

Department of Political Science

Supervisor: Prof. Sándor Gallai, PhD

© Diosdado B. Lopega

Corvinus University of Budapest

Doctoral School of International Relations and Political Science

An analysis of the linkage between legislators' behavior and  
electoral support: The case of the Filipino labor emigrants  
and the Congress of the Philippines

Doctoral Dissertation

Diosdado B. Lopega

Budapest, Hungary

2023

# **An analysis of the linkage between legislators' behavior and electoral support: The case of the Filipino labor emigrants and the Congress of the Philippines**

## **I. Research background and justification of the topic**

This dissertation investigates one of the most popular phenomena - labor emigration, specifically zeroing on its impact on the legislative process by looking at the linkage between the behavior of legislators in terms of their performance as to the number of legislative measures they file in Congress, and the support of the overseas Filipinos including the Filipino Labor Emigrants (FLES) or Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) in terms of the number of votes they cast for the legislators. This dissertation advances the hypothesis that, the more legislative measures legislators file in Congress that will benefit the FLEs or OFWs, the more votes they will get from this sector of the Philippine society, much more so if such legislative initiatives are publicized. Specifically, this dissertation tries to answer this main question:

1. Do legislators who are promoters of labor emigrants' rights and welfare as reflected in the quantity of legislative measures they author, garner more votes from the FLEs or OFWs?

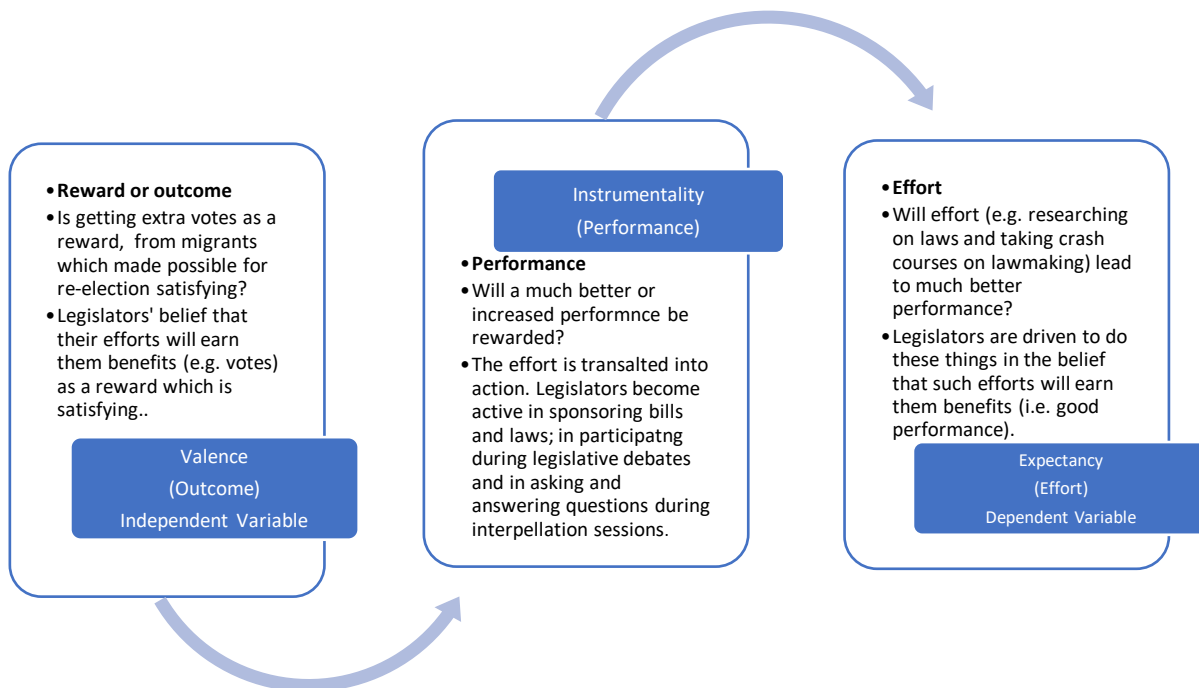
And wishes as well to answer these secondary questions:

1. For Senators, aside from the quantity of legislative measures they author as a possible vote-getting strategy, is the number of FLEs or OFWs in the regions or places where the Senators originate a factor that will ensure the quantity of votes, they garner from the FLE or OFW sector? Do FLEs or OFWs who originate from places or regions where Senators also originate, vote for the Senators whom they share common places of origin with?
2. For the Representatives of Party-list groups, is there a noticeable change of their performance in terms of the quantity of legislative measures they author? Do

Representatives of Party-list groups which garner more votes from FLEs or OFWs during elections become more active in authoring more legislative measures during their succeeding term? And conversely, do Representatives of Party-list groups which garner less votes become less active in authoring legislative measures during their succeeding term?

This dissertation uses the Vroom’s Expectancy Theory of Motivation (ETM) as the theoretical framework (*see Figure 1*), wherein people are motivated to do certain actions because of a reward that is satisfying, which they expect to get by doing such action. Here, it is important to note that motivational concepts play a major role in most serious efforts to analyze and explain behavior (Vroom, 1964).

Figure 1. The Vroom ETM as the theoretical framework of this dissertation



The ETM has three key elements: Expectancy, Instrumentality, and Valence. People are motivated to the degree that they believe that (a) **effort** will lead to acceptable performance [*Expectancy*], (b) **performance** will be rewarded [*Instrumentality*], and (c) **the value of the reward** is highly positive [*Valence*] (Lunenburg, 2011). In simple terms, the theory suggests that individuals feel motivated when three conditions are perceived - the personal expenditure of effort will result in acceptable level of performance; the performance level achieved will result in a specific outcome for the individual and the outcome attained is personally valued (Isaac, et. al., 2001). Therefore Expectancy, Instrumentality and Valence are linked with each other and motivation is the product of these three elements (Lambright, 2010). Their linkages can be simplified by the formula  $M = E \times I \times V$  (Isaac, et. al., 2001), where M stands for motivation, E stands for Expectancy, I stands for Instrumentality and V stands for Valence.

This theory assumes that people have goals which they like to achieve and for this reason, they work in organizations (Parijat and Bagga, 2004) or in some other groups or institutions. In other words, ETM views people as purposeful beings, who behave in accordance with their expectations, that their efforts will result in outcomes they value (Hancock, 1995).

In this dissertation, legislators are considered as workers, and that they perform their legislative work because of an expected reward, which is re-election. For this reason, they are motivated to work hard, in terms of filing more legislative measures for the benefit of the overseas Filipinos including the FLEs or the OFWs, because they want to get more votes from this sector, that will realize the satisfying reward which is re-election. The independent variable is the imagined reward that is re-election and the dependent variable is the behavior of legislators in terms of filing more legislative measures for the benefit of the overseas Filipinos including the FLEs or OFWs.

This is a case study that focuses on the Philippines being one of the labor exporting countries in the world, taken as a single unit, for the purpose of understanding a larger class of similar units (Gerring, 2004). The case selection strategy I employed here is the purposive (nonrandom) sampling procedure resulting to a small-N of cases, after a review of the datasets from the United Nations and the World Bank. Here, N refers to cases and not observations (Gerring, 2007). The cases selected, after the purposive (nonrandom) sampling, narrowed down to a small-N of 6 cases at the most, in alphabetical order – Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Pakistan and the Philippines (*see Table 1*). The 6 cases are selected because they are the ones that fit into the typical set of values enumerated below and likewise listed in Table 1, showing how they exhibit such specialized set of values or characteristics that made them stand out from the rest of the cases listed in the United Nations and World Bank datasets. The number of cases employed by a case study may either be small or large (Gerring, 2004). Obviously, I have small-N of cases as there are only 6 of them. Since I have to deal with small-N of cases, this may produce estimates with a great deal of variance or the so-called problem of precision (Gerring, 2007). In order to avoid this problem, I linked my case selection to the techniques derived from nine case study types, particularly the Typical Case Study type (Gerring, 2007). Under this type, an explanation of the technique for identifying cases within a population of potential cases, as well as its uses and its representativeness is included.

With this, the case identified for intensive study is chosen from a population and the reason for this, hinges upon the way in which it is situated within that population (Gerring, 2007). So, the case selection procedure here is built upon a prior cross-case analysis of the cases that resulted to the 6 cases mentioned above and depends upon certain assumptions about the broader population.

As a result of a cross-case analysis on the cases under consideration, it was found out that the caveats for quantitative (statistical) case-selection technique are not satisfied, particularly as regards the requirement that all standards of statistical research (e. g. identification, specification, robustness) must be carefully considered and wherever possible, investigated (Gerring, 2007).

Failing this test, the qualitative approach to case selection is employed instead. Specifically employing the inductive approach to case selection, typical set of values were identified in order to have a better understanding of the phenomenon which are: 1) 2 million or more international migrants from the country as of 2017-2019, 2) legislature is free to craft laws and not subject to

Table 1. Typical set of values the six countries are subjected to showing the Philippines as the typical case.

Name of Country (in alphabetical order)	Migrant population is at least 2 M from 2017-2019	Legislature is free to craft laws & not subject to control by other agents of the government	Regular elections are conducted as scheduled	Migrant inward remittance is US\$15 b and above as of 2018	Population is 100 M or more as of 2018	NGOs and POs are officially acknowledged in the Constitution as partner of the Government in the protection of collective interests (e. g. interests of labor emigrants)
Bangladesh	✓ (2.2 M)	✓	✓	✓ (18.3 B)	✓ (164.6 M)	X No
India	✓ (17.5 M)	✓	✓	✓ (83.1 B)	✓ (1.38 B)	X No
Indonesia	✓ (9 M)	✓	✓	X (11.6 B)	✓ (273.5 M)	X No
Mexico	✓ (11.8 M)	✓	✓	✓ (38.5 B)	✓ (128.9 M)	X No
Pakistan	X (500,000)	✓	✓	✓ (22.5 B)	✓ (220.8 M)	X No
Philippines	✓ (2.3 M)	✓	✓	✓ (35.1 B)	✓ (109.5 M)	✓ Article II, Section 23 & Article XIII, Section 15 of the 1987 Constitution

Sources: Refer to footnote No.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> International Migration Stock. (2019). United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

[https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationStock2019\\_TenKeyFindings.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationStock2019_TenKeyFindings.pdf)

UN Report. (2019). At 17.5 Million, Indian Diaspora Largest in the World: *The Economic Times*.

World Bank Data. (2022) <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL>

control by other agents of the government, 3) free election is held regularly according to official schedule as part of the law of the land, 4) total remittance of the international migrant population to the country is US\$15 billion and above as of 2018, 5) the population of the country is 100 million or more as of 2018, and 6) Non-government organizations (NGOs) or People's organizations (POs) are officially acknowledged in the Constitution as partner of the Government in the protection of collective interests (e. g. interests of labor emigrants). With this set of values, the Philippines features as the Typical Case Study type and is therefore selected as the intensive subject of investigation in this dissertation. This can be illustrated in Table 1, showing the characteristics of the cases considered that will point to the Philippines as the typical case. By definition, according to Gerring (2007), "the typical case is representative".

The Philippines has a long history of labor emigration. However, labor emigration had only been institutionalized starting from the 1970s during the Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. presidency, when a large number of Filipinos went out of the country to work overseas. It was former president Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. who first instituted important measures to make labor emigration an important pillar in the development agenda of his administration. When talking about Filipino labor emigration, it is therefore important to look back at the Marcos Sr. Administration because it was when the labor emigration phenomenon was given impetus. Scholars acknowledge the importance of his administration in the labor emigration debate, because former President Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. and his technocrats developed the 1974 labor export program (Ruiz, 2001,

---

World Bank Indonesia Report. (2017). Indonesia's Global Workers Juggling Opportunities and Risks. <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/357131511778676366/Indonesias-Global-Workers-Juggling-Opportunities-Risks.pdf>

World Bank Migrant Remittance Inflows, April 2020.

Worldometer. (2020). Population by Country.



Maca, 2018) and put in place a Labor Code to promote overseas contract work (Dalupang, n.d.). Labor emigration then had been made as a tool or mechanism to address the domestic problem of unemployment in the country, which then saw an initial answer in the availability of jobs in the Middle East, as a result of the oil boom in that region in the 1970s. Not only that, Marcos, Sr, saw the potential of labor emigration to buttress the weak economic performance of his administration through the inward monetary remittances of the Filipino labor emigrants.

Before the year 1970, there was only a limited number of Filipinos who left the country to seek employment overseas. At that time, overseas labor emigration was not yet as popular and institutionalized as it is today. During those times, Filipinos can leave the country and work with prospective employers overseas, with less government intervention. In other words, the government did not yet strictly control, as it does today, the outflow of Filipinos who wish to leave the country to work overseas. Understandably, the state of government control on Filipinos wishing to work overseas which is stricter now, compared to what it was before the 70's, can be partly attributed to the higher incidence of abuses, inflicted and suffered by FLEs or OFWs today, which abuses the government zealously wishes to minimize, and eventually wants to curb. This seems in fact natural for governments, as they always endeavor to promote the welfare, and protect the rights and interests of their citizens.

During the decade of the 1970s, there were important local and international developments that propelled the standardization of overseas labor emigration from the country. These developments can be pointed out as either push factors or pull factors (Lee, 1966) for Filipino labor emigration. To this end, Marcos, Sr. signed on 1 May 1974, Presidential Decree No. 442, otherwise known as the Labor Code of the Philippines, wherein overseas employment is relatively given emphasis.

During this time, the Philippines is still one of the migrant-sending countries internationally. It is the second largest exporter of human labor in the world (Castro-Palaganas, et. al., 2017). During the year 2019, before the COVID-19 pandemic took its toll on human mobility, the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) reported that there were 2.18 million FLEs or OFWs scattered around the globe (*see Table 2*). These workers are those who went out of the country as FLEs or OFWs and have employment contract with their employers, and those who have no employment contract, yet engaging in paid work. Over a twelve-year period from 2009 until 2020, the number of overseas Filipinos including FLEs or OFWs kept on increasing. It only decreased slightly in 2016, and consequently their remittances, partly because of the stiffer competition in the supply of workers like seafarers from East Asia (De Vera, 2017). In a span of one year, from 2019 to 2020, the number of FLEs or OFWs also decreased (*see Table 2*), and one of the reasons was the restriction on human mobility because of the COVID-19 pandemic.

As already hinted earlier, overseas labor emigration and policies started to be institutionalized during the 1970s when a significant number of Filipinos went to the Middle East to work in oil rigs and construction sites (Santos, 2014) although some of them also went to the United States and became part of the Filipino immigrant population numbering around 105,000 to

Table 2. Number of FLEs or OFWs over a twelve-year period from 2009 to 2020

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
No. of OFWs	1.9 M	2.0 M	2.2 M	2.2 M	2.2 M	2.3 M	2.4 M	2.2 M	2.3 M	2.3 M	2.18 M	1.77 M

Source: Philippine Statistics Authority, 2022.

501,000 between 1960 and 1980 (Gallardo and Batalova, 2020). At that time, such arrangement has been conceived by the government as a measure to address the unemployment problem in the

country, albeit as a temporary solution (Mendoza, 2015, ILO, 2019). However, it appears that there is no abetting of the number of Filipinos desiring to leave the country to work abroad. In fact, the Philippine Government facilitates the process of labor emigration<sup>2</sup> and government offices such as the Overseas Workers' Welfare Administration (OWWA) and the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) were established on 1 May 1977 and 1 May 1980 respectively. The POEA came into being by virtue of Executive Order No. 797. After its creation, three relevant offices which have overseas labor-related mandates were put under its aegis. These offices are the Overseas Employment Development Board (OEDB), the National Seamen Board (NSB) as well as the Bureau of Employment Services (BES) in connection with its overseas employment mandate. The aggrupation of these three offices saw the birth of the POEA. OWWA on the other hand was formally established with the signing of Presidential Decree No. 1694 by former President Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. on 1 May 1980. Its precursor agency, the Welfare Fund for Overseas Workers (WFOW) was then organized in 1977. The function of OWWA is further strengthened with the passage of Republic Act No. 10801, signed by former President Benigno Aquino, III on 10 May 2016. Both the POEA and OWWA are under the administrative supervision of the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE), until 3 February 2022, when POEA was officially dissolved and became an office at the cabinet level called the Department of Migrant Workers (DMW). The dissolution of POEA came about with the signing of Republic Act No. 11641 by Rodrigo Duterte, creating the DMW which superseded it.

---

<sup>2</sup> Initially in the 1970s, this was an individual decision of the Philippine government to address unemployment but as its neighboring countries in the region developed, they also felt the necessity to import labor and the Philippines was a ready labor supplier because of unemployment in the country.

## II. Methodology

As already pointed out in Section 1 above, this dissertation is a case study, and it has been explained how this case has been selected. Consequently, as its research design, this study employs both the qualitative and quantitative approaches. In other words, this dissertation is a combination of both the qualitative and quantitative research designs. This is because the data that are needed to come up with the desired result, that is, whether there is a correlation between the overseas labor emigration phenomenon quantified by the votes of the FLEs or OFWs during elections and the legislative process, or legislators' behavior quantified by the legislations they author in Congress., are obviously quantitative.

The qualitative aspect or characteristic of my research design is the use of words or language in a narrative format to describe or explain the research results. Although tables, charts and statistical terminologies are also used in this dissertation, in order to explain the research results and findings, this is in most part aided by descriptive explanations using words and not numbers, hence qualitative.

The purposive sampling technique is used in this dissertation in gathering the data needed for interpretation. This is for the reason that in terms of size, the population of this case study is small and restricted to the number of legislators in the Philippine Congress which is 24 Senators and about 50 Party-list Representatives, who exhibit qualities, that this dissertation wishes to assess. Since legislators who are promoters of FLEs or OFWs' interests, rights and welfare are already identified based on prior observation as to how they deal with the issue of overseas labor emigration, as seen and read in their media interviews, in their press releases, and on how they are featured by news articles in different mediums like television, radio, and even the social media, it became easier to point out who among the legislators were initially given focus as my samples.

These legislators were further assessed as to their socio-demographic profiles or information, political positions, local positions or involvement and their present position in Congress. The reason for this is that, these attributes or statuses connect them to their responsibilities and consequently their functions based on the rules of the Philippine Congress itself, of which they are all part of. For instance, following legislative protocols, if a legislator is head or chairman of a committee, in most instances, he or she is obliged to sponsor the legislative measure or deliver a sponsorship speech in Congress to promote the legislative measure involved. So, a legislator's concern is identifiable with his or her position in the legislative body. Along the standard procedure in Congress, bills and resolutions filed by legislators are always addressed to appropriate committees for action. So, for instance if a problem involving overseas Filipinos including FLEs or OFWs is brought up in a resolution or bill, such resolution or bill is most commonly referred to the Committee on Overseas Workers Affairs, Committee on Labor and Employment or the Committee on Foreign Affairs, that is after a careful scrutiny of the legislative measure in question. After this, the chairman of each of these committees are expected to make the necessary steps to address the concern stipulated in the bill or resolution as the case may be, if at all the bill or resolution is to be pursued. In effect, this legislative procedure ties legislators to specific causes that they must advance and promote. This made my data gathering systematic, because after identifying the committee chairmen of the Committee on Overseas Workers Affairs, the Committee on Labor and Employment and the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, I searched and sieved the legislative measures they promoted there. With this data gathering technique, I was able to systematically quantify the legislative measures the legislators filed, authored and sponsored. This also gave me an idea about the legislators, at

this stage of my dissertation, who can be considered as promoters of FLEs or OFWs' interests, rights and welfare. These legislators then are the focus of this dissertation.

In addition to this, in order to ensure that no legislative measures dealing with the interests, rights and welfare of overseas Filipinos including the FLEs or OFWs will be left out, the data sets of the Senate (Senate of the Philippines, n.d.) and the House of Representatives (House Bills and Resolutions, n.d.) were examined. So, the bills, resolutions and laws that these legislators filed, authored or sponsored are culled from these data sets which are available online. These legislative measures - bills, resolutions and laws, initiated by the different legislators were further assessed one by one, sorted out and listed down based on the content of the measures – that is, dealing with the issue of overseas labor emigration, which now form part of the data for my analysis and interpretation.

However, there is still a missing part of the data needed to come up with an explanation about the concern of this dissertation, which is to find out the correlation of FLE or OFW votes and legislative behavior in terms of authoring or sponsoring legislative measures on the part of the legislators. The number of bills, resolutions and laws filed, authored and sponsored by legislators as quantified and now ready, cannot answer yet this dissertation's concern. Such data will just be hanging if left alone, although such is obviously very significant. So, in order to correlate the two variables – labor emigration and the legislative process, there is also a need to quantify the Philippine labor emigration phenomenon. In this dissertation, this quantification is done by coming up with the number of votes each Senatorial candidates and Party-list groups obtained during the elections, when they participated by filing candidacy for re-election after their latest term of office expired. This latest election candidacy which they filed is purposely selected so as to establish a timeframe on how these candidates performed during their last terms in office, which could

possibly be one of the many reasons how the overseas Filipinos select their Senatorial and Party-list group bets. This data is also available online from the website of the Commission on Elections (COMELEC). Furthermore, additional data were requested from the COMELEC main office in Intramuros, Manila particularly from the Office for Overseas Voting (OFOV), which data the OFOV readily provided. This data served a very significant purpose – it reinforced and assured the correctness and veracity of the COMELEC data available online. And so, all the votes of the Senatorial candidates and Party-list groups that were collected from the COMELEC website, supported by the data from OFOV, were duly taken into consideration and listed down. Having done this, another set of data is now ready.

At this time when both the quantitative data as to the number of bills, resolutions and laws the legislators filed, sponsored and authored in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, and the number of votes these legislators garnered from the overseas Filipinos including the FLEs or OFWs, during the latest election these legislators participated in, the sets of data collected which are already available, can now be interpreted. Such interpretation must be guided by the main problem that this dissertation wishes to answer or explain.

In coming up with the needed data, the Senators and Party-list Representatives will be listed according to the total number of bills, resolutions and laws they filed, sponsored and authored. The list should start from the lawmaker who filed, sponsored and authored the highest number of bills, resolutions and laws, followed by the next higher in number and so on. The last name in the list will be the one who has the lowest number of bills, resolutions and laws filed, sponsored and authored. Opposite their names, the number of bills, resolution and laws will be listed. After coming up with this list, the data from the COMELEC, as to the number of votes will be accessed, and the number of votes each lawmaker got from the overseas Filipinos including the

FLEs or OFWs, will be listed in a separate column, opposite the names of the lawmakers as well. After having done this, the resulting list with both the number of bills, resolutions and laws listed, in one column and the number of votes each lawmaker got from the overseas Filipinos in another column, will now be interpreted. By this time, it will be easy to track and observe patterns and relationships based on the plotted information or data obtained from the Congress of the Philippines and the COMELEC, that are by now listed in a single data set.

In interpreting my data, an important consideration has to be considered. The Theoretical and conceptual framework of this dissertation, which is Vroom's Expectancy Theory of Motivation, will serve as a guide in doing this. Evidently, filing, authoring and sponsoring bills, resolutions and laws is a situation when a lawmaker expend effort (*Expectancy*). And for those who expended effort, determine whether they performed well (*Instrumentality*), and this could also be seen in the website of the Senate, whether or not the lawmakers concerned follow through with the legislative measure they filed, sponsored and authored. For instance, if a legislator refiled the same bill or resolution, especially during the same Congress, this situation means that said legislator expended more effort, than any other lawmaker who just allowed a previously filed bill or resolution, to gather dust in the archives of the respective chambers in Congress.

The data as to the number of votes from the overseas Filipinos garnered by the legislators available at the COMELEC, will to some extent, reinforce or prove that those legislators who expended effort (*Expectancy*) and performed well were voted (*Valence*) and reelected which is a reward that is satisfying for most legislators, who are considered as single-minded seekers of reelection (Mayhew, 1974).

By virtue of Republic Act No. 9189 or The Overseas Absentee Voting Act of 2003, Section 4 stipulates that "All citizens of the Philippines abroad, who are not otherwise disqualified by law,



at least 18 years of age on the day of elections, may vote for president, vice president, senators and party-list groups” (Republic Act No. 9189, 2003). The number of votes cast by overseas Filipinos are easy to track or identify as Section 18.6 of the Act prescribes it as a “separate item from the tally of national votes” (Republic Act No. 9189, 2003). That is why, the data sets of the COMELEC contain a separate column where the votes of overseas Filipinos are specifically indicated. Interested individuals like researchers and the legislators particularly the Senators and the nominees of Party-list groups, can therefore easily know as to how and for whom the overseas Filipinos including the FLEs or OFWs voted for.

Finally, with all the data gathered and interpreted, I will be able now to point out whether those legislators who expended effort (*Expectancy*) which resulted to good performance (*Instrumentality*) through active participation in the different activities in the legislature, were voted and reelected (*Valence*) into office. After interpreting and cross-checking the different data, I will be able to conclude whether my hypothesis is validated or not.

Aside from the number of legislative measures authored as a vote-getting strategy, the background of Senators were also taken into account especially as to their places of origin, whether or not they come from FLE or OFW-rich regions or places. The idea is to connect the Senators and the FLEs or OFWs on the assumption that Senators coming from FLE or OFW-rich regions or places will also get more votes from the FLEs or OFWs.

It is also possible to come up with other possible patterns that are not foreseen by this dissertation, but still merit important consideration. Such patterns and relationships are as well taken into account and in fact considered as point of departure for future investigations.

### III. Findings of the dissertation

After the data as to the number of legislative measures filed by legislators coming from the Congress of the Philippines and the number of votes the legislators garnered from the overseas Filipinos, including FLEs or OFWs coming from the COMELEC were interpreted, and after looking at the backgrounds of Senators, the following are the findings of this dissertation:

- For Senators or lawmakers in the Senate or Upper House of Congress, it can be established that those who filed, authored or sponsored more legislative measures for the benefit of overseas Filipinos including FLEs or OFWs, also garner higher votes from this sector of the Philippine society. This shows that there is a correlation between the number of legislative measures filed by Senators and the number of votes they garnered from the overseas Filipinos, including the FLEs or OFWs.
- The places of origin of the Senators under study and the number of FLEs or OFWs coming from the same region where the Senators originate, were looked into in order to find out whether there is a correlation between the commonality of places of origin of the Senators and the FLEs or OFWs. It was found out however that there is no correlation between the commonality of the places of origin of the Senators and the FLEs or OFWs and the number of votes Senators get from the FLE or OFW-rich regions. In other words, it does not follow that Senators coming from FLE or OFW-rich regions, also get many votes from the FLE or OFW sector.
- On the part of the Party-list groups, it was found out that the correlation between the quantity of legislative measures filed by the Representatives of these groups and the votes these Party-list groups garner from the overseas Filipinos, including the FLEs or OFWs is not convincingly established. There are cases when Party-list groups which

authored more legislative measures garnered relatively high votes from the overseas Filipinos, including the FLEs or OFWs and there are cases as well when Party-list groups which did not even file any legislative measure, garnered high votes just the same from the overseas Filipinos including the FLEs or OFWs. With this, it can be argued that there are other factors at play which are taken into account by overseas Filipinos, including FLEs or OFWs when they cast their votes for Party-list groups. This finding then serves as a point of departure for further investigation, by looking at the other possible factors that overseas Filipinos including FLEs or OFWs consider when they cast their votes during elections, by utilizing direct sources, and employing methodology that will include interviews for instance.

- This study also found out that most of the Representatives of Party-list groups which garnered relatively high number of votes or those which were re-elected, remained active and some even became more active in filing more legislative measures in the House of Representatives, during their succeeding term. There are also cases when the Representatives of Party-list groups maintained the same level of performance by authoring the same number of legislative measures and there are also those who became less active by authoring lesser legislative measures during their succeeding term. For some Party-list Representatives especially those who claim as promoters of FLE or OFW concerns, it can be argued that the high number of votes or their being re-elected for that matter, serves as a motivating factor for them to be more active in authoring more legislative measures that promote and protect the welfare and interests of the FLE or OFW sectors.

#### IV. Main references

- Castro-Palaganas, E., Spitzer, D. L., Kabamalan, M. M., Sanchez, M. C., Caricativo, R., Runnels, V., Labonte, R., Murphy, G. T. and Bourgeaut, I. (2017). An examination of causes, consequences, and policy responses of the migration of highly trained health personnel from the Philippines: The high cost of living/leaving – A mixed method study. *Human Resources for Health*. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5374687>
- Commission on Elections. (2019). Senatorial Summary Statement of Votes. <https://comelec.gov.ph/?r=2019NLE/ElectionResults/SenatorialSummaryStatementofVotes>
- Commission on Elections. (2019). Party List Canvass Report (By Rank). <https://comelec.gov.ph/?r=2019NLE/ElectionResults/PartyListCanvassReport>
- Dalupang, D. R. A. (n.d.). Should Marcos get the credit for the OFW boom? Manpower and one man's power. *Philstar Global*. <https://newslab.philstar.com/31-years-of-amnesia/ofws>
- De Vera, B. (2017). OFW Remittances hit record high in 2016. *Inquirer.net*. <http://www.business.inquirer.net/224635/ofw-remittances-hit-record-high-2016>
- Gallardo, L. H. and Batalova, J. (2020). Filipino immigrants in the United States. *Migration Information Source*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/filipino-immigrants-united-states>
- Gerring, J. (2004). What is a case study and what is it good for? *American Political Science Review*, 98(2).
- Gerring, J. (2007). *Case study research principles and practice*. University Press.
- Hancock, D. R. (1995). What teachers may do to influence student motivation: An application of expectancy theory. *The Journal of General Education*, 44(3). Penn State University Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/27797259.pdf>
- House Bills and Resolutions (n.d.). House of Representatives. <https://www.congress.gov/legisdocs/?v=bills>
- ILO. (2019). The impact of trade and employment in the Philippines: Country report. [https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---ilo-manila/documents/publication/wcms\\_714022.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---ilo-manila/documents/publication/wcms_714022.pdf)
- International Migration Stock. (2019). United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2019). [https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationStock2019\\_TenKeyFindings.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationStock2019_TenKeyFindings.pdf)

- Isaac, R. G.; Zerbe, W. J. and Pitt, D. C. (2001). Leadership and motivation: The effective application of expectancy theory. *Journal of Management Issues*, 13(2). Pittsburg State University.
- Lambright, K. T. (2010). An update of a classic: Applying expectancy theory to understand contracted provider motivation. *Administration and Society*, 42(4). New York: Binghamton University.
- Lee, E. S. (1966). A theory of migration. *Demography*, 3(1), pp. 47-57.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2060063>
- Lunenberg, F. C. (2011). Expectancy theory of motivation: Motivating by altering expectations. *International Journal of Management, Business and Administration*, 15(1).
- Maca, M. (2018). Education in the ‘New Society’ and the Philippine Labor Export Policy (1972-1986). *Journal of International and Comparative Education*, 7(1).
- Mayhew, D. (1974). *Congress: The electoral connection*. Yale University Press.
- Mendoza, D. R. (2015). Human capital: The Philippines’ labor export model. *World Politics Review*. <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/insights/15998/human-capital-the-philippines-labor-export-model>
- Parijat, P. and Bagga, S. (2004). Victor Vroom’s expectancy theory of motivation – An evaluation. *International Research Journal of Business and Management*, 7(9).
- Philippine Statistics Authority. (2022). *2021 Overseas Filipino Workers (Final Results)*.  
<https://psa.gov.ph/statistics/survey/labor-and-employment/survey-overseas-filipinos>
- Republic Act No. 9189. (2003). Manila: The LawPhil Project Arellano Law Foundation.  
[https://lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra2003/ra\\_9189\\_2003.html](https://lawphil.net/statutes/repacts/ra2003/ra_9189_2003.html)
- Ruiz, N. G. (2001). Made for Export. Labor Migration, State Power, and Higher Education in a Developing Philippine Economy. [Doctoral thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology]. <https://dspace.mit.edu/handle/895636278-MIT>
- Santos, A. P. (2014). Philippines: A history of migration. *Rappler*.  
<http://www.pulitzercenter.org/reporting/Philippines-history-migration>
- Senate of the Philippines (n.d.). *Legislative Documents*. <https://legacy.senate.gov.ph/>
- UN Report. (2019). At 17.5 million, Indian diaspora largest in the world: *The Economic Times*.

Vroom, V. H. (1964). *Work and motivation*. New York: Wiley.  
<https://www.scribd.com/document/408299722/WORK-AND-MOTIVATION-Victor-Vroom-pdf>

World Bank Data. (2022). <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL>

World Bank Indonesia Report. (2017). Indonesia's global workers juggling opportunities and risks. <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/357131511778676366/Indonesias-Global-Workers-Juggling-Opportunities-Risks.pdf>

World Bank Migrant Remittance Inflows, April 2020.

Worldometer. (2020). Population by country

## V. List of publications related to the topic

- Lopega, D. B. (2016). The political economy of the Philippine-Taiwan relations: The issue of migrant labor. *University of the Philippines Los Baños Journal*, 14(1), pp. 67-80.  
<https://www.ukdr.uplb.edu.ph/journal-articles/3872/>
- Lopega, D. B. (2019). On president Rodrigo Duterte's "war on drugs": Its impact on Philippine-China relations. *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations*, 5(1) pp. 137-170.  
<https://icaps.nsysu.edu.tw/p/404-1131-246573.php?Lang=en>
- Lopega, D. B., et. al. (2020). The eve of the 1896 revolution: Experiencing Philippine history through immersive and gamified learning. *Asian Association of Open Universities Journal*, 15(1), pp. 115-130.  
<https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/AAOUJ-08-2019-0030/full/pdf?title=the-eve-of-the-1896-revolution-experiencing-philippine-history-through-immersive-and-gamified-learning>
- Lopega, D. B. and Zoilo D. Belano, Jr. (2020). Let the Leviathan Do Its Mandate and the Political Animals Conform. *University of the Philippines Los Baños Journal*, 18(2), pp. 87-102.  
<https://www.ukdr.uplb.edu.ph/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=uplb-journal>
- Lopega, D. B. (2020). Taming the tiger: A transgovernmental approach for ASEAN to engage China regarding the Spratlys. *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations*, 6(2), pp. 469-505.  
<https://icaps.nsysu.edu.tw/p/404-1131-246573.php?Lang=en>
- Lopega, D. B. (2022). Mainland China on a Tightrope: Lessons for its Taiwan Reunification Strategies in the Context of the Latest Russian Attack on Ukraine. *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations*, 8(3), pp. 553-596  
<https://www.proquest.com/docview/2807412719>