AGAINST RACISM! JUSTICE FOR GEORGE FLOYD AND FOR ALL VICTIMS OF SOCIAL INJUSTICES!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/06/02/unite-against-racism-justice-for-george-floyd-and-for-all-victims-of-social-injustices-migrante-international/
MI14	1-Jun-20	MALACAÑANG'S SO-CALLED 'VIP TREATMENT OF OFWS' DECODED AS 'VERY IMPORTANT PALAGATASAN' OR MILKING COWS FOR THE DUTERTE REGIME	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/06/01/malacanangs-so-called-vip-treatment-of-ofws-decoded-as-very-important-palagatasan-or-milking-cows-for-the-duterte-regime/
MI15	30-May-20	“GOVERNMENT APOLOGY TO OFWS IS WORTHLESS WITH CRIMINALIZATION OF DISSENT!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/05/30/government-apology-to-ofws-is-worthless-with-criminalization-of-dissent-migrante-international/
MI16	29-May-20	“ENOUGH OF THE DUTERTE REGIME'S GARBAGE-LIKE TREATMENT OF OFWS” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/05/29/enough-of-the-duterte-regimes-garbage-like-treatment-of-ofws-migrante-international/
MI17	25-May-20	DUTERTE GOV'T HIT FOR MASS INCARCERATION OF OFWS AND PUBLIC RELEASE OF THEIR COVID-19 TEST RESULTS	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/05/25/duterte-govt-hit-for-mass-incarceration-of-ofws-and-public-release-of-their-covid-19-test-results/
MI18	22-May-20	OFW GROUP CALLS FOR SPEEDY REPATRIATION OF OFWS. DEMANDS COMPLETE JUNKING OF MANDATORY PHILHEALTH AND PREMIUM RATE HIKE	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/05/22/ofw-group-calls-for-speedy-repatriation-of-ofws-demands-complete-junking-of-mandatory-philhealth-and-premium-rate-hike/
MI19	21-May-20	“ARREST SINAS! STOP CRIMINALIZING DISTRESSED OFWS FLEEING DETENTION-LIKE QUARANTINE FACILITIES! SCRAP MANDATORY PHILHEALTH AND PREMIUM RATE HIKE” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/05/21/arrest-sinas-stop-criminalizing-distressed-ofws-fleeing-detention-like-quarantine-facilities-scrap-mandatory-philhealth-and-premium-rate-hike-migrante-international/
MI20	7-May-20	MAKABAYAN'S AMENDATORY BILL ON MANDATORY PHILHEALTH GETS STRONG BACKING FROM OFW ADVOCACY GROUP MIGRANTE INT'L	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/05/07/makabayans-amendatory-bill-on-mandatory-philhealth-gets-strong-backing-from-ofw-advocacy-group-migrante-intl/

Code	Date	Statement/Campaign	Link
MI21	6-May-20	“ABS-CBN SHUTDOWN ORDER, A VIOLATION AGAINST THE RIGHT OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE TO ACCESS INFORMATION. BOLSTERS DUTERTE’S MARTIAL RULE” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/05/06/abs-cbn-shutdown-order-a-violation-against-the-right-of-the-filipino-people-to-access-information-bolsters-dutertes-martial-rule-migrante-international/
MI22	4-May-20	“SUSPENSION WON’T SUFFICE FOR LONG. SCRAP PHILHEALTH PREMIUM HIKE NOW!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/05/04/suspension-wont-suffice-for-long-scrap-philhealth-premium-hike-now-migrante-international/
MI23	3-May-20	STOP THE MANDATORY COLLECTION OF PHILHEALTH PREMIUM INCREASE! JOINT POSITION STATEMENT OF FILIPINO MIGRANT GROUPS ON PHILHEALTH CIRCULAR NO. 2020-0014	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/05/03/stop-the-mandatory-collection-of-philhealth-premium-increase-joint-position-statement-of-filipino-migrant-groups-on-philhealth-circular-no-2020-0014/
MI24	1-May-20	FILIPINO MIGRANTS MANIFESTO (MAYO 1, 2020)	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/05/01/4020/
MI25	1-May-20	“DUTERTE IS THE VIRUS. SOCIAL JUSTICE IS THE CURE!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON THE 2020 INTERNATIONAL WORKERS’ DAY	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/05/01/duterte-is-the-virus-social-justice-is-the-cure-migrante-international-on-the-2020-international-workers-day/
MI26	30-Apr-20	JUSTICE FOR JORY PORQUIA! STOP DUTERTE’S ATTACKS ON OFW CRITICS AND MIGRANT RIGHTS ACTIVISTS!	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/30/justice-for-jory-porquia-stop-dutertes-attacks-on-ofw-critics-and-migrant-rights-activists/
MI27	28-Apr-20	WITHOUT FINANCIAL AID AND MEDICAL ATTENTION FOR OFWS, QUARANTINE SHELTERS ARE NOTHING BUT PLAIN DETENTION FACILITIES — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/28/without-financial-aid-and-medical-attention-for-ofws-quarantine-shelters-are-nothing-but-plain-detention-facilities-migrante-international/
MI28	27-Apr-20	INVESTIGATE AND SANCTION MACAUYAG AND OTHER MECO OFFICIALS PESTERING ORDIDOR — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/27/investigate-and-sanction-macauyag-and-other-meco-officials-pestering-ordidor-migrante-international/
MI29	26-Apr-20	MIGRANTE INT’L CALLS FOR HEADS TO ROLL. SEEKS IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATION ON ROLE OF GOV’T NEGLECT TO OFW SUICIDE VICTIM	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/26/migrante-intl-calls-for-heads-to-roll-seeks-impartial-investigation-on-role-of-govt-neglect-to-ofw-suicide-victim/
MI30	25-Apr-20	“STOP USING TAIWAN OFW AS A PUNCHING BAG TO DIVERT PEOPLE’S ATTENTION FROM DUTERTE’S INUTILITY” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL TO DOLE	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/25/stop-using-taiwan-ofw-as-a-punching-bag-to-divert-peoples-attention-from-dutertes-inutility-migrante-international-to-dole/
MI31	24-Apr-20	PAHAYAG NG MIGRANTE PHILIPPINES HINGGIL SA PAGKA-ISTRANDED NG MGA OFWS SA BATANGAS (23 ABRIL 2020)	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/24/pahayag-ng-migrante-philippines-hinggil-sa-pagka-istranded-ng-mga-ofws-sa-batangas-23-abril-2020/
MI32	24-Apr-20	“DUTERTE, HELLBENT ON FULFILLING HIS DICTATORIAL AMBITIONS AT THE HEIGHT OF A GLOBAL PANDEMIC AND RECESSION. ” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON DUTERTE’S THREAT TO IMPOSE MARTIAL LAW	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/24/duterte-hellbent-on-fulfilling-his-dictatorial-ambitions-at-the-height-of-a-global-pandemic-and-recession-migrante-international-on-dutertes-threat-to-impose-martial-l/

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MI33	23-Apr-20	UAE OFWS TO GOVT: RELEASE ASSISTANCE FOR ALL DISTRESSED OFWS NOW	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/23/uae-ofws-to-govt-release-assistance-for-all-distressed-ofws-now/
MI34	22-Apr-20	OFWS HIT DOLE FOR HALT IN APPLICATION FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/22/ofws-hit-dole-for-halt-in-application-for-financial-assistance/
MI35	20-Apr-20	STOP CRIMINALIZING VOLUNTEERISM AND HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION! RELEASE EX-ANAKPAWIS SOLON ARIEL CASILAO AND RELIEF VOLUNTEERS NOW! — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/20/stop-criminalizing-volunteerism-and-humanitarian-intervention-release-ex-anakpawis-solon-ariel-casilao-and-relief-volunteers-now-migrante-international/
MI36	19-Apr-20	OVERSEAS FILIPINO MIGRANT GROUPS PAY TRIBUTE TO FALLEN OFWS AND HEALTH WORKERS IN THIS MONTH'S SECOND GLOBAL KALAMPAGAN ACTION	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/19/overseas-filipino-migrant-groups-pay-tribute-to-fallen-ofws-and-health-workers-in-this-months-second-global-kalampagan-action/
MI37	19-Apr-20	URGENT APPEAL FROM FILIPINO J-1 WORKERS IN THE US (J-1 VISA HOLDERS)	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/19/urgent-appeal-from-filipino-j-1-workers-in-the-us-j-1-visa-holders/
MI38	16-Apr-20	JOINT STATEMENT BY FILIPINO ORGS. IN ASIA-PACIFIC ON THE DUTERTE GOVT'S RESPONSE ON OFW CONCERNS DURING THE COVID-19 CRISIS	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/16/joint-statement-by-filipino-orgs-in-asia-pacific-on-the-duterte-govts-response-on-ofw-concerns-during-the-covid-19-crisis/
MI39	15-Apr-20	MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL JOINS ILPS COMMISSION 15 IN THE GLOBAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY FOR PUBLIC HEALTH, NOT PRIVATE PROFIT	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/15/migrante-international-joins-ilps-commission-15-in-the-global-day-of-solidarity-for-public-health-not-private-profit/
MI40	14-Apr-20	“DUTERTE’S APATHY AND INUTILITY, TOO HARD TO IGNORE!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/14/dutertes-apaty-and-inutility-too-hard-to-ignore-migrante-international/
MI41	11-Apr-20	“WHY DISCRIMINATE AND EXCLUDE OTHER AFFECTED OFWS FROM GETTING DOLE-AKAP PHP 10K ASSISTANCE?” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/11/why-discriminate-and-exclude-other-affected-ofws-from-getting-dole-akap-php-10k-assistance-migrante-international/
MI42	4-Apr-20	WITHOUT EFFICIENT AND STEADY RELIEF, MASS STARVATION AND MORBIDITY AWAITS RETURNING 420,000 OFWS HIT BY COVID-19 RECESSION — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL WARNS	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/04/without-efficient-and-steady-relief-mass-starvation-and-morbidity-awaits-returning-420000-ofws-hit-by-covid-19-recession-migrante-international-warns/
MI43	1-Apr-20	ON THE HARASSMENT AND DISPERSAL OF DISTRESSED OFWS BY POLO & OWWA OFFICIALS IN RIYADH	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/04/01/on-the-harassment-and-dispersal-of-distressed-ofws-by-polo-owwa-officials-in-riyadh/
MI44	26-Mar-20	“DUTERTE REGIME’S NATIONAL ACTION PLAN, A FALSE MILITARY SOLUTION TO A NATIONAL HEALTH ISSUE.” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/03/26/duterte-regimes-national-action-plan-a-false-military-solution-to-a-national-health-issue-migrante-international/

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MI45	25-Mar-20	OPEN LETTER TO FILIPINO FRONTLINE WORKERS IN THE PHILIPPINES AND OVERSEAS – OUR DOCTORS, NURSES, HEALTHCARE WORKERS, CLEANERS, FOOD AND SERVICE WORKERS, AND SCIENTISTS	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/03/25/open-letter-to-filipino-frontline-workers-in-the-philippines-and-overseas-our-doctors-nurses-healthcare-workers-cleaners-food-and-service-workers-and-scientists/
MI46	23-Mar-20	ASKING FOR EMERGENCY POWERS AFTER ALLOTING PHP14 BILLION FOR TOURISM IS FOOLISHNESS! DUTERTE RESIGN NOW! — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/03/23/asking-for-emergency-powers-after-allotting-php14-billion-for-tourism-is-foolishness-duterte-resign-now-migrante-international/
MI47	21-Mar-20	“NO TO CONCENTRATION CAMP IN SIBAKIL ISLAND!” – MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON AFP WESTMINCOM’S PROPOSAL TO ISOLATE 131 STRANDED SHIP PASSENGERS FROM SABAH ON AN UNINHABITED ISLAND	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/03/21/no-to-concentration-camp-in-sibakil-island-migrante-international-on-afp-westmincoms-proposal-to-isolate-131-stranded-ship-passengers-from-sabah-on-an-uninhabited-island/
MI48	20-Mar-20	“DUTERTE’S PRIORITIES IN COVID-19 PANDEMIC SHOW NO GENUINE CONCERN FOR THE PEOPLE” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/03/20/dutertes-priorities-in-covid-19-pandemic-show-no-genuine-concern-for-the-people-migrante-international/
MI49	13-Mar-20	MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL WELCOMES TRAVEL BAN EXEMPTION FOR OFWS RETURNING TO SAFE PLACES IN MAINLAND CHINA	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/03/13/migrante-international-welcomes-travel-ban-exemption-for-ofws-returning-to-safe-places-in-mainland-china/
MI50	12-Mar-20	“DUTERTE REGIME’S PLANNED MILITARIZED LOCKDOWN, FATAL TO POOR AND WORKING CLASS FILIPINOS!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/03/12/duterte-regimes-planned-militarized-lockdown-fatal-to-poor-and-working-class-filipinos-migrante-international/
MI51	10-Mar-20	“DUTERTE REGIME’S THREAT AGAINST NDFP CHIEF CONSULTANT PROF. JOMA SISON, A VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW!” – MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/03/10/duterte-regimes-threat-against-ndfp-chief-consultant-prof-joma-sison-a-violation-of-international-law-migrante-international/
MI52	8-Mar-20	“FILIPINO MIGRANT WOMEN RISE AND UNITE WITH THE OPPRESSED FILIPINO MASSES AGAINST DUTERTE’S TYRANNY!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN’S DAY	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/03/08/filipino-migrant-women-rise-and-unite-with-the-oppressed-filipino-masses-against-dutertes-tyranny-migrante-international-on-international-womens-day/
MI53	29-Feb-20	“TERROR BILL ADDS MORE FUEL TO STATE TERROR AND IMPUNITY ” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/02/29/terror-bill-adds-more-fuel-to-state-terror-and-impunity-migrante-international/
MI54	25-Feb-20	“WITH THE POWER AND COLLECTIVE STRUGGLE OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE, THE DUTERTE FASCIST REGIME WILL BE BROUGHT DOWN IN SHAME!” – MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON THE 34TH EDSA PEOPLE POWER ANNIVERSARY	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/02/25/with-the-power-and-collective-struggle-of-the-filipino-people-the-duterte-fascist-regime-will-be-brought-down-in-shame-migrante-international-on-the-34th-edsa-people-power-annive/

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MI55	19-Feb-20	DUTERTE GOVERNMENT TO SEND BACK 10,000 OFWS TO HONG KONG AND MACAU WITH WAIVED RIGHTS — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/02/19/duterte-government-to-send-back-10000-ofws-to-hong-kong-and-macau-with-waived-rights-migrante-international/
MI56	18-Feb-20	AFTER DFA ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE TRAVEL-BAN EXEMPTION, MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL PRESSES GOVERNMENT TO CLARIFY WHAT IT MEANT BY “CERTAIN PROCEDURAL FORMALITIES”	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/02/18/after-dfa-announcement-on-the-travel-ban-exemption-migrante-international-presSES-government-to-clarify-what-it-meant-by-certain-procedural-formalities/
MI57	13-Feb-20	ON THE AIRLINE FLIGHT CANCELLATIONS DUE TO THE COVID-19 TRAVEL BAN	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/02/13/on-the-airline-flight-cancellations-due-to-the-covid-19-travel-ban/
MI58	10-Feb-20	“FREE TACLOBAN 5! JUSTICE FOR JAY-AR MERCADO!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/02/10/free-tacloban-5-justice-for-jay-ar-mercado-migrante-international/
MI59	7-Feb-20	“LACK OF COORDINATION AMONG PH OFFICIALS FOR NCOV CRISIS TO BLAME FOR CONFUSION AND MISINFORMATION” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON THE DEATH OF THE 58 YEAR OLD DUBAI-BASED OFW	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/02/07/lack-of-coordination-among-ph-officials-for-ncov-crisis-to-blame-for-confusion-and-misinforMation-migrante-international-on-the-death-of-the-58-year-old-dubai-based-ofw/
MI60	5-Feb-20	AFTER POSITIVE TEST OF 2019-NCOV INFECTION ON OFW SAILOR, MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL RAISES ALARM ON DUTERTE’S INEFFECTIVE HANDLING OF PUBLIC HEALTH EMERGENCY	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/02/05/after-positive-test-of-2019-ncov-infection-on-ofw-sailor-migrante-international-raises-alarm-on-dutertes-ineffective-handling-of-public-health-emergency/
MI61	25-Jan-20	MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON THE GLOBAL DAY OF ACTION AGAINST US IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION ON IRAN (25 JANUARY 2020)	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/01/25/migrante-international-on-the-global-day-of-action-against-us-imperialist-aggression-on-iran-25-january-2020/
MI62	10-Jan-20	“MILITARIZATION OF EVACUATION MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST DETRIMENTAL TO OFW SAFETY” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/01/10/militarization-of-evacuation-mission-to-the-middle-east-detrimental-to-ofw-safety-migrante-international/
MI63	8-Jan-20	DUTERTE’S ENEMY TAG ON IRAN AND APPOINTMENT OF CIMATU AS MIDEAST ENVOY, POSE DANGERS TO OFWS — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/01/08/dutertes-enemy-tag-on-iran-and-appointment-of-cimatu-as-mideast-envoy-pose-dangers-to-ofws-migrante-international/
MI64	7-Jan-20	“YOU’VE BEEN WARNED! ACT NOW TO SAVE OFWS BY TAKING A STRONG STANCE AGAINST US AGGRESSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL TO DUTERTE ON US VS. IRAN MIDDLE EAST MELTDOWN	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/01/07/youve-been-warned-act-now-to-save-ofws-by-taking-a-strong-stance-against-us-aggression-in-the-middle-east-migrante-international-to-duterte-on-us-vs-iran-middle-east-m/

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MI65	2-Jan-20	OFW GROUP MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ENRAGED BY OFW DEATH IN KUWAIT; BLASTS DUTERTE'S LABOUR EXPORT PROGRAM	https://migranteinternational.org/2020/01/02/ofw-group-migrante-international-enraged-by-ofw-death-in-kuwait-blasts-dutertes-labour-export-program/
MI66	10-Dec-19	#WEFIGHTASONE: GRILL THE US-DUTERTE REGIME IN THE FIERY CAULDRON OF ACCOUNTABILITY FOR ITS DESPICABLE CRIMES! — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON THE 2019 INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS DAY	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/12/10/wefightasone-grill-the-us-duterte-regime-in-the-fiery-cauldron-of-accountability-for-its-despicable-crimes-migrante-international-on-the-2019-international-human-rights-day/
MI67	9-Dec-19	“DO NOT EXCLUDE STRANDED AND DISTRESSED OFWS FROM FREE MASS REPATRIATION PROGRAM IN LEBANON!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL TO DUTERTE GOVERNMENT	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/12/09/do-not-exclude-stranded-and-distressed-ofws-from-free-mass-repatriation-program-in-lebanon-migrante-international-to-duterte-government/
MI68	9-Dec-19	MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL'S MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY TO MIGRANTE EUROPE ON ITS 2ND CONGRESS (8 DECEMBER 2019)	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/12/09/migrante-internationals-message-of-solidarity-to-migrante-europe-on-its-2nd-congress/
MI69	30-Nov-19	MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON BONIFACIO DAY: FILIPINO MIGRANTS AND OFW FAMILIES UNITE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DUTERTE REGIME'S NEOLIBERAL AND FASCIST ATTACKS	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/11/30/migrante-international-on-bonifacio-day-filipino-migrants-and-ofw-families-unite-in-the-struggle-against-the-duterte-regimes-neoliberal-and-fascist-attacks/
MI70	7-Nov-19	“JUSTICE FOR MARY JEAN ALBERTO AND HER FAMILY!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON THE DAY OF MARY JEAN'S BURIAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/11/07/justice-for-mary-jean-alberto-and-her-family-migrante-international-on-the-day-of-mary-jeans-burial/
MI71	2-Nov-19	“FREE BACOLOD 57! NO TO DUTERTE'S DE-FACTO MARTIAL LAW!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/11/02/free-bacolod-57-no-to-dutertes-de-facto-martial-law-migrante-international/
MI72	25-Oct-19	FAMILIES AND SUPPORTERS DEMAND JUSTICE FOR SLAIN ABU DHABI OFW MARY JEAN ALBERTO. HOLDS PICKET-DIALOGUE AT OWWA.	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/10/25/families-and-supporters-demand-justice-for-slain-abu-dhabi-ofw-mary-jean-alberto-holds-picket-dialogue-at-owwa/
MI73	11-Oct-19	ON THE SC RULING ALLOWING MARY JANE VELOSO TO TESTIFY	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/10/11/on-the-sc-ruling-allowing-mary-jane-veloso-to-testify/
MI74	3-Oct-19	LET NOT MHELODY BRUNO BE JUST ANOTHER STATISTIC – LET JUSTICE BE HERS!	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/10/03/let-not-mhelody-bruno-be-just-another-statistic-let-justice-be-hers/
MI75	1-Oct-19	ON THE APPOINTMENT OF MOCHA USON AS OWWA DEPUTY EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/10/01/on-the-appointment-of-mocha-uson-as-owwa-deputy-executive-director/

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MI76	21-Sep-19	“RESIST AND REMEMBER THE CONTINUING HORRORS OF MARTIAL LAW!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON THE 47TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARTIAL LAW PROCLAMATIO	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/09/21/resist-and-remember-the-continuing-horrors-of-martial-law-migrante-international-on-the-47th-anniversary-of-the-martial-law-proclamatio/
MI77	13-Sep-19	AS LAST HEARING NEARS, MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL IMPLORES SC TO ALLOW MARY JANE VELOSO TO TESTIFY AGAINST HER TRAFFICKERS	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/09/13/as-last-hearing-nears-migrante-international-implores-sc-to-allow-mary-jane-veloso-to-testify-against-her-traffickers/
MI78	25-Aug-19	“HANDS OFF OUR MIGRANTE MEMBERS IN NEGROS!” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL TO DUTERTE AND AFP	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/08/25/hands-off-our-migrante-members-in-negros-migrante-international-to-duterte-and-afp/
MI79	20-Aug-19	“TURN OUR ANGUISH INTO COLLECTIVE VALOUR AND DETERMINATION TO THRASH DUTERTE’S FORCES OF DOOM” — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON THE NATIONAL DAY OF MOURNING VS. STATE-SPONSORED KILLINGS	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/08/20/turn-our-anguish-into-collective-valour-and-determination-to-thrash-dutertes-forces-of-doom-migrante-international-on-the-national-day-of-mourning-vs-state-sponsored-kil/
MI80	14-Aug-19	“THE DUTERTE REGIME’S OCEAN OF LIES WILL NEVER WITHSTAND THE TESTS OF TRUTH AND REASON” — MIGRANTE YOUTH ON THE BATO-AFP-PNP SMEAR CAMPAIGN AGAINST YOUTH ACTIVISTS	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/08/14/the-duterte-regimes-ocean-of-lies-will-never-withstand-the-tests-of-truth-and-reason-migrante-youth-on-the-bato-afp-pnp-smear-campaign-against-youth-activists/
MI81	27-Jul-19	ABOLISH CONTRACTUALIZATION ALONG WITH THE DECEITFUL DUTERTE REGIME! – MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/07/27/abolish-contractualization-along-with-the-deceitful-duterte-regime-migrante-international/
MI82	27-Jul-19	ESPERON’S ACTIONS ATTEST TO GRUESOME PERSECUTION FACED BY HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/04/01/migrante-condemns-continuing-bloodshed-and-massacre-of-farmers-in-negros-island-demands-independent-investigation-for-negros14/
MI83	24-Jul-19	ARREST AND DETENTION OF FILIPINO MIGRANTS IN ISRAEL REFUTES DUTERTE’S ‘MALASAKIT’ AND ‘SERBISYO’ TOWARDS OVERSEAS FILIPINOS — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/07/24/arrest-and-detention-of-filipino-migrants-in-israel-refutes-dutertes-malasakit-and-serbisyo-towards-overseas-filipinos-migrante-international/
MI84	22-Jul-19	FILIPINO MIGRANTS DEMAND DOWNFALL OF US-DUTERTE REGIME’S TYRANNY, TREACHERY AND DICTATORSHIP — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON UNITED PEOPLE’S SONA 2019	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/07/22/filipino-migrants-demand-downfall-of-us-duterte-regimes-tyranny-treachery-and-dictatorship-migrante-international-on-united-peoples-sona-2019/
MI85	8-Jul-19	ESPERON SHOULD EYE DUTERTE AS NUMBER ONE THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY! — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON PERJURY CASE FILED BY NAT’L SECURITY ADVISER HERMOGENES ESPERON JR. AGAINST KARAPATAN, ET AL	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/07/08/esperon-should-eye-duterte-as-number-one-threat-to-national-security-migrante-international-on-perjury-case-filed-by-natl-security-adviser-hermogenes-esperon-jr-against-karapatan-et-al/

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MI86	3-Jul-19	RELEASE FILIPINO BABIES AND TODDLERS FROM MALAYSIAN DETENTION CENTRES! — MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/07/03/release-filipino-babies-and-toddlers-from-malaysian-detention-centres-migrante-international/
MI87	19-Jun-19	MIGRANTE SWIPES AT DUTERTE ANEW FOR NEGLECTING OFWS AS WAR RAVAGES DEEPER INSIDE SAUDI TERRITORY	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/06/19/migrante-swipes-at-duterte-anew-for-neglecting-ofws-as-war-ravages-deeper-inside-saudis-territory/
MI88	17-Jun-19	MIGRANTE CRIES OUT FOR JUSTICE IN THE WAKE OF FASCIST CARNAGE THAT CLAIMED THE LIVES OF RYAN, NELLY, NONOY AND NEPTALI	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/06/17/migrante-cries-out-for-justice-in-the-wake-of-the-fascist-carnage-that-claimed-the-lives-of-ryan-nelly-nonoy-and-neptali/
MI89	15-Jun-19	MIGRANTE DECRIES PHILHEALTH ‘GHOST CLAIMS’ AND DUTERTE’S FAKE ‘UNIVERSAL HEALTH CARE’	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/06/15/migrante-decries-philhealth-ghost-claims-and-dutertes-fake-universal-health-care/
MI90	13-Jun-19	AFTER DEADLY MISSILE STRIKE ON SAUDI AIRPORT, DUTERTE GOVERNMENT FALLS SHORT IN DRAWING LESSONS FROM SIMILAR EVENTS IN LIBYA AND IRAQ – MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/06/13/after-deadly-missile-strike-on-saudi-airport-duterte-government-falls-short-in-drawing-lessons-from-similar-events-in-libya-and-iraq-migrante/
MI91	24-May-19	MIGRANTE LAUDS WULANDARI’S RELEASE. CALLS FOR MARY JANE VELOSO’S FREEDOM	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/05/24/migrante-lauds-wulandaris-release-calls-for-mary-jane-velosos-freedom/
MI92	23-May-19	AS DRONE ATTACKS AND MISSILE BLASTS ROCK SAUDI ARABIA, MIGRANTE SLAMS DUTERTE GOVERNMENT FOR FAILURE TO LAY OUT CONTINGENCY MEASURES TO ASSIST OFWS	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/05/23/as-drone-attacks-and-missile-blasts-rock-saudi-arabia-migrante-slams-duterte-government-for-failure-to-lay-out-contingency-measures-to-assist-ofws/
MI93	19-May-19	HUSTISYA PARA KAY CONSTANCIA “CONNIE” DAYAG! KILALANIN ANG KARAPATAN AT KAGALINGAN NG BAWAT OFWS!	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/05/19/hustisya-para-kay-constancia-connie-dayag-kilalanin-ang-karapatan-at-kagalingan-ng-bawat-ofws/
MI94	17-May-19	THE PHILIPPINE ELECTION IS A SHAM! WE SHALL NOT BE DUPED! OUST DUTERTE!	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/05/17/the-philippine-election-is-a-sham-we-shall-not-be-duped-oust-duterte/
MI95	17-May-19	FILIPINO MIGRANT GROUP IN NZ JOIN DEMAND FOR TRUTH, ACCOUNTABILITY: BLACK FRIDAY PROTEST VS #HOCUSPCOS: COMELEC + DUTERTE “MAGIC” = MORE TRAPOS, FAKE PLS	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/05/17/filipino-migrant-group-in-nz-join-demand-for-truth-accountability-black-friday-protest-vs-hocuspcos-comelec-duterte-magic-more-trapos-fake-pls/
MI96	17-May-19	THIS ELECTION IS DIRTY, AS DIRTY AS THE MOUTH OF DUTERTE! – MIGRANTE AUSTRIA	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/05/17/this-election-is-dirty-as-dirty-as-the-mouth-of-duterte-migrante-austria/
MI97	16-May-19	PAHAYAG NG MIGRANTE ITALYA UKOL SA DAYAAN 2019	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/05/16/pahayag-ng-migrante-italia-ukol-sa-dayaan-2019/

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MI98	16-May-19	MIGRANTE AUSTRALIA ON THE RECENT 2019 NATIONAL AND LOCAL ELECTIONS: “PARA SA BAYAN NAMAN ITO! “	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/05/16/migrante-australia-on-the-recent-2019-national-and-local-elections-para-sa-bayan-naman-ito/
MI99	15-May-19	MIGRANTE ON DAYAAN 2019: DUTERTE REGIME EMPLOYS ELECTORAL FRAUD TO CONTINUE HIS FASCIST BUTCHERY AND PLUNDER OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/05/15/migrante-on-dayaan-2019-duterte-regime-employs-electoral-fraud-to-continue-his-fascist-butchery-and-plunder-of-the-filipino-people/
MI100	6-May-19	KASAMMAKO STATEMENT ON THE SSS-NPS SECURITY AGREEMENT	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/05/06/kasammako-statement-on-the-sss-nps-security-agreement/
MI101	6-May-19	POSISYON NG MGA MIGRANTE SA ITALYA HINGGIL SA RA 11199 (SOCIAL SECURITY ACT 2018)	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/05/06/posisyon-ng-mga-migrante-sa-italya-hinggil-sa-ra-11199-social-security-act-2018/
MI102	6-May-19	NAGKAKAISANG PAHAYAG NG MGA OFWS SA HONG KONG LABAN SA MANDATORY SSS MEMBERSHIP AT SA HINDI MAKATWIRANG PAGTATAAS NG MONTHLY CONTRIBUTION	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/05/06/nagkakaisang-pahayag-ng-mga-ofws-sa-hong-kong-laban-sa-mandatory-sss-membership-at-sa-hindi-makatwirang-pagtataas-ng-monthly-contribution/
MI103	5-May-19	DUTERTE AND SSS HANKERING TO FAST-TRACK IRR FOR MANDATORY SSS EXACTION TO AMASS BILLIONS FROM TOILING OFWS — MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/05/05/duterte-and-sss-hankering-to-fast-track-irr-for-mandatory-sss-exaction-to-amass-billions-from-toiling-ofws-migrante/
MI104	14-Apr-19	DAPAT LIBRE ANG PAG-BOTO! — MIGRANTE JAPAN	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/04/14/dapat-libre-ang-pag-boto-migrante-japan/
MI105	12-Apr-19	GIVE BACK OUR STAMP! WE ALREADY PAID FOR IT WITH OUR BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS! (AN OPEN LETTER TO COMELEC COMMISSIONERS	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/04/12/give-back-our-stamp-we-already-paid-for-it-with-our-blood-sweat-and-tears-an-open-letter-to-comelec-commissioners/
MI106	8-Apr-19	MIGRANTE BLASTS SSS ANEW OVER THE MANDATORY SSS EXACTION ON OFWS	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/04/08/migrante-blasts-sss-anew-over-the-mandatory-sss-exaction-on-ofws/
MI107	1-Apr-19	MIGRANTE CONDEMNS CONTINUING BLOODSHED AND MASSACRE OF FARMERS IN NEGROS ISLAND. DEMANDS INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION FOR NEGROS14	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/04/01/migrante-condemns-continuing-bloodshed-and-massacre-of-farmers-in-negros-island-demands-independent-investigation-for-negros14/
MI108	19-Mar-19	MIGRANTE DENOUNCES DUTERTE REGIME’S BLACK PROP MISSION TO EU AGAINST PEOPLE’S ORGANIZATIONS. SUPPORTS ICC’S VOW TO CONTINUE PROBING THE KILLINGS IN THE PHILIPPINES.	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/03/19/migrante-denounces-duterte-regimes-black-prop-mission-to-eu-against-peoples-organizations-supports-iccs-vow-to-continue-probing-the-killings-in-the-philippines/
MI109	17-Mar-19	MIGRANTE AOTEAROA CONDEMNS THE VIOLENT ATTACK AGAINST OUR MUSLIM BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN CHRISTCHURCH	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/03/17/migrante-aotearoa-condemns-the-violent-attack-against-our-muslim-brothers-and-sisters-in-christchurch/

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MI110	8-Mar-19	MIGRANTE ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY: TERMINATED OFW CANCER PATIENT EPITOMIZES PLIGHT OF FILIPINO MIGRANT WOMEN	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/03/08/migrante-on-international-womens-day-terminated-ofw-cancer-patient-epitomizes-plight-of-filipino-migrant-women/
MI111	7-Mar-19	DOLE'S REASONING BEHIND THE 90% REDUCTION IN OVERSEAS DEPLOYMENT OF CONSTRUCTION WORKERS, VERY MISLEADING – MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/03/07/does-reasoning-behind-the-90-reduction-in-overseas-deployment-of-construction-workers-very-misleading-migrante/
MI112	3-Mar-19	DUTERTE'S ONEROUS LOAN AGREEMENT WITH CHINA WORSENS DISPLACEMENT OF CHINESE AND FILIPINO WORKERS – MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/03/03/dutertes-onerous-loan-agreement-with-china-worsens-displacement-of-chinese-and-filipino-workers-migrante/
MI113	26-Feb-19	MIGRANTE STANDS IN SOLIDARITY WITH CHINESE AND FILIPINO MIGRANTS. DUTERTE AND CHINA TO BLAME FOR INTENSIFYING LABOUR EXPORT	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/02/26/migrante-stands-in-solidarity-with-chinese-and-filipino-migrants-duterte-and-china-to-blame-for-intensifying-labour-export/
MI114	23-Feb-19	HANDS OFF FILIPINO MIGRANT CHILDREN! MIGRANTS ARE NOT CRIMINALS! – MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/02/23/hands-off-filipino-migrant-children-migrants-are-not-criminals-migrante-international/
MI115	23-Feb-19	ON THE 33RD ANNIVERSARY OF THE EDSA UPRISING: MIGRANT SECTOR DECRIES SYSTEM WHICH ENABLES TYRANNY	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/02/23/on-the-33rd-anniversary-of-the-edsa-uprising-migrant-sector-decries-system-which-enables-tyranny/
MI116	16-Feb-19	RICE TARIFFICATION LAW, DUTERTE'S DEATH SENTENCE TO THE PHILIPPINES'S LOCAL RICE INDUSTRY — MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/02/16/rice-tariffication-law-dutertes-death-sentence-to-the-philippines-local-rice-industry-migrante/
MI117	8-Feb-19	MIGRANTE DECRIES DELISTING OF MANGGAGAWA PARTY-LIST. HITS BASTARDIZATION OF THE PARTY-LIST SYSTEM	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/02/08/migrante-decries-delisting-of-manggagawa-party-list-hits-bastardization-of-the-party-list-system/
MI118	31-Jan-19	EXECUTED 39 YEAR OLD HOUSEHOLD WORKER IN SAUDI, ANOTHER LEP CASUALTY – MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/01/31/executed-39-year-old-household-worker-in-saudi-another-lep-casualty-migrante/
MI119	30-Jan-19	MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL CONDEMNS MURDER OF NDFP PEACE CONSULTANT RANDY MALAYAO	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/01/30/migrante-international-condemns-murder-of-ndfp-peace-consultant-randy-malayao/
MI120	22-Jan-19	WITHDRAWAL OF LABOUR ATTACHE'S MANDATORY HEALTH CHECK REQUIREMENT A VICTORY FOR HK OFWS	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/01/22/withdrawal-of-labour-attaches-mandatory-health-check-requirement-a-victory-for-hk-ofws/
MI121	14-Jan-19	MIGRANTE RAISES ALARM OVER PASSPORT FIASCO	https://migranteinternational.org/2019/01/14/migrante-raises-alarm-over-passport-fiasco/
MI122	30-Nov-18	ON BONIFACIO DAY: MIGRANTS, "MODERN-DAY HEROES," RISE AGAINST MODERN-DAY SLAVERY, FASCISM AND IMPERIALISM	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/11/30/on-bonifacio-day-migrants-modern-day-heroes-rise-against-modern-day-slavery-fascism-and-imperialism/

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MI123	29-Nov-18	CONVICTION OF KIAN'S MURDERERS POINT TO DUTERTE'S HAND IN EJKS	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/11/29/conviction-of-kians-murderers-point-to-dutertes-hand-in-ejks/
MI124	27-Nov-18	STOP THE ATTACKS ON "MIGRANTS' CARAVAN." END US IMPERIALIST PLUNDER OF CENTRAL AMERICA!	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/11/27/stop-the-attacks-on-migrants-caravan-end-us-imperialist-plunder-of-central-america/
MI125	20-Nov-18	OFWS TO BEAR THE BRUNT OF DUTERTE'S LOANS FROM CHINA	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/11/20/ofws-to-bear-the-brunt-of-dutertes-loans-from-china/
MI126	6-Nov-18	JUSTICE FOR TUTI! SAVE ALL MIGRANT WORKERS ON DEATH ROW!	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/11/06/justice-for-tuti-save-all-migrant-workers-on-death-row/
MI127	4-Nov-18	SOLIDARITY SANS BORDERS – MIGRANTE WELCOMES SISTER PAT IN AUSTRALIA!	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/11/04/solidarity-sans-borders-migrante-welcomes-sister-pat-in-australia/
MI128	1-Nov-18	JENNIFER DALQUEZ IS FREE! ONWARDS TO LIBERATING OUR OFWS FROM SLAVERY!	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/11/01/jennifer-dalquez-is-free-onwards-to-liberating-our-ofws-from-slavery/
MI129	28-Oct-18	MIGRANTE JAPAN CONDEMNS THE AIRING OF ANTI-MIGRANT TV PROGRAM	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/10/28/migrante-japan-condemns-the-airing-of-anti-migrant-tv-program/
MI130	25-Oct-18	ON THE RED-TAGGING OF MIGRANTE TAIWAN MEMBERS	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/10/25/on-the-red-tagging-of-migrante-taiwan-members/
MI131	22-Oct-18	JUSTICE FOR MASSACRED FARMERS IN NEGROS! IN "RED OCTOBER" PLOY, THE DUTERTE REGIME IS THE SOLE DESTABILIZER AND MURDERER	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/10/22/justice-for-massacred-farmers-in-negros-in-red-october-ploy-the-duterte-regime-is-the-sole-destabilizer-and-murderer/
MI132	16-Oct-18	MIGRANTE CRIES ENOUGH OF FAKE PARTYLISTS OUT TO PLUNDER OFWS MONEY AS MOCHA'S CANDIDACY DREW FLAK FROM OFWS	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/10/16/migrante-cries-enough-of-fake-partylists-out-to-plunder-ofws-money-as-mochas-candidacy-drew-flak-from-ofws/
MI133	16-Oct-18	URGENT APPEAL FOR ACTION TO STOP THE DEPORTATION OF LOIDA QUINDOY!	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/10/16/urgent-appeal-for-action-to-stop-the-deportation-of-loida-quindoy/
MI134	12-Oct-18	MIGRANTE STANDS WITH STRIKING SUMIFRU WORKERS. DECRIES STATE-SPONSORED VIOLENCE	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/10/12/migrante-stands-with-striking-sumifru-workers-decries-state-sponsored-violence/
MI135	9-Oct-18	NO TO MANDATORY INSURANCE FOR OFWS! GENUINE PROTECTION, NOT NEGLECT AND EXTORTION!	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/10/09/no-to-mandatory-insurance-for-ofws-genuine-protection-not-neglect-and-extortion/
MI136	3-Oct-18	#BERTIZALIS : STOP HARBOURING AN ILLEGAL RECRUITER AND FAKE OFW REPRESENTATIVE IN GOVERNMENT! — MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/10/03/bertiz-alis-stop-harbouring-an-illegal-recruiter-and-fake-ofw-representative-in-government-migrante/

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MI137	27-Sep-18	FILIPINO SEAFARERS ON TROUBLED WATERS AS THEY OBSERVE NATIONAL MARITIME WEEK	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/09/27/filipino-seafarers-on-troubled-waters-as-they-observe-national-maritime-week/
MI138	24-Sep-18	PAHAYAG NG MIGRANTE USA SA BAGONG POLISIYA NI TRUMP HINGGIL SA IMMIGRATION	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/09/24/pahayag-ng-migrante-usa-sa-bagong-polisiya-ni-trump-hinggil-sa-immigration/
MI139	24-Sep-18	MIGRANTE BLASTS TRUMP'S "LEAVE THE US OR STARVE TO DEATH" NEW IMMIGRATION POLICY	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/09/24/migrante-blasts-trumps-leave-the-us-or-starve-to-death-new-immigration-policy/
MI140	21-Sep-18	ON THE 46TH ANNIVERSARY OF MARTIAL LAW: RISE AND RESIST AGAINST A MAD (MARCOS-ARROYO-DUTERTE) DICTATORSHIP	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/09/21/on-the-46th-anniversary-of-martial-law-rise-and-resist-against-a-mad-marcos-arroyo-duterte-dictatorship/
MI141	17-Sep-18	OFWS AND FAMILIES BURDENED BY SKYROCKETING INFLATION	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/09/07/ofws-and-families-burdened-by-skyrocketing-inflation/
MI142	30-Aug-18	IN HIS ISRAEL-JORDAN TRIP, DUTERTE TO SEAL DEALS FOR HEIGHTENED TYRANNY	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/08/30/in-his-israel-jordan-trip-duterte-to-seal-deals-for-heightened-tyranny/
MI143	20-Aug-18	BSP'S VIEW ON THE OFW REMITTANCE DECLINE, MISLEADING — MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/08/20/bsps-view-on-the-ofw-remittance-decline-misleading-migrante/
MI144	17-Aug-18	REPATRIATION PLAN URGENTLY NEEDED FOR OFWS IN KSA — MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/08/17/migrante-repatriation-plan-urgently-needed-for-ofws-in-ksa/
MI145	16-Aug-18	A YEAR AFTER KIAN DELOS SANTOS' DEATH, INJUSTICE AND TERROR PREVAILS UNDER DUTERTE'S CRIMINAL LORDSHIP	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/08/16/a-year-after-kian-delos-santos-death-injustice-and-terror-prevails-under-dutertes-criminal-lordship/
MI146	11-Aug-18	MIGRANTE DENOUNCES INCLUSION OF ITS LEADER AND 27 RIGHTS DEFENDERS IN THE BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION BLACKLIST ORDER: HANDS OFF MANANG CARING!	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/08/11/migrante-denounces-inclusion-of-its-leader-and-27-rights-defenders-in-the-bureau-of-immigration-blacklist-order-hands-off-manang-caring/
MI147	11-Aug-18	STATEMENT OF MIGRANTE AUSTRALIA ON PROFESSOR GILL BOEHRINGER	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/08/11/statement-of-migrante-australia-on-professor-gill-boehringer/
MI148	9-Aug-18	MIGRANTE DEMANDS JUSTICE FOR OFW CANCER-PATIENT SLAIN BY MANILA PNP: JUSTICE FOR ALLAN RAFAEL!	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/08/09/migrante-demands-justice-for-ofw-cancer-patient-slain-by-manila-pnp-justice-for-allan-rafael/
MI149	31-Jul-18	MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL DENOUNCES VIOLENT DISPERSAL OF #NUTRIASIAWORKERSSTRIKE, DEMANDS RELEASE OF DETAINED WORKERS AND SUPPORTERS	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/07/31/migrante-international-denounces-violent-dispersal-of-nutriasia-workers-demands-release-of-nutriaasia19-and-false-charges-against-them-be-dropped/

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MI150	30-Jul-18	NZ, AUSTRALIAN GROUPS DENOUNCE EX-PRES. ARROYO'S RETURN TO POWER, CHA-CHA AND PERSECUTION OF MAKABAYAN BLOC	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/07/30/nz-australian-groups-denounce-ex-pres-arroyos-return-to-power-cha-cha-and-persecution-of-makabayan-bloc/
MI151	26-Jul-18	MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL'S CRITIQUE ON DUTERTE'S #SONA2018	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/07/26/migrante-internationals-critique-on-dutertes-sona2018/
MI152	21-Jul-18	#SONA2018: OFWS AND FAMILIES CALL FOR AN END TO DUTERTE'S PLUNDER AND TYRANNY!	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/07/21/sona2018-ofws-and-families-call-for-an-end-to-dutertes-plunder-and-tyranny/
MI153	20-Jul-18	ON THE DEROGATORY REMARKS OF KUWAITI SOCIAL MEDIA INFLUENCER SONDOS ALQATTAN AGAINST FILIPINO HOUSEHOLD WORKERS	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/07/20/on-the-derogatory-remarks-of-kuwaiti-social-media-influencer-sondos-alqattan-against-filipino-household-workers/
MI154	14-Jul-18	DUTERTE CHAINS OFWS AND FAMILIES TO SLAVERY AND POVERTY	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/07/14/duterte-chains-ofws-and-families-to-slavery-and-poverty/
MI155	17-Feb-18	JUSTICE FOR JOANNA DEMAFELIS AND OTHER OFW DEATHS IN KUWAIT! JUSTICE FOR ALL OFW VICTIMS OF GOVERNMENT NEGLECT!	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/02/17/justice-for-joanna-demafelis-and-other-ofw-deaths-in-kuwait-justice-for-all-ofw-victims-of-government-neglect/
MI156	16-Feb-18	THE REAL DEVIL UNMASKED	https://migranteinternational.org/2018/02/16/the-real-devil-unmasked/
MI157	30-Nov-17	NEVER AGAIN TO A FASCIST DICTATORSHIP! RESIST TYRANNY! MAKIBAKA, HUWAG MATAKOT! – MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/11/30/never-again-to-a-fascist-dictatorship-resist-tyranny-makibaka-huwag-matakot-migrante/
MI158	19-Nov-17	SHAME ON DUTERTE FOR REFUSING HUMANITARIAN AID FOR ROHINGYAS – MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/11/19/shame-on-duterte-for-refusing-humanitarian-aid-for-rohingyas-migrante/
MI159	14-Nov-17	ON THE ASEAN CONSENSUS ON THE PROTECTION AND PROMOTION OF RIGHTS OF MIGRANT WORKERS	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/11/14/on-the-asean-consensus-on-the-protection-and-promotion-of-rights-of-migrant-workers/
MI160	16-Oct-17	WHY OFWS SUPPORT THE 2-DAY TRANSPORT STRIKE	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/10/16/why-ofws-support-the-2-day-transport-strike/
MI161	10-Oct-17	“OFW BANK” FURTHER INSTITUTIONALIZES BANKRUPT LABOR EXPORT PROGRAM	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/10/10/ofw-bank-further-institutionalizes-bankrupt-labor-export-program/
MI162	21-Sep-17	NEVER AGAIN TO A FASCIST DICTATORSHIP! – MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/09/21/never-again-to-a-fascist-dictatorship-migrante/
MI163	20-Aug-17	#JUSTICEFOR KIAN IS EVERY OFW'S SON	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/08/20/justiceforkian-kian-is-every-ofws-son/

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MI164	24-Jul-17	#SONA2017: OFWS PROTEST DUTERTE’S FASCISM AND ‘BROKEN VOWS’ IN PEOPLE’S SONA	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/07/24/sona2017-ofws-protest-dutertes-fascism-and-broken-vows-in-peoples-sona/
MI165	18-Jul-17	NO TO MARTIAL LAW EXTENSION, STOP THE AFP’S “ALL-OUT WAR” AGAINST THE PEOPLE – MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/07/18/no-to-martial-law-extension-stop-the-afps-all-out-war-against-the-people-migrante/
MI166	30-Jun-17	SUMA 2017: A YEAR OF BIG TALK, BAND-AIDS AND BUSINESS-AS-USUAL FOR OFWS AND FAMILIES	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/06/30/suma-2017-a-year-of-big-talk-band-aids-and-business-as-usual-for-ofws-and-families/
MI167	22-Apr-17	ON THE CREATION OF A “DEPARTMENT OF OFWS”	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/04/22/on-the-creation-of-a-department-of-ofws/
MI168	22-Apr-17	A TICKING BOMB IN THE HANDS OF MIGRANT WORKERS	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/04/22/a-ticking-bomb-in-the-hands-of-migrant-workers/
MI169	12-Mar-17	IPAGBUNYI ANG MAKABULUHANG BUHAY NI KASAMANG PAUL ARINGO (1992-2017), HUWARANG LIDER-KABATAAN AT REBOLUSYONARYO!	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/03/12/ipagbunyi-ang-makabuluhang-buhay-ni-kasamang-paul-aringo-1992-2017-huwarang-lider-kabataan-at-rebolusyonyaryo/
MI170	25-Feb-17	31 YEARS AFTER EDSA, WIELD “PEOPLE POWER” VS. DUTERTE’S FASCISM AND BROKEN VOWS – MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2017/02/25/31-years-after-edsa-wield-people-power-vs-dutertes-fascism-and-broken-vows-migrante/
MI171	13-Dec-16	GRANDSTANDING, BAND-AID SOLUTIONS, DAMAGE-CONTROL FOR COMPANIES AND RECRUITMENT AGENCIES: ASSESSMENT OF PH GOVT’S RESPONSE TO PLIGHT OF STRANDED OFWS IN SAUDI CRISIS	https://migranteinternational.org/2016/12/13/grandstanding-band-aid-solutions-damage-control-for-companies-and-recruitment-agencies-assessment-of-ph-govts-response-to-plight-of-stranded-ofws-in-saudi-crisis/
MI172	25-Nov-16	#MARCOSNOHERO PROTESTS GO GLOBAL: OFWS AND FAMILIES CALL ON PRES. DUTERTE TO END ALLIANCE WITH MARCOSES	https://migranteinternational.org/2016/11/25/marcosnohero-protests-go-global-ofws-and-families-call-on-pres-duterte-to-end-alliance-with-marcoses/
MI173	29-Aug-16	PEACE TALKS SHOULD ADDRESS ROOT CAUSES OF FORCED MIGRATION, “BANKRUPT” LABOR EXPORT – MIGRANTE	https://migranteinternational.org/2016/08/29/peace-talks-should-address-root-causes-of-forced-migration-bankrupt-labor-export-migrante/
MI174	27-Jul-16	MIGRANTE INTERNATIONAL ON DUTERTE’S 1ST SONA	https://migranteinternational.org/2016/07/27/migrante-international-on-dutertes-1st-sona/
MI175	25-Jul-16	#SONA2016 WHAT OFWS NEED TO HEAR IN DUTERTE’S 1ST SONA	https://migranteinternational.org/2016/07/25/sona2016-what-ofws-need-to-hear-in-dutertes-1st-sona/
MI176	30-Jun-16	MIGRANTE WELCOMES DUTERTE ADMIN’S THRUST OF MAKING OVERSEAS EMPLOYMENT “OPTIONAL AND NOT A NECESSITY”	https://migranteinternational.org/2016/06/30/migrante-welcomes-duterte-admins-thrust-of-making-overseas-employment-optional-and-not-a-necessity/
MI177	14-Jun-16	THE CHANGE OFWS WANT IN A DUTERTE PRESIDENCY	https://migranteinternational.org/2016/06/14/the-change-ofws-want-in-a-duterte-presidency/

Code	Date	Statement/Campaign	Link
MI178	13-May-16	OPEN LETTER OF MIGRANTE TO PRESIDENT-ELECT RODRIGO DUTERTE: THE CHANGE OFWS WANT TO SEE	https://migranteinternational.org/2016/05/13/open-letter-of-migrante-to-president-elect-rodrigo-duterte-the-change-ofws-want-to-see/
MI179	8-Sep-15	MIGRANTE STATEMENT ON THE EUROPEAN REFUGEE CRISIS	https://migranteinternational.org/2015/09/08/migrante-statement-on-the-european-refugee-crisis/
MI180	19-May-15	WHATEVER HAPPENED TO A “PEOPLE-CENTERED” ASEAN? FILIPINO MIGRANTS SLAM ASEAN MEMBER STATES IN ROHINGYA CRISIS	https://migranteinternational.org/2015/05/19/whatever-happened-to-a-people-centered-asean-filipino-migrants-slam-asean-member-states-in-rohingya-crisis/
MI181	19-May-15	JUSTICE FOR KENTEX WORKERS! JUSTICE FOR ALL FILIPINO WORKERS!	https://migranteinternational.org/2015/05/19/justice-for-kentex-workers-justice-for-all-filipino-workers/
MI182	10-May-15	APPEAL FOR CONTINUED UNITY AND ACTION TO #FREEMARYJANE	https://migranteinternational.org/2015/05/10/appeal-for-continued-unity-and-action-to-freemaryjane-2/
MI183	29-Apr-15	#SAVEMARYJANE THE PEOPLE HAVE PREVAILED, NOW HEADS MUST ROLL	https://migranteinternational.org/2015/04/29/savemaryjane-the-people-have-prevailed-now-heads-must-roll/
MI184	21-Apr-15	OPEN LETTER TO ASEAN HEADS OF STATE IN THE EVENT OF THE ASEAN PEOPLE’S FORUM 2015 IN KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA	https://migranteinternational.org/2015/04/21/open-letter-to-asean-heads-of-state-in-the-event-of-the-asean-peoples-forum-2015-in-kuala-lumpur-malaysia/
MI185	9-Apr-15	WE SHOULD NOT LET THE VICTIM BITE THE DUST – #SAVEMARYJANEVELOSO LEGAL TEAM	https://migranteinternational.org/2015/04/09/we-should-not-let-the-victim-bite-the-dust-savemaryjaneveloso-legal-team/
MI186	31-Mar-15	APPEAL FOR URGENT ACTION SAVE THE LIFE OF FILIPINA MARY JANE VELOSO! STOP THE EXECUTIONS IN INDONESIA!	https://migranteinternational.org/2015/03/31/appeal-for-urgent-action-save-the-life-of-filipina-mary-jane-veloso-stop-the-executions-in-indonesia/
MI187	17-Mar-15	FULL TEXT OF NORA AUNOR’S SPEECH AT COMMEMORATION RALLY FOR FLOR CONTEMPLACION’S 20TH DEATH ANNIVERSARY	https://migranteinternational.org/2015/03/17/full-text-of-nora-aunors-speech-at-commemoration-rally-for-flor-contemplacions-20th-death-anniversary/
MI188	17-Mar-15	STATEMENT ON THE 20TH DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF FLOR CONTEMPLACION: OFWS WORSE OFF THAN EVER, CALL FOR AQUINO’S REMOVAL FROM OFFICE	https://migranteinternational.org/2015/03/17/statement-on-the-20th-death-anniversary-of-flor-contemplacion-ofws-worse-off-than-ever-call-for-aquinos-removal-from-office/
MI189	10-Mar-15	STATEMENT ON THE KILLING OF GUSTAVO ALEJANDRO SALGADO DELGADO, STAUNCH ADVOCATE OF MIGRANT WORKERS’ RIGHTS IN MEXICO	https://migranteinternational.org/2015/03/10/statement-on-the-killing-of-gustavo-alejandro-salgado-delgado-staunch-advocate-of-migrant-workers-rights-in-mexico/
MI190	8-Mar-15	20 YEARS AFTER FLOR CONTEMPLACION’S DEATH, MORE WOMEN OFWS ABUSED, EXPLOITED AND ENSLAVED UNDER AQUINO’S TERM	https://migranteinternational.org/2015/03/08/20-years-after-flor-contemplacions-death-more-women-ofws-abused-exploited-and-enslaved-under-aquinos-term/

Code	Date	Statement/Campaign	Link
MI191	18-Feb-15	REMEMBER FLOR CONTEMPLACION	https://migranteinternational.org/2015/02/18/remember-flor-contemplacion/
MI192	18-Dec-14	POPE OF THE POOR, FIGHT FOR US: OPEN LETTER OF FILIPINO MIGRANTS TO POPE FRANCIS	https://migranteinternational.org/2014/12/18/pope-of-the-poor-fight-with-us-an-open-letter-of-filipino-migrants-to-pope-francis/
MI193	20-Jul-14	SIGAW NG MIGRANTE AT PAMILYA: #NOMOREBS	https://migranteinternational.org/2014/07/20/sigaw-ng-migrante-at-pamilya-nomorebs/
MI194	16-May-14	HUSTISYA 4 GUROS	https://migranteinternational.org/2014/05/16/hustisya-4-guros-2/
MI195	1-Mar-11	TUNAY NA PAGBABAGO, MARCH 1, 2011	https://migranteinternational.org/2011/03/01/tunay-na-pagbabago-march-1-2011/

Table 3. Corpus of statements from MI on lack of health and social security

Code	Date	Statements
MI1	8-Jul-20	<p>Migrante International, Migrante Europe, BAYAN Hong Kong and Gabriela Hong Kong were among the progressive groups which reiterated strong opposition to the mandatory Philhealth and premium rate hike.</p> <p>They insist that Philhealth membership should be voluntary and not mandatory since Filipino migrants are already covered by existing healthcare programs in host countries and would not benefit from the Philhealth insurance. OFWs have also complained that there were no consultations conducted by the government with overseas Filipino communities prior to Duterte's signing of the Universal Healthcare Act. Moreover, Philhealth is not recognized as valid in overseas hospitals.</p> <p>The Duterte regime must heed their call and completely scrap the mandatory Philhealth and premium rate hike. Migrante International fully supports Makabayan Bloc's House Bill 6698 to remove these unjust provisions from the Universal Healthcare Act. Our hard-earned money should go directly to our families back home in the Philippines and not to a corrupt government agency like Philhealth. In a country whose healthcare system is dominated by profit-oriented private corporations, Migrante International asserts that a genuine universal health care should be free and readily accessible for the entire Filipino people.</p>
MI18	22-May-20	<p>OFWs will find themselves crushed to the point of fatality just to resuscitate the profit of a healthcare sector dominated by big private business and that of the Duterte government which is entrenched in corruption and bureaucrat capitalism.</p>
MI89	15-Jun-19	<p>At this period when many OFW families are battered by the unreasonably high cost of healthcare and all sorts of state exactions, we find it insulting that our hard-earned contributions are getting funneled into the over-bloated pockets of reprobate thieves.</p> <p>Instead of building adequate infrastructures for public health services, the Duterte regime fastens itself to neoliberal economic policies that systematize the gobbling of public funds to fill the coffers of big private entities.</p> <p>Such is the deteriorating state of the Philippine healthcare system. This most recent Philhealth scandal is just a dot in the larger scheme of corruption in this field. The profit-oriented and privately-dominated healthcare system overindulged with subsidies from the Philippine government through public contributions in Philhealth is in itself the biggest form of theft that deprives Filipinos of their right to genuine universal health service.</p>
MI101	6-May-19	<p>Kaming mga balangay ng Migrante sa Italya ay nagkakaisa sa pagtutol sa sapilitang paniningil at sa mga nirebisang matataas na bagong "premiums" ng SSS. Ang mga organisasyon, mga komunidad at ang buong ofw dito sa Italya ay hindi nasangguni kaugnay sa implementasyon ng RA 11199 (Social Security Act 2018) na ito, at partikular sa pwersahang paniningil sa kontribusyon para sa SSS. Sa konserbatibong pagtataya, humigit kumulang sa Php 4 Bilyon kada taon ang posibleng makolekta sa kabuuang bilang na 167,859 na mga Pilipinong nasa Italya, kung pagbabatayan ang bilang na 138,752 ang mga ofw na maaaring pumasok sa kategorya ng pagbabayad ng sapilitang kontribusyon. Malaking halaga ito kung ang usapin ay paano ang pagtitiyak na tuwirang pakikinabangan ito ng mga kontribuyente at napakaliit na halaga naman ito kung ikukumpara sa Php 437 Bilyong hindi nakolektang mga "premiums" at "penalties" mula pa 2010 sa Pilipinas.</p>
MI103	5-May-19	<p>It is troubling that while citizens from other countries enjoy a more unified and comprehensive social security system with considerable government financial support, OFWs are beleaguered by hordes of agencies running after their hard-earned money like SSS, Philhealth, OWWA, Pag-IBIG, even private insurance and loan sharks with each entity motivated according to its greed.</p>
MI153	20-Jul-18	<p><i>[On labor slavery]</i> As long as the Duterte regime stubbornly refuses to impose a national minimum wage, end contractualization, pursue national industrialization and institute genuine agrarian reform in the Philippines, there will be more cases like that of Demafelis and we shall hear more grim stories in the future about OFWs being at the receiving end of insults and inhumane treatment overseas from cynics like Sondos Alqattan.</p>

Table 4. Corpus of statements from MI on lack of policy, administrative and financial assistance

Code	Date	Statements
MI67	9-Dec-19	The civil unrest and economic crisis in Lebanon should serve as a wake-up call to the Duterte government in its stubborn adherence to corrupt Neoliberal economic policies that harshly beset people with mounting hardships.
MI81	27-Jul-19	<p>Migrante International finds it moronic for anyone in government with sound mind to believe that Filipino workers will magically prosper in the absence of job security and living wages. Undoubtedly, the Duterte regime's blueprint for development is only aimed at advancing the wealth of the top financial elite at the expense of Filipino workers. No wonder the Philippines consistently makes it to the world's top 10 worst countries for workers (ITUC Global Rights Index).</p> <p>Never in infinitude will contractualization bring forth tangible progress for ordinary Filipino workers. It is one of the major factors why thousands of Filipinos leave the country everyday in the hope that overseas employment will offer decent lives for their families. Yet in reality, only the opposite is true for many OFWs who have fallen prey to modern-day slavery.</p> <p>Only Duterte's removal from power and the subsequent total elimination of the oppressive elitist system will reverse the troubled state of Filipino workers. Migrante International is one with all Filipino workers who are longing to break free from the chains of oppression and exploitation.</p>
MI91	24-May-19	We welcome this recent Court of Appeals (CA) decision to overturn Wulandari's verdict. How we wish that the appellate court granted the same favor to Mary Jane Veloso when she pleaded for her right to deposition in Indonesia. Since CA barred Mary Jane from testifying against her traffickers, the Veloso family are now fighting for her life in the Supreme Court.
MI92	23-May-19	As we have observed in the past, the Philippine government only comes to the rescue when OFWs are already caught up in fierce armed battles and lives have already been lost. We are appalled that the Philippine government is once again exhibiting the same attitude in response to the Saudi crisis.

Table 5. Corpus of statements from MI on rights of migrants against use and abuse

Code	Date	Statements
MI29	26-Apr-20	<p>...the OFW from Kuwait who took her own life and is believed to be caused by severe stress, depression and anxiety. The OFW has a history of abuse and maltreatment from one of her previous employers in Kuwait. Her fellow OFW repatriates related that they have been there at the shelter since the 3rd of April but were not given substantial aid. We are likewise outraged that the OFW did not receive psychosocial services from any government agency even after two suicide attempts during her stay at the OWWA shelter. This is the result of the Duterte government's neglect of OFWs who are languishing in low quality OWWA shelters and quarantine facilities without adequate assistance, psychosocial support nor relief for their families.</p> <p>The OFW was found lifeless in the stairway of a hotel or lodge in Pasay City which is one of the hotels temporarily converted into an OWWA shelter. She took her life using a scarf. The OFW has been battling extreme stress and depression according to OFW occupants and hotel staff at the temporary OWWA shelter. They also said that the OWWA personnel in charge has prior knowledge of the OFW's condition after attempting suicide twice but OWWA did not take action on the victim's condition.</p>
MI65	2-Jan-20	<p>Instead of wholly passing the blame on the Kuwaiti government in reference to the 2018 agreement signed between the two countries, the Duterte regime must face up to its reprehensible failure in addressing the Philippines' labour woes that continue to drive away thousands of Filipinos everyday into distant lands.</p> <p>The government's referral to the "eye for an eye" principle as if it is the utmost realization of justice for Jeanelyn Villavende will just turn out to be the Duterte regime's way of absolving itself from its voluminous offenses against OFWs and the entire Filipino people. The death cases of Joanna Demafelis and Constanca Dayag in Kuwait point to the endless cycle of homicidal enslavement that OFWs go through as a result of the government's constant peddling of Filipino workers as export commodities to salvage an ailing domestic economy.</p>
MI71	2-Nov-19	<p>For a 44-year old single parent like Mary Jean Alberto, seeing her children complete their education and attain a bright future was her greatest desire. However, realizing a comfortable life for her family was just so impossible in a country where workers are afflicted with unstable jobs and depressed wages.</p> <p>Parting from the warm embrace of her loved ones, Mary Jean Alberto decided to leave for Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates on 7 July 2019. Her sons Rojan and Ronel were hopeful that when life gets better, they will all be reunited again. Little did they know that it would be the last time they get to see her alive. Just a few hours from the time that she sent her messages of distress, pleading to be rescued from the hands of her employer, she was declared dead on 2 October 2019. It was none other than Mary Jean's employer who revealed it to her family by phone.</p> <p>According to the employer, Mary Jean killed herself by jumping from the 13th floor unit of the high rise building where she was working. The world crumbled for the Alberto family upon finding out the gruesome death of their mother. For somebody who has always been known as a stouthearted and a resolute woman, her bereaved family refused to believe that Mary Jean committed suicide. Her daughter Rohjean who is also an OFW in UAE recounted the joyous time she spent with her mother just a few days before her death.</p>
MI72	25-Oct-19	<p><i>[On Mary Jean Alberto's death]</i> Desirably, OWWA should work for the welfare of OFWs primarily because they are overseas Filipino workers and not because of their OWWA payments. It should work true to its name for the welfare of OFWs, both documented and undocumented alike. Instead, it has been functioning as if it is a business entity.</p>
MI73	11-Oct-19	<p>Migrante International welcomes the Supreme Court decision to finally allow Mary Jane Veloso to give her testimony against her traffickers through written deposition. With this ruling, Mary Jane will be able to bring to light the horrors of her ordeal. This will likewise allow the authorities in the Philippines and Indonesia to examine how big international drug and human traffickers victimize unsuspecting migrant workers and travellers. It shall also serve as a precedent for overseas Filipinos who may in troublesome circumstances later find themselves victims of human trafficking and illegal recruitment.</p>
MI74	3-Oct-19	<p>Migrante Australia, a national alliance of Filipino migrant organisations raises concern over the death of Filipino transgender woman Mhelody Bruno, 25 years old, who was reportedly killed while on holiday in Australia.</p>

- This is the second time this year that a Filipino national died whilst working in regional Australia. Last March 2019, Jerwin Royupa was killed allegedly after jumping from a vehicle following an altercation with his employer. His death remains unresolved.
- Also about two years ago, Charma Annear was brutally murdered by her estranged husband in November 2016 in the remote country town of Laverton, Western Australia. The WA Supreme Court found Mr Mervin Annear, guilty of manslaughter and was sentenced in April 2018 with 10-years imprisonment.
- MI83 24-Jul-19 Many members of the Filipino community in Israel are gripped by fear as they anticipate more raids and arrests in the coming days.
- “Since my family received the deportation order I don’t know what my future will be. I’m afraid of the poverty in the Philippines..” These are the words of a 13-year old boy, the son of a Filipino woman who is fending off deportation orders in Israel. It is remarkable how at such a young age, this boy already has a full grasp of the harrowing poverty that traps millions of people in his mother’s country of origin.
- Going back to the Philippines for good is not an option for Filipinos who have chosen to settle permanently in Israel and in other countries. Migrante International regards this predominant view among Filipino migrants as a complete rebuttal of President Duterte’s much vaunted “malasakit” and “serbisyo” programs which according to his claim are being enjoyed by Filipinos in foreign lands.
- MI86 3-Jul-19 Migrante International is appalled at the tormenting conditions of babies and toddlers who are continually incarcerated at the Bukit Jalil Immigration Detention Centre in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. These are innocent Filipino children below the age of 2 who badly need immediate response from the Duterte government and the Department of Foreign Affairs so that they can be released immediately by Malaysian immigration authorities.
- We were informed that these little ones have been languishing in detention since 14 June 2019 after a raid was conducted at Plaza Indah Apartment Kajang by immigration officers. It so happened that the mothers who possessed valid visas were not at home when the undocumented toddlers were seized from their relatives.
- Most of these migrant children come from families who have fled from socio-economic hardships in the Philippines and are therefore vulnerable to experience rights violations from traffickers, immigration officers and even from the state which is supposed to guard and preserve the well being of all children regardless of race, gender, religion, ethnicity and even immigration status or the absence thereof.
- MI93 19-May-19 Si Constanca, 47 taong gulang, ay idineploy ng gobyernong ito bilang domestic worker sa kaniyang among Kuwaiti noong Enero, 2016. Noong Mayo 14, patay na nang dalhin siya sa Al Sabah Hospital sa Kuwait matapos makaranas ng malalang pambubugbog. May bakas din ng paglapastangan sa kanyang pagkababae nang makitaang pinasukan ng pipino ang kaniyang ari.
- MI114 23-Feb-19 As advocates for migrants’ rights and welfare, our position is firm that migrant families and children do not deserve to be treated like outcasts. Migrants are not criminals. No person should be declared illegal on the basis of their nationality or status and they deserve to be given the chance to integrate in society, most especially children who were born and have lived all their lives in the host country.
- MI118 31-Jan-19 Countless Filipino household workers suffer abuse and maltreatment from the hands of their employers. Their subjection to overwork, hunger, sleep-deprivation and long-term separation from their loved ones makes them more prone to stress, depression and mental health illnesses leading them to uncontrollable emotions and behaviour in many cases.
- MI126 6-Nov-18 Migrante International stands with the family of Tuti Tursilawati and the Indonesian people in demanding justice. We denounce the Saudi government’s blatant disregard for the life of a rape victim who suffered the worst forms of cruelty while working overseas. Sentencing a woman who acted in self-defense against sexual assault is utter injustice and a total violation of the principles of human rights.
- MI144 17-Aug-18 Saudi Arabia chapter, is sounding the alarm on the massive crackdown happening in the Kingdom. The group cited the report of the Saudi Press Agency (SPA) that more than 1.5 million people have been arrested in Saudi Arabia as of August 2, as part of the Kingdom’s ongoing campaign against illegal residents.
- Migrante is pertaining to the recent speech of President Duterte during his last SONA where he expressed his admiration of the selflessness and courage of OFWs in enduring the hardships of living away from home to provide for their families. President Duterte also pledged his commitment to ensure the well-being of OFWs as its foremost foreign policy concern.

“This is the time for the President to put his money where his mouth is. Prior to the crackdown, more than a thousand OFWs were already seeking repatriation from the Philippine embassy and consulate offices in Riyadh, Jeddah and the Eastern Provinces in Saudi Arabia. We fear that this number will multiply if the crackdown continues,” Rod De Leon concluded.

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| MI148 | 9-Aug-18 | <p>Migrante Philippines vehemently denounces the ruthless killing of Saudi-OFW and cancer-patient Allan Rafael who was under police custody at the Barbosa Police Station in Quiapo. According to his family, Rafael was illegally arrested by policemen in Recto and was forced to withdraw money before being taken into incarceration.</p> <p>Under police custody, Rafael related that he was severely tortured by policemen who coerced him to admit involvement in drug crimes solely based on his frail physical appearance. Rafael recently underwent chest surgery and chemotherapy but he was mercilessly subjected to a tormenting ordeal at the hands of the police. His family also decried his body’s embalmment without their consent, an effort on the part of the police to cover-up their felony.</p> <p>Migrante expresses our deepest condolence to the family of the OFW-victim who was unjustly excruciated by men in uniform despite Rafael being stricken with cancer after sacrificing so much for his loved ones by working overseas. Once again, PNP savages have exhibited their indolence through profiling based on physical appearance.</p> |
| MI156 | 16-Feb-18 | <p>Several more cases of OFW deaths in Kuwait are also undergoing investigation and Duterte himself said before the media in Davao that there are as many as 120 Filipinos who died in Kuwait last year.</p> |
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Table 6. Corpus of statements from MI on anti-immigration

Code	Date	Statements
MI112	3-Mar-19	Migrante does not subscribe to the view that Chinese workers are to be blamed for stealing jobs from Filipinos. It is the unequal trade and investment agreement signed by Duterte with China that is depriving Filipinos of employment opportunities.
MI113	26-Feb-19	<p>Migrante International stands in solidarity with Chinese and Filipino workers who are victims of the labour export program implemented by China and by the Duterte regime. We denounce the racist antagonism being sown by xenophobes that seek to set workers from both countries against each other.</p> <p>Migrants are not criminals and their right to live in dignity and security must be respected regardless of whether they are documented or undocumented. Everyday, they endure the pain of banishment from their places of origin just to bring food on the table for their loved ones back home. It is only rightful that they be treated just as the way we want overseas Filipino workers to be treated in any host country.</p>
MI124	27-Nov-18	In strongest terms, Migrante International denounces President Trump's use of violence through his federal agents who have been driving back desperate migrants away from the US-Mexico border. Scenes of terrified mothers and children screaming as chemical weapons are lobbed at them by heartless border security personnel somewhat depict images of Jews being gassed by Nazi mass murderers.
MI129	28-Oct-18	<i>[On the airing of an anti-migrant TV program]</i> MIGRANTE Japan believes that the whole concept of the program is xenophobic. It has turned the plight of undocumented migrants into another piece of entertainment which we fear may further fuel anti-migrant sentiments in the country – a problem that has been on the rise in recent years.
MI139	24-Sep-18	Trump's proposal of denying green cards to immigrants who avail of social welfare benefits for housing, food and medical assistance is cruelty and injustice to the highest level. It is akin to ordering immigrants to leave the U.S. or starve to death. We have seen how ICE atrociously tore families apart and bred xenophobia but this recent proposal of targeting legally documented immigrants is an intensification of Trump's Neo-Fascist agenda which would set a precedent to other immigrant-receiving countries. This is similarly a haunting reenactment of some of Hitler's Nuremberg Laws which led to the Holocaust.

Table 7. Corpus of statements from MI on government attacks against OFW critics and migrant rights activists

Code	Date	Statements
MI15	30-May-20	<p>Kadamay has condemned the killing of its national secretary-general Carlito Badion, whose body was found near a highway in Ormoc City on May 28. Investigators claim they are looking into several motives. But Kadamay said that Badion had been receiving death threats, supposedly from state agents, when he was actively involved in anti-demolition and public housing occupation campaigns in Metro Manila and nearby areas.</p> <p>Just a day after congress approval of the 2020 Anti-terrorism Bill, Carlito Badion was killed by AFP elements. Badion is the national secretary general of the urban poor advocacy group Kadamay. Prior to his tragic death, he has been subjected to repeated red tagging and has received numerous death threats from state elements. Migrante International condemns this brutal shedding of innocent blood by Fascist mercenaries of the Duterte regime. We call on all our member organizations in different parts of the world to denounce and protest this vicious killing and demand for justice.</p>
MI78	25-Aug-19	<p>Migrante International strongly denounces this vilification campaign which is meant to stoke repressive and violent attacks against members of progressive organizations. It is no secret that organizers, volunteers and rights workers belonging to advocacy groups are being subjected to many forms of harassment. Enduring threats and surveillance from military and police elements, many end up getting abducted, tortured or killed.</p> <p>The Duterte regime is dead set at discrediting the resounding record of Migrante International in extending assistance to our fellow OFWs.</p> <p>Migrante International has prominently contributed to upholding the rights and welfare of overseas Filipinos. OFWs disillusioned by government negligence continue to seek out our assistance. Aside from offering help to OFWs in distress, Migrante has also raised the level of political consciousness among members of the Filipino community abroad by exposing the roots of forced migration and the rottenness of the government's labour export programme.</p> <p>The Duterte regime is terrified of collective action from high-minded OFWs and citizens engaged in the struggle for socio-economic change. The only changes the regime have in mind are destructive impositions targeting the poor which all the while will further enrich the local ruling elites supportive of imperialist dictates.</p>
MI88	17-Jun-19	<p>Just as we were still trying to take in the tragic news about the cold-blooded murder of human rights defenders Ryan Hubilla and Nelly Balagasa of Karapatan-Sorsogon on Saturday (15 June), another peasant activist was shot dead just hours afterward. Nonoy Palma is a member of Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas in Bukidnon. In the course of this writing, former campaign head of BAYAN-Bicol Neptali Morada was gunned down in Naga City by an armed assailant. These atrocities depict a very grave image gripping our country today. Under the tyrannical reign of the US-Duterte regime, the Philippines has been turned into a vast killing field where the overflowing blood of numerous fatalities cry out for justice.</p> <p>Duterte has not brought law and order to the country. Instead, he has dragged the entire nation to disgrace by presiding over lawlessness and widespread disorder through the brutality of his state forces. Streets and alleys have become execution grounds where the blood of destitutes and committed servants of the people are shed to appease the supreme butcher in Malacañang. It is now a very dangerous place for our children and our loved ones back home. Allowing Duterte to remain at the helm of his pestilential reign of terror is the clear road that leads to national perdition.</p>
MI146	11-Aug-18	<p>Migrante International strongly condemns the Bureau of Immigration (BI) as it colludes with the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency (NICA) in issuing a blacklist order against Caridad "Caring" Bachiller and 27 other rights activists. We likewise denounce BI as it carries out the deportation of Australian human rights lawyer and professor Gill Boehringer.</p>
MI147	11-Aug-18	<p><i>[Deportation of Professor Gill Boehringer and Sister Patricia Fox to Australia; both are human rights activists]</i></p>

Table 8. Corpus of statements from MI on the US, China and Duterte administration

Code	Date	Statements
MI21	6-May-20	President Duterte is just too spooked by the mass awakening and growing outrage of the Filipino people against the injustices being committed by his regime. For OFWs and their families, the ABS-CBN shutdown is Duterte's way of clamping down on media entities exposing his extortionate agenda against OFWs as in the mandatory Philhealth exaction and premium rate hike. The closure of the Philippines' largest network comes at a time when the Duterte regime is repelling enormous criticisms due to the Philhealth controversy.
MI75	1-Oct-19	It is not a surprise that Duterte is recycling a degenerate like Mocha Uson. He needs to beef up his army of apologists and attack dogs to distract us from the worsening socio-economic conditions facing millions of Filipino people. Mocha Uson's active participation in discriminating against and demonizing OFW activists who are critical and outspoken about his policies, poor record and criminal neglect in addressing their concerns serves Duterte's political agenda in silencing organized voices who are defending their democratic rights.
MI151	26-Jul-18	Never in Duterte's term will we be able to witness the eradication of the roots of forced migration as long as the regime is stiff-necked in its refusal to introduce a national minimum wage, abolishing ENDO, pursuing national industrialization and instituting genuine agrarian reform through free land distribution to our struggling farmers.
MI154	14-Jul-18	With Duterte's emergent authoritarianism now at hand through his degenerate libido for Charter Change and bloodshed, migrants and their families are united with the rest of the Filipino people in directing their rage against the US-Duterte regime's tyrannical rule. We, OFWs and families, will not let Duterte drag our countrymen to damnation.
MI173; MI174; MI175; MI176	29-Aug-16; 27-Jul-16; 25-Jul-16; 30-Jun-16	<p>The struggle of OFWs and their families is not isolated from the struggle of other marginalized and neglected sectors. The problem of forced migration is deeply rooted in the fundamental problems of Philippine society. Our struggle for dignity, rights and welfare, against government neglect and against forced migration plays a very important role in the struggle for genuine freedom and national democracy. The only solution to the problems of the Filipino migrant sector and their families is genuine social change so that families would not have to separated and broken apart in order to survive.</p> <p>To address the problem of forced migration, the Duterte administration's economic policies should focus on developing national economy by advancing local industries, agriculture and basic services. It should depart from neoliberal policies which focus on increasing dependence on OFW remittances, foreign investments, debt-heavy infrastructure projects.</p> <p>The past four decades of Philippine labor export has showcased a more blatant and unapologetic policy that continues to exploit OFWs' cheap labor and foreign remittances in accordance to neoliberal policies and dictates. Previous administrations have been aggressive in crafting programs and services aimed to facilitate and encourage forced migration. While acknowledging the many social costs and human rights violations, these were effectively downplayed by the hailing of OFW remittances. Instead, past administrations have unfailingly and resolutely promoted labor export as unequivocally beneficial for OFWs and their families. This is particularly done by overstating supposed development benefits for the economy and the income benefits for households.</p>
MI178	13-May-16	We are one with all OFWs in hoping that your presidency will scrap the labor export policy that exploits our cheap labor and remittances but offers us nothing in return, especially in times of need. We will hold you to your promise to make OFWs your top-most priority in your labor agenda. We want new leaders who will be nurturing to OFWs and their families. We want a new government that will uphold and protect our rights and welfare.
MI188	17-Mar-15	<p>It was 1995 when Filipina domestic worker Flor Contemplacion was hanged in Singapore and her death uncovered the naked truth of the tragedy of forced migration and the policy of labor export. Contemplacion's case aroused wide indignation over the Philippine government's inaction and failure to save her life and brought to national and international awareness the life and death situation of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs).</p> <p>Twenty years after her death, we continue to bear witness to the lives and struggles of thousands and thousands of Flor Contemplacions. These last years under the Aquino administration have been the most grueling times for OFWs and their families – series of executions of OFWs on death row, civil wars and threats of wars of aggression in the Middle East and North Africa region, countless cases of abuses, maltreatment and involuntary servitude, hundreds of thousands stranded, criminalized and victimized by crackdowns abroad, trafficking and illegal recruitment with impunity and a more worsened state of government neglect and incompetence.</p>

Combined with the continuing onslaught of a global economic crisis that is translated into unending spates of price hikes and the Aquino administration's corruption, betrayal of public trust, treachery and intensification of privatization, liberalization and deregulation policies in favor of foreign interests, these are arguably the worst of times for our 13 to 15 million OFWs and their families.

Table 9. Corpus of statements from MI on the Philippines' fundamental democratic experience

Code	Date	Statements
MI2	4-Jul-20	Almost a month after the Terror Bill was submitted to Malacañang, President Duterte finally signed the Terror Bill into law. Migrante International vehemently denounces this Fascist attack against the Filipino people's democratic rights and civil liberties. The nullification of due process and equal protection is an affront to the Philippine constitution which clearly provides that "no law shall be enacted depriving any person of his life, liberty and property without due process of law."
MI68	9-Dec-19	In all our militant pursuits, it is therefore imperative that we commit ourselves to cultivating a deeper understanding of what these are all about and that is no other than to SERVE THE PEOPLE! Rouse then and gird your armour on! Let us press forward in one accord with all the toiling Filipino masses as we clear the path for a future where no family will ever be torn apart for the need to survive. Boldly advance the struggle of Filipino migrants for national democracy and social justice.
MI96	17-May-19	<p><i>[On midyear elections]</i> It is not hard to imagine who is the hand in all of this. Duterte himself reveals himself as the master of divisiveness and confusion, of thievery and murder. He allied himself with criminals and thieves like Imee Marcos, Bong Revilla, Jinggoy Estrada, among others who have not been cleared yet of graft and corruption charges by Philippine courts. He surrounds himself with blood-thirsty yes-men like Bato dela Rosa, Bong Go, Albayalde among others. His core is also revealed by whom he disenfranchised. He halted the peace talks between GRP and NDFP. He launched fake news portals red tagging human rights workers. He killed the dissenting farmers, indigenous peoples, and church people. These are portentous of election fraud.</p> <p>We cannot accept the process and result of this election. This election is dirty, as dirty as the mouth of Duterte. We are joining in the clamour for truth. We add our voices of dissent because the Filipino people and their constitution has fallen victim once again, for many times over to the criminal Duterte administration. We are refusing to be victims this time. We demand accountability.</p> <p>Our defense of democratic rights does not end after the casting of our ballots. We will pursue strengthening the will of the Filipino to fight for full national independence, democracy, development through genuine agrarian land reform, national industrialization, social justice and cultural progress. Further, fostering the solidarity and mutual support between the Filipino people and other peoples to unite in defeating and resisting #DuterTyrannyNOW!</p>
MI132	16-Oct-18	Enough of fake partylists bastardizing OFW representation and plundering OFW money! Migrante is calling on OFWs and their families to continue exposing fake OFW partylist groups and wage the struggle of bringing down the rotten system that reeks of corruption and bloody crimes against OFWs and the rest of the Filipino people.