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Master's Thesis of Graduate School of International Studies

**Professional Emigration and the Impact
of Globalization on Developing
Countries:
“Brain Drain” in the Philippines’
Education Sector**

전문직 이민과 세계화가 개발도상국에 미치는 영향:
필리핀 교육 부문의 “두뇌 유출”을 중심으로

August 2022

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**Professional Emigration and the
Impact of Globalization on Developing
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“Brain Drain” in the Philippines’ Education Sector**

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Abstract

The United Nations reported on 2019 that the world reached nearly the number of 272 million international migrants, creating significant impacts on both the places and people involved. Brain drain happens when there is an efflux, or migration, of high-skilled professionals from developing countries to more developed countries. The Philippines' medical sector has long been acquainted to the challenges of brain drain, with poor working conditions being the principal ground of healthcare professionals' emigration. In more recent years, in light of globalization, migration preference has expanded to other industries in the country. While comparatively new in comparison to the healthcare industry, this study focuses on the brain drain in the education sector of the Philippines, and was conducted to look into the trend of deployment of teachers, including its push and pull factors. Through the analysis and the discussion of the data obtained from various Philippine government organizations and the interviews of different stakeholders with diverse backgrounds, this study shows the motivations behind the upward trend of teacher emigration. Compared to the beginning of the year 2000s wherein the United States and the Middle East were primarily the destination countries of majority of Filipino workers, globalization in recent times has allowed professionals to expand to more countries to practice their expertise. Motivated by the pursuit of better income, career growth, a higher quality of living, and community support, the interview respondents, along with existing literature, expound on the reasons behind the country's challenges on professional emigration. This study can present baseline data for policy development and strategy building to prevent brain drain, and alleviate the its impact on developing countries.

Keyword : education, brain drain, teachers, migration, emigration

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I. Introduction

1. Study Background

Globalization has become a complicated concept widely discussed in every corner of the globe. In many ways, it has brought together and affected dissimilar facets of our lives. In his paper, Litz (2011) summarized the various descriptions of *globalization* and defines it a multifaceted ideology and politically charged process, generally used as an umbrella term for a complex series of economic, social, technological, military and political changes that generally move investments, ideas, goods and services, people, businesses beyond domestic and national boundaries into a larger international realm which, in turn, has the effect of increasing the interdependence and interconnectedness between various people, cultures, ethnic groups, government entities, and different organizations from different locations into a wider global arena. The term *globalization* possesses more than a few connotations to different people, generating positive outcomes to some, while others less optimistic consequences. Regardless of its effects and results, indeed, globalization has brought about a more interdependent and connected world, allowing means for developed and developing countries to come together, exchange ideas, and promote competitiveness.

Competing in the global arena does not, however, come easy and free of charge. Developed countries set aside millions of national fund and government support in order to fuel itself and promote methods that will sustain its contribution to the globalized world. As the globalization of the world relentlessly grows, so does the disparity between the abilities of countries to sustain its competitive position in the international realm. The impact of globalization on developing countries has grown more profound as its

governments struggle to provide adequate funding for continuous innovation and development to keep up with countries that mostly have acquired first-mover advantage.

The effects of globalization is no stranger to students, families, and highly skilled workers of developing countries. University graduates and professionals, too, have been affected by the globalization of knowledge, and thus, seek productivity and growth that may improve their quality of life, this including going out of the country where resources and opportunities are more abundant.

Lu (2014) shares in her article that the diffusion of highly skilled workers from developing countries to developed countries has been a major concern of many nations, especially developing countries, for many years now, and that the highly skilled and better educated individuals, or also known as the knowledge workers, especially professionals with training, leave their homeland and work abroad. What constitutes this international migration, the transfer of population either for a short or long period of time from one country to a different one, usually are migrants in their productive ages, inclined to seek employment in foreign labor markets perceived to offer better opportunities. As such, Battistella and Liao (2013) state that this can be considered a net loss for the country of origin, and hence, this is what many may call the *brain drain* phenomenon. According to Beine et. Al., (2003), *brain drain* is the “international transfer of resources in the form of human capital”, and it involves the flight of people with high level of skills and competence from developing countries.

The challenges of brain drain are not all new to the world, especially to the developing region of the globe. Prior to the 21st century, Western countries, especially the United States have begun welcoming skilled workers in the country to fill in gaps in the

country's job market. In more recent times, the mobility of skilled workers has increased, fueled by job expectations from a better educated population in countries of origin and fanned by globalization, advances in communication and technology, and the international integration of market systems (Battistella and Liao, 2013). What raises increasing concern, especially these days, involving this type of migration are the movements of young migrants, especially those who are equipped with good education, skills and are of prime age for the labor force. In recent years, this trend has assumed an increased importance as it reflects the impact of globalization, revival of growth in the world economy, and the explosive growth, especially in the information and communications technology industry, hence, because of this, a number of developed countries, too, have liberalized their policies for the admission of highly skilled professionals (Albuero and Abella, 2002).

With the onset of globalization and its expansion towards different sectors in the country, many professionals take advantage of the opportunity to further their career outside the country. With regards to the Philippines, Castro-Palaganas et. al. (2017) shared that the country has been engaged with migration, mainly with the United States, even in the early twentieth century to facilitate the outmigration of workers in the agricultural field. In addition to farm work, Filipino scholars were also invited to study in the United States under the auspices of the US government (Santos, 2014).

The history of the Philippines with emigration continue endured as the United States became the country that had the largest inbound of Filipino workers, however, Nigeria entered a bilateral agreement with the country where Filipino engineers, doctors, and teachers were recruited. This was the first recorded sizeable emigration of Filipino

teachers that was facilitated by the government. By 1982, an estimate of 7,000 teachers left the Philippines to work for the African country.

Permanent migration became a more viable option to Filipinos on 1968 when the US Navy recruited men from the country to “See the World” (Santos, 2014). Filipinos employed in the military were offered the choice to live in the United States after their service, and this opportunity extended to other developing countries whose citizens hoped to achieve a more prosperous life in the mainland. Bello et. al., (1969) wrote that during this time, immigrants from underdeveloped countries have constituted 38 percent of the total count of skilled people heading for the United States, and this was already a 7% increase from the years prior. In their paper, they also expressed the alarm of another American government body that reported that of the 15,272 scientists, engineers, and physicians immigrating to the country, 7,913, or more than half were coming from developing countries, which was a massive jump from the decade before where immigrants from developing countries only made up one-fourth of the total number. Translating these figures into economic terms, Bello et. al. (1969), narrated that that the emigrating individuals represented an investment loss of \$150 million to the developing countries from which they originated from. During this time, a report from the Philippines Herald also arrived at the conclusion that the brain drain phenomena would most probably continue to increase, and that, consequently, the developing nations would continue to lose their intellectual elite (Bello et al., 1969).

A few years down from 1967, under the government of Former President Ferdinand Marcos when unemployment and eroding foreign reserves constituted a large volume of the country’s problem, the addition of overseas employment in the 1974 Labor

Code propelled the overseas employment program as a temporary resolution to the country's crisis. Increase in crude oil prices by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) resulted in an economic downturn, and countries, including the Philippines, suffered job loss and unemployment (Santos, 2014). To address the crisis, the Marcos government utilized the country's surplus labor and launched the overseas employment program. It was during this time that the title of "Overseas Filipino Worker" or OFW was utilized to identify Filipinos who sought employment outside of the country.

Few people could have anticipated that overseas employment would become an enduring feature of Philippine society (OECD, 2017). Alongside the state-facilitated migration, an invisible migration took place as women who left as tourists for European countries stayed in the countries they flew to in order to work as household service workers (Santos, 2014). By the onset of the 80s, the rise of the Asian Tiger Economies opened up opportunities to more foreign domestic workers as more women in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong set off to work outside their homes. Up to this day, majority of the female labor migrants continue to work for the service sectors.

The Philippine government continuously supported the outflow of workers from the country. On 2006, the Passage of Household Service Workers Reform Package was passed, a law setting the minimum salary Filipinos who worked in the household service industry, and reestablished 23 years old as the minimum age of employment (Santos, 2014). Outmigration became an even more prominent feature of the country under the administration of Gloria Macapagal Arroyo from years 2001 to 2010. Arroyo launched the Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan wherein the country targeted sending a million workers overseas every year. While this was the first and only time that the

government cited a target for deployment, this move affirmed the position of the Philippines as a labor “broker state”. (OECD, 2017). In 2009, UN Women reported that from 1979 to 2009, more than 30 million Filipinos have left the country as labor migrants (Santos, 2014), and alongside the increasing deployment, the government amended its RA 8042 policy to extend stronger protection to workers that were deployed.

Hence, for a while now, emigration has been embedded in the country’s culture, history, and everyday life. The Philippines’ long experience with international migration means it has created institutions, policies and practices to govern various aspects and phases of the phenomenon, and a culture of migration has been firmly established in the society (OECD, 2017). Labor deployment became the centerpiece of the Philippine migration policies as the country proved the significance of Overseas Filipino Workers’ remittances. What started as a stop-gap measure to address rising unemployment during the Marcos era became a permanent feature of the country’s employment strategy due to the expansion of foreign labor markets on one hand, and the lack of the country’s sustained development on the other (Asis and Batistella, 2013). Under the administration of President Benigno Aquino III, efforts to provide an alternative to labor migration were organized, and the government dropped the deployment target from the previous administration. The reason for this being that the government aimed to advocate migration as a choice and no longer a necessity for some households, and to attract back workers to hopefully apply their expertise, once again, inside the country. However, it became increasingly obvious during the former president’s term that reversal in such short time cannot be done.

On top of the historical relationship the Philippines has with migration, it is valuable to consider that majority of Filipinos are equipped to communicate well in English, being that the country has placed 5th amongst the countries that have English as the primary or lingua franca in 2021, and for this reason, emigration of professionals from the service industry of the country remains to be most prevalent despite the determination of some organizations to invite back experts to the country.

In the Philippines, the service sector accounts for 60 percent of gross domestic product and almost 57 percent of employment, this sector including many others but mainly pertaining to retail and business services, education, and health (Serafica, R. et. al., 2021). While the service sector branch that was most influenced by the policies that supported overseas employment during the 20th century was the medical sector, the advancement of globalization certainly expanded its reach to other sectors of the country, especially to other branches of the service sector. With the exchange of knowledge taking on a more global platform, globalization has, unsurprisingly, affected education and the teaching professionals who, too, are equipped with the competitive skills and education to fuel them in the job market outside the country. This paper aims to take a closer look on how globalization has made an impact on the experiences and decisions of professionals in the education sector vis-à-vis the medical sector wherein fundamentals of emigration has been established much earlier, and how emigration has affected the situation of the education sector in the country.

2. Research Question

This paper aims to expand on how globalization, particularly the rise in opportunities abroad and its competitive aspect, has affected the education sector in the Philippines and its quality. It aspires to interpret and show a clearer and more detailed picture of the motivations behind the emigration of teachers and provide a more comprehensive description of the transformation of the job market of the country's education sector. While there is no shortage in the population nor the students graduating from different university and courses in the Philippines, multiple sectors in the country persists to suffer from lack of qualified manpower to sustain quality. The paper seeks to contribute to the overall understanding of the causes and effects of emigration in the education sector, a service industry segment that has received less attention in terms of research as existing studies have brought more focus on the medical field of the country where emigrations' roots are more embedded in terms of history.

In Rappler's (2021) article on the Filipino teachers in Thailand, a section entitled "If only in the Philippines" showed the lamentation of Filipino educators who emigrated out of the country. Earl Beran, the interviewee for the news article of Rappler Philippines and an engineering graduate who unexpectedly moved to Thailand to teach kids due to the limited opportunities in his own country and amplified further during the years of 2020 and 2021 because of the pandemic that affected the entire world, shares that Filipino lives' have been negatively affected especially because of the response of the government to Covid-19. His is an example that portrays the mismatch of Filipino jobs in the country and the pursuit of a better quality of life outside the Philippines.

The reasons for brain drain has shifted over the years, while it was a byproduct of the response to the financial crisis under the Marcos administration, motivations of Filipinos who emigrate have evolved overtime. The paper intends to demonstrate how education and employment abroad has now become strongly associated with migration intention due to the inability of the state to chart a sustained economic development for its working population.

Furthermore, the following questions guided the process of the research:

1. What is the present situation of the education sector in the Philippines, its state of professional migration, and its historic trends?
2. Are the education sector and medical sector affected similarly by the challenges brought about by professional emigration?
3. According to the teachers who have both decided to stay in the country and work overseas, what are the causes and underlying themes of emigration?
4. What are the consequences of professional emigration to the country's education sector?

4. Motivations

4-1. Skilled Labor Migration in Developing Countries

Docquier and Rapoport (2011) shares that between the year 1960 and 2005, the number of international migrants increased from 75 million to 190 million, signifying only a slight increase in migration rate, from 2.5% to 2.9%. They (2011) continued to expound that during the same period, the world trade GDP ratio increased threefold. Docquier and

Rapoport (2011) continued that without thorough research, one might conclude that trade and FDI are the only two main factors that affect globalization, however, once attention is brought unto migration to developed countries, its skilled component, and the tripled number of foreign-born population since 1960, it can be concluded that one of the major aspects of globalization certainly is the fast paced high-skill migration from developing to developed countries.

Following the increase of emigration from developing countries, the first papers on brain drain during the 1960s generally deduced that the effect of human capital transfer was neutral and stated that migration was essentially a benefit to the global economy and to the developing countries because of the remittances gained from abroad. However, in the following years, further investigation on the effects of emigration to the source countries shed light on the negative consequences to the sectors and other professionals left behind. Finally, despite its advantages, high-skill emigration was viewed also as contributing to the increased inequality at the international level, with rich countries becoming richer at the expenses of poor countries (Doquier, and Rapoport, 2011).

In Docquier and Rapoport's (2011) study, the authors pointed to medical brain drain as one of the largest factors responsible for Africa's under-provision of healthcare staff, low health status and life expectancy problem. Surveys of African doctors and empirical analyses of the determinants of medical brain drain in Africa delivered that reasons behind emigration included gaining access to higher wages, better lifestyle and working conditions, and found that countries with lower pay for doctors, higher enrollment in secondary education, and higher HIV prevalence have higher medical brain drain rates (Docquier and Rapoport, 2011). The impact on African health was then concluded that the

medical brain drain was not about the quantity of doctors remaining in the country, but more about the quality of the doctors, and stopping the emigration would only bring about a marginal improvement to the overall health outcome of the country unless other related factors such as medical infrastructures and government policies were also improved. Hence, without a concrete plan to improve working and living conditions in developing countries, authors Docquier and Rapoport (2011) discussed that high-skill migration would continue to become a dominant pattern of international migration and a large aspect of globalization. Because of this, globalization is causing human capital to be scarcer where it is already scarce, and more abundant where it is already abundant, thereby contributing to the increasing inequality across different countries (Docquier and Rapoport, 2011).

Guided by the same premise, Zhatkanbaeva, A., et. al. (2012) reported that Kazakhstan, too, suffers the problem of “brain drain” as the growth of international mobility of scientific personnel has resulted to 15-20% of the country’s university graduates leaving the country in search for opportunities that would further their career and self-realization. They (2012) discussed that Kazakhstani students who aim to be equipped with a better quality education try to enter high rating universities that are mostly concentrated in developed countries such as USA, Canada, China, and other developed countries, and enroll in these universities under favorable terms as these international universities grant accommodations and special privileges to international students to increase their life support in their destination countries. Today, 2.8% of Kazakhstani schoolchildren graduate abroad which means that they will get higher education there as well (Zhatkanbaeva, A. et. al., 2012). Recognizing the problem of skilled labor migration and that pursuit of well-to-do life is a desire that everyone possesses, the government of

Kazakhstan has taken a number of complex measures to enhance the state's problem. For example, allocating a larger budget for education and taking into consideration the role and purpose of teachers. Paying closer attention to the quality of training they receive, equipping scientific institutions with better e-learning systems and best available equipment, with the hopes that the increased development of the country can influence their citizens to return to their motherland.

4-2. Brain Drain in the Philippines' Medical Sector

Up until recently, the focus of concern for the Philippines with regards to brain drain has been on its medical sector. It is also in this sector that most statistics and research have been compiled and given recommendations for. Bello et. al. (1969) reported that as early as 1960s, United States already had 2,474 resident Filipino doctors and 6000 Filipino nurses. According to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, in one year alone, 1967, 550 doctors and 445 nurses were among the Filipino professionals who migrated to the United States. These figures are alarming because even during the year of 1965, the ratio of physicians to the population stood at 1:671 in Manila and 1:4,979 in rural areas (Bello et al., 1969).

While times have changed, the Philippines remain to be one of the largest exporters of service among other countries, Rappler (2021), a Philippine news outlet, expressed that despite the country having one of the highest passing rates for healthcare worker examinations, 12,686 examinees, 75% of cities and municipalities in the country continue to report having insufficient number of healthcare workers. From 2004 to 2010, nurses comprised an average of 19% of all emigrating Filipino professional, medical and

technical workers, and the result of this is a country that experiences numerous hospital closures and high nurse turnover (Dimaya, et. al., 2012). The situation from previous decades remains unchanged, licensed professionals continue to be inclined to migrate to United States and neighboring countries to seek higher salaries and superior benefits. Furthermore, the massive expansion in education and training design specifically for outmigration creates a domestic supply of health workers who cannot be absorbed still by a system that is underfunded (Castro-Palaganas, et. al., 2017).

Dramatic increases in the migration of human resources for health from developing countries such as the Philippines can have consequences on the sustainability of the health systems (Castro-Palaganas, et. al., 2017). The local health workforce in the country experienced an even greater low during the onset of Covid-19, with workers experiencing mistreatment and abuse because of hospitals being undermanned, Rappler (2021) reported. One of the solutions that the government implemented to anticipate the effects of the pandemic was the deployment ban of local healthcare workers, however, the non-profit Filipino Nurse United and other local organizations protested that this was unfair to the workers as they have the right to work for higher salaries abroad, especially after investing hefty amounts of money for their medical education. In November 2020, President Duterte lifted the said ban yet allowed only 5,000 health workers to leave, which was not enough considering that 17,000 Filipino nurses had signed overseas contracts (Abenir, 2021).

As the government-led programs provided means for Filipino health workers to emigrate and exercise their profession abroad, the health industry and jobs relating to the medical field became an avenue for Filipinos to emigrate. One correspondent from the

report of Castro-Palaganas et al. (2017) shared that the increased enrollment in nursing was clear when the number of nursing colleges doubled to 491 by early 2000s. This increase in nursing colleges representing the country's response to the eagerness of Filipinos to emigrate through the nursing profession. Other respondents in the paper argued that this expansion also led to the commercialization and the deterioration of nursing education standards in the country (Castro-Palaganas, et. al., 2017).

According to the study done by Castro-Palaganas, et. al. (2017), correspondents to their research ranked low salary as the main reason for leaving the country. Poor working conditions, outdated healthcare technologies, and lack of employment opportunities were described as other key push factors (Castro-Palaganas, et. al.m 2017). Another element that led them to pursuing work overseas was the social pressure they experienced. Familial pressure to go abroad and send money back to the Philippines was an attribute ingrained in the nursing industry, and medical professionals were left with no other option but to follow tradition, especially when lower quality of working conditions characterized the local industry and provided justification to leaving the country. In addition to the enticing labor conditions offered outside the Philippines, migration to the US is facilitated by its visa provisions for family petitions to help supplement the domestic shortages in the mainland. Hence, under the H1-C visa offered by the US to foreign nurses, nursing students and graduates in the Philippines have reached an oversupply and many of their motivations have shifted away from simply medical care towards overseas employment and migration.

5. Purpose and Significance of Study

From Battistella and Liao's (2013) article, we'll understand *brain drain* as referring to the large outflows of educated and skilled labor migrants, especially those originating from developing countries, and moving towards more developed or highly industrialized countries. In more specific terms, it refers to the "international transfer of resources in the form of human capital that is the migration of relatively highly educated individuals from developing to developed countries" (Battistella and Liao, 2013). In this context, we can suppose that the outflow of professional or better skilled migrants leads to adverse consequences for the country of origin, predominantly a loss of manpower, skills, and human capital, which in return may lead to a decrease of resources for the economic growth and resources for the nation.

The discussion on brain drain emerged from the broad context of concern for development, particularly with regards to developing countries, as educated, experienced and skilled professionals were leaving developing countries to pursue further growth and a better quality of life in foreign destinations where the demand for their skills are high (Battistella and Liao, 2013). The problem, then, as revealed by Arturo and Abella (2002), lies in that the demand from developed countries is largely met by developing countries and has triggered an exodus of skilled personnel from countries such as the Philippines. While it is common knowledge that mobility is necessary to achieve global economy integration especially for developing countries, a hefty outflow of skilled individuals can adversely impact development and growth of the nation. In order to comprehend the challenge brought about by *brain drain*, it is essential to consider the realities in developing countries, both economically and socially.

A recent YEM study done by Asis and Batistella (2013) finds that a slightly higher proportion of young Filipino migrants are employed in professional or skilled occupations than adult migrants. While brain drain takes place in all directions, the volume of migration flows to the OECD countries, in particular, has invited further studies on the brain drain component and the motivations behind it.

The purpose of this paper is to present the scale of brain drain in the education sector of Philippines and to illustrate how the pattern of migration has evolved in the past years reflecting the pace of globalization, and how it differs from the existing brain drain in the country's medical sector where the challenge has been more embedded. This paper aims to particularly expound on the current situation of brain drain in the education sector of the Philippines, especially as a developing country with a unique history that is closely integrated with emigration, and to contribute to the studies of the extent of the brain drain situation of the country and the industries it has affected in recent years. This paper aims to answer the question on what are the rationales behind the decisions of teachers to work abroad, what are the consequences of these decisions to the Philippine education sector, and whether the migration patterns of teachers from the Philippines have become problematic for the country, similar to the challenges being faced by a the medical sector, an industry that is also driven by the same service nature.

This research was conducted to look into the trend of teachers' emigration as it replicates the previous studies done on medical brain drain. While this study is mainly a review of existing literature and provides analysis of interviews of professionals in the education sector and statistics provided by the government and related agencies, it can provide baseline data for developing strategies and policies to prevent and adapt to brain

drain in the Philippines. It may also present itself as a resource to other developing countries that are facing the same challenge.

II. The Question of Brain Drain in the Education Sector

1. Existing Literature on International Migration in Developing Countries' Education Sector and the Philippines

Unlike with the medical sector in the Philippines, the research on international teacher migration emerged only in more recent times. In the early 2000s, Bense (2016) shared that the worldwide phenomenon of teachers leaving their home country to work abroad coined the terms migrant teachers, internationally trained educators, immigrant teachers, and many others. As large movements of teachers ensued especially between countries that were linked by the same language, another occurrence that was likewise common was the movement of these professionals from developing countries to more developed countries. Modesto (2020) described this phenomenon as a result of the professionals striving for better pay outside their home countries. Additionally, Modesto (2020) explained several other reasons for teacher migration: (a) common language and background, (b) presence of immigrant community and sense of belongingness, (c) rising demand of qualified teaching staff, and (d) the search for a safer place to live and security. She (2020) noted that in the past two decades, countries that have links in language and educational similarities experienced higher levels of migration for teachers.

The purpose of Modesto's (2020) study was to present rich descriptions and narratives of teachers in the United States, specifically Texas, to understand the viewpoints of her focus group on emigrating from the Philippines to the United States, one of the earlier countries to welcome significant numbers of immigrants from the Philippines.

Asis and Batistella (2013) shares that at the level of households and individuals, working abroad has developed into becoming part of livelihood strategies and it has become elements of the life aspirations of many Filipinos. At this stage, the country's dependence on labor migration has also been reproduced in the microcosm of families and households, in which the idea of working abroad has been passed on to the younger generation (Asis and Batistella, 2013).

Tan and Co (2014) expounds on the impacts, effects, and outcomes brought about by international migration of teachers from the Philippines. In their study, the authors (2014) illustrate the gains and losses of teachers who worked overseas in terms of their educational portfolio, mileage in socio-cultural connection, and economic progress. The study revealed that their individual economic progress provides an impression that they achieved the ultimate purpose of international migration for themselves and their families, however, with regards to their contribution to the education sector in the Philippines and the society at large, there is still much to be improved.

As of doing this study, what comprised most of the existing literature on brain drain has been mostly on the medical sector of the Philippines. However, in the year of 2003, the Department of Labor and Employment Statistics reported on the supply and demand situation of teachers in the Philippines to demonstrate the oversupply of personnel. The study was comprised of years 1991 to 2000 and the government organization reported that during this decade, the number of graduates of education and teacher training has grown every year, with an average of 47,392 new graduates each year and 3.6% annual growth rate.

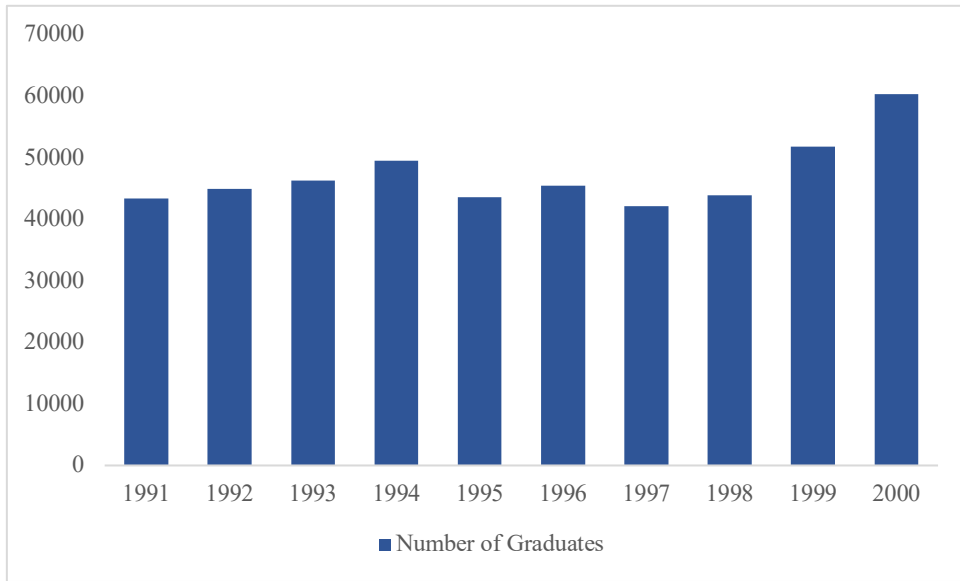


Table 1. Number of Education and Teacher Training Graduates

Source: Department of Labor and Employment, and Commission on Higher Education

Despite the large supply of teachers, the economy was incapable of absorbing the substantial percentage of the graduates. From 1991 to 2000, the size of the country’s employed teachers remained nearly unchanged, available positions only increasing by 71,658. Computed on an annual basis, this is about 7,962 additional teachers each year or an average annual growth rate of 1.7%, with an average of 35,238 eligible teachers each year this figure suggests an excess supply of eligible teachers as there were few employment opportunities available for them given the low absorptive capacity of the country’s educational system (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2003).

In spite of the previous report, a more recent article by Philstar (2017) accounts Filipinos’ incessant pursuit of the degree, reasoning that an education degree offers better security, and one education senior responding in confidence that he will finally land a job though uncertain still whether it would be in the classroom, outside, or in human resources.

Philstar (2017) continued to report that enrollment in the education track has ascended from being the third to the second most popular courses among the Commission of Higher Education's 21 classified discipline groups. Philstar (2017) shared that compared to the school year 2004-2005's enrollees of 366,988, the number has gone up to 791,284 in school year 2015-2016, rising an average of 7.6% year by year.

With the scarce opportunities for employment in the country, teachers chose to look for employment prospects out of the country. During this time, brain drain didn't occur only within the education sector as teachers who could not look for teaching positions opted to work for non-teaching occupations such as domestic workers in countries in Europe and Hong Kong, or akin to the interviewee in the article by Philstar, decided to go for jobs within the country such as a position in the human resources department.

According to the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), from 1992 to 2002, the number of Filipinos who left the Philippines for teaching jobs overseas grew from 112 to 586, almost fivefold. Almost a decade after, the number of yearly deployed teachers has grown to three times that of 586, rising to more than 2000 teachers, and remaining in the thousands continuously. It is also important to note that the report done by the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration showed that the list of countries that Filipino teachers flew too also grew in number, initially heading to the Western countries during the early 2000s, and expanding to countries nearer to the Philippines and within Asia, such as Indonesia, Japan, and Thailand at the later years.

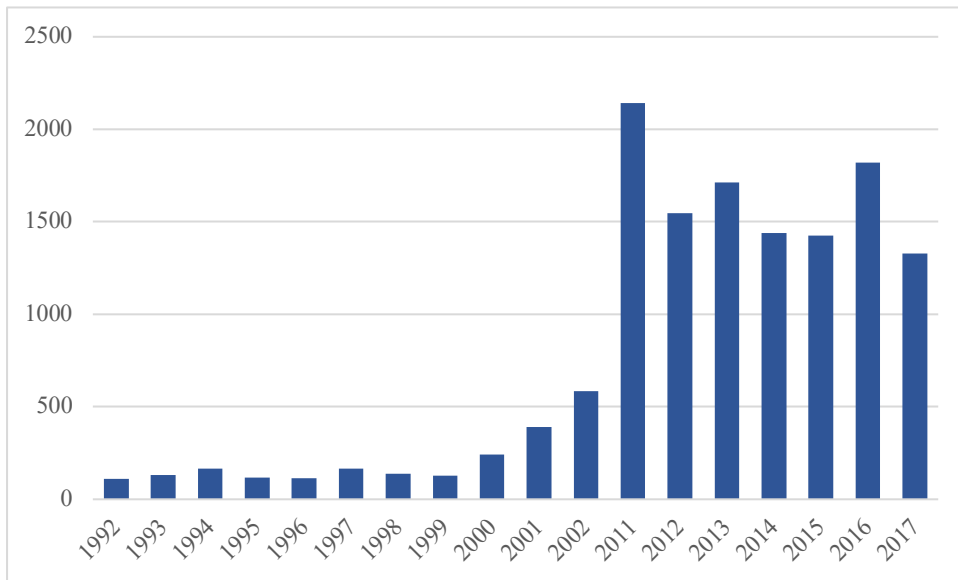


Table 2. Number of Teachers Deployed Overseas
Source: Philippine Overseas Employment Administration

Some teachers also decided to permanently migrate to their destination countries as the Commission of Filipino Overseas reported that from 1988 to 2001, a total of 9,608 teachers emigrated.

Occupation	No. of Teachers Emigrated
Elementary Teacher	3824
High School Teacher	2270
Supervisor/Principal	1442
Others	2072

Table 3. No. of Teachers Emigrated by Occupation
Source: Commission on Filipinos Overseas

Hence, existing literature on brain drain in the education sector shows that the Philippines has already been affected by teacher migration even during the 2000s, most of them moving to more developed countries that were mostly characterized by Western

culture as it was easier for Filipinos to assimilate into English-speaking countries. While the available literature on brain drain provided more background on the medical sector, the Philippine government has already reported on the excess of teachers in the Philippines and its failure to absorb the entire talent leading to the teachers being not able to exercise their profession. Until today, the government remains to be the biggest employer of teachers in the country, and its decisions and strategies play the big role in addressing the problem in the supply and demand imbalance in this industry.

2. Migration in the Education Sector vis-à-vis the Medical Sector

Labor migration has widely been viewed as determined by a combination of demographic, socio-cultural, political and economic factors interacting across macro-, meso-, and micro-levels (Castro-Palaganas et. al., 2017). Micro-levels are defined by Castro-Palaganas et. al. (2017) as the perceptions held by migrants with regards to the context of their personal or household matters influencing their decision to work overseas. Additionally, meso-level phenomena consists of the organizational settings such as working conditions and opportunities in terms of career and these are greatly propelled by different macro-level factors such as political, social and economic in both international and local levels.

Migration is seen as a way for tenth of the Filipino working population to sustain their families in the Philippines while advancing their professional careers (Abenir, 2021). This is especially true for the healthcare sector in the Philippines and much research has brought to light the adverse effects of the said migration to the country and its people left

behind. It has commercialized the health education and stripped the country of skilled learning facilitators (Abenir, 2021).

Akin to the study done on the healthcare sector in the Philippines, this study aims to examine another service industry in the country, the education sector. It shall look into how it has been affected by migration, opportunities outside the country brought about by globalization, and subsequently present ways to improve on the policies within the country that may develop the absorption of its workers. Guided by previous literature, this study looks into the current situation of education in the Philippines and the professional migration of the industry's teachers. As these teachers are considered high-skill professionals, there are bigger implications to the industry that was left behind. If the larger bulk of migrant workers are temporary and has historically been in the lower skill category, it can be argued that social losses arising from their placement abroad are likewise temporary since cyclically, these workers eventually return home. Furthermore, there may even be social gains for the country as these workers acquire additional skills, become exposed to new productivity tools, and appreciate broader perspectives (Alburo and Abella, 2002). It is the larger bulk of permanent migration, apparently characterized as consisting of higher skill professionals, that entail larger social losses to the country given that training them has been costly, and that they are unlikely to return during their productive years, and this is effectively what we may coin as permanent *brain drain* (Alburo and Abella, 2002).

This research will attempt to explore the brain drain problem in the education sector of the Philippines and the patterns of the country's labor migration with regards to the indicated industry. It implores to provide report on the extent and scale of this challenge

to the country by looking into the annual trends of professional migration in the industry prior to the Covid-19 pandemic, and further understand the motivations behind the country's challenge. It aims to inquire whether similar themes and causes that drive professionals in the medical sector push the professionals in the education sector to follow the same path of migration, and finally, look into the consequences of professional emigration to the local sector and the people that were left behind.

Just as Pernia (1976) had done in his early study, this research continues to argue, in a more modern context, that the real problem of the Philippines is not so much the brain drain as misdirected training and skills formation, hence the inability of the economy to absorb high-level professional skills, and the government to implement policies that would encourage teachers and other professionals to remain locally. To be more specific, the analytical framework centers on the circumstance that given a large supply of professionals, especially those equipped with advanced skills, are hindered by the slow speed of economic progress, it is expected to have an exodus of a significant number of professionals from the population.

The research will attempt to demonstrate that the Philippine's general brain drain problem roots from the inability of the economy to absorb the supply of highly trained professionals. Unless socioeconomic conditions are improved and educators are provided with better incentives, staying in the Philippines will not be a viable option (Castro-Palaganas et al., 2017). Similar to the circumstances of the healthcare industry, the massive expansion in education and training designed specifically for outmigration, for example, creates a domestic supply of health workers who cannot be absorbed by a system that is underfunded (Castro-Palaganas et al., 2017). The framework that this study will follow,

then, would be similar to the existing studies on the brain drain existent in the healthcare industry of the Philippines, considering that both are under the industry of services. While both occupations abide by different purposes in the economy, the rationale behind the challenges shared by the two may not be dissimilar.

This study contributes to the enquiry on individual decision-making about migration that Castro-Palaganas et. al. (2017) supposed must be stated and studied within a broader socioeconomic and historical context that attends to both discursive and material aspects of power operating across individual, institutional, national and global. This paper will define and analyze the individual thoughts of these professionals on the country's economic and political situation, including their desire for personal and career advancement that influences the decision to migrate.

3. Research Method and Design

Castro-Palaganas et. al (2017) narrates that the dramatic increases of human capital in the health sector from developing countries, including the Philippines, can have consequences on the sustainability of health systems in the country. Following the studies done on brain drain in the medical sector, this study shall take a look at the extent brain drain has impacted the education sector in the Philippines.

This is a qualitative paper that utilizes a comparative approach that comprises of reviews of existing literature on emigration, specifically in the education sector, effects of globalization on developing countries, migration of Philippine workers, national data on Filipino professionals, and interviews with stakeholders. By understanding the current situation in the Philippines and narrowing down on themes behind the emigration of

professionals, this paper intends to paint a clearer picture of the consequences of migration of Filipino teachers to other countries and study how the government has so far responded to the challenge experienced by the sector.

The study uses data gathered from official government agencies and in-depth interviews as the study aims to understand the process and experiences that these educators undergo in their decision-making.

The interview questions were generated from previous related literature and were formed in line with the research question. Interviews were conducted in order to augment the conclusions and inferences from the results of the data gathering. The interviews made use of a common set of questions for all stakeholders, but for targeted data collection, specific probes were done. A total of four interviews were done, with each averaging an hour to an hour and a half. Stakeholders include teaching professionals who have decided to work overseas to pursue career growth, teachers who decided to stay in the Philippines, and a former national government agency official who was directly involved with improving the education system of the Philippines.

The following were the interview questions to the teachers:

1. Is the search for employment abroad strongly associated with migration intentions?
2. Please rate the following according to strongest reason as to why you are planning to work abroad? (Economic, Professional Growth, Lifestyle)
3. Do you have an intention to go back to the Philippines? When and why?
4. What are your thoughts on profession migration? Previously youth who aspired to work abroad choose to go into the medical or engineering field to be able to work abroad, do you think the same is going to happen to education?

5. What were your initial thoughts on teaching abroad?
6. How do your initial thoughts compare to your thoughts now?
7. Can you brief us on your thought process of choosing the country where you are teaching currently?
8. Can you share with me the process involved in your moving to your current country?
9. Are there government programs that support teacher migration?
10. Does it seem that the education industry in the country is heading towards where the health industry has gone?

The following were the interview questions to the government representative:

1. What is the current state of the education sector in the Philippines and can you share with us its current challenges?
2. Is there a problem of brain drain currently in the education sector? If so, can you share with us the extent of this problem according to your knowledge?
3. Are there currently government programs that support teacher migration?
4. Are there currently government programs that aim to attract back educators?
5. What do you think are the motivations behind teacher migration?

Following the interview, common themes will be explored and evaluated according to existing literature in brain drain. Analysis in the discussions will also provide baseline for future policy making and improvement.

III. Analysis of the Brain Drain in the Education Sector: The Case of the Participants and their Experiences

1. Data and Analysis

For this study, interviews from stakeholders involved in the focus industry and data obtained from government and related institutions were the primary means of data collection.

1-1. Government Data

Official government agencies in the Philippines makes use of the 2012 Philippine Standard Occupational Classification (PSOC) to classify the different occupational groups in the working population, this is primarily what is used as basis for the country's surveys and censuses.

According to the data provided by the Commission of Filipino Overseas, from the year 2000 to 2019, the occupational group with the highest number of emigrants belongs to the Professional, Technical, and Related Workers. This group, as identified by the PSOC (2012), refers to the workers that increase stock knowledge, apply scientific or artistic concepts and theories, teach about foregoing in a systematic manner, perform mostly technical and related tasks with research and the application of scientific or operational methods, and work on government or business regulations. This encompasses the teachers and research professionals in the country

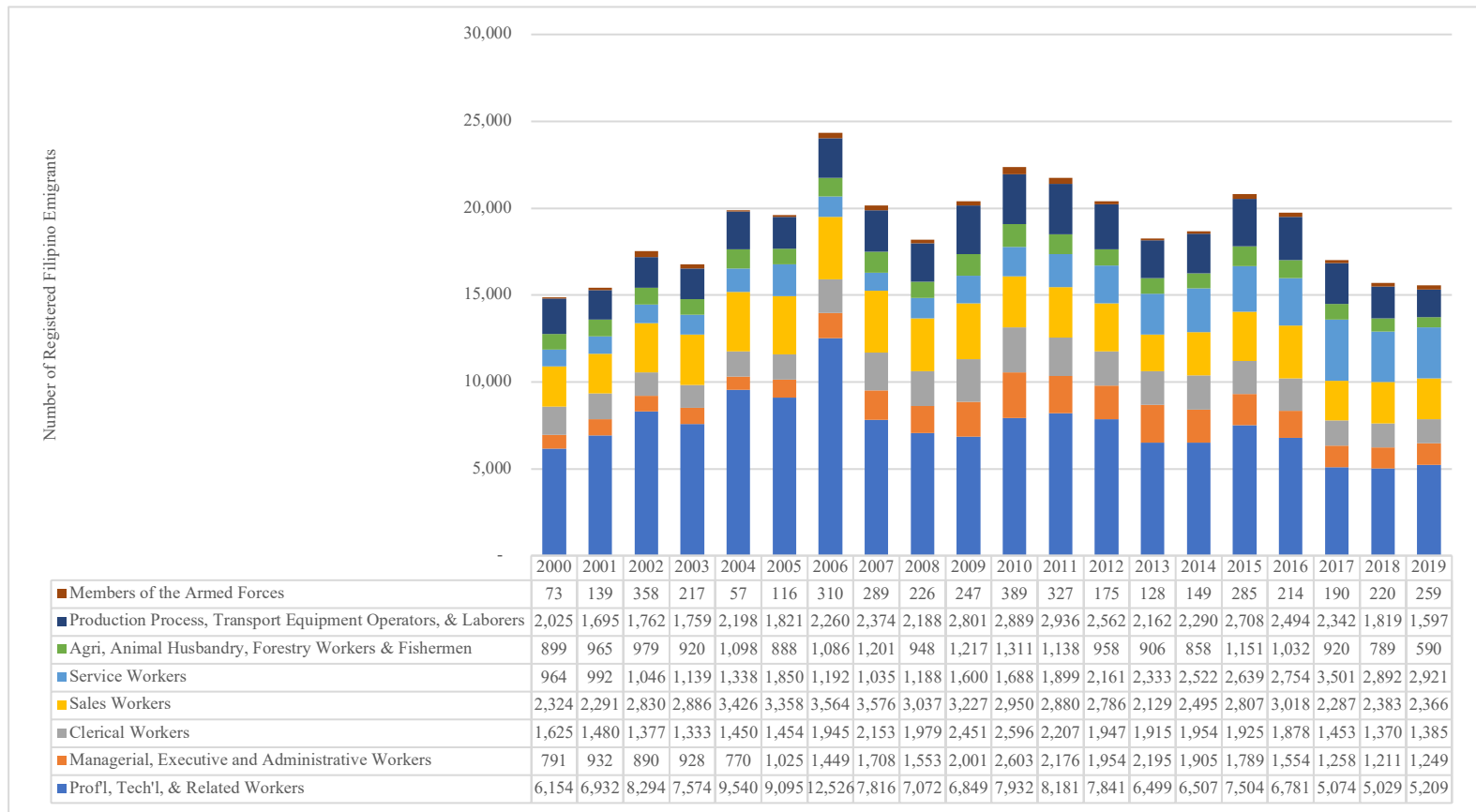


Table 4. Number of Registered Filipino Emigrants by Major Occupational Group
Source: Commission of Filipino Overseas

Data on registered emigrants collected by the CFO indicate that for the period between 2000-2019, depending on the year, one in every two or three workers who find employment abroad belong to the occupational group of Professional, Technical and Related Workers. In 2019 alone, 33% of the emigrants who left the country were part of this high-skilled group.

Table 5 on the next page with data from CFO also shows that excluding the children and teens that are below the age of 14, the second and third biggest age group for emigrants are 30-34, and 25-29.

With regards to the top destination countries for Filipino emigrants, Table 6 presents the breakdown of number of Filipino emigrants across the years and the top 10 leading countries when it comes to migration. It also shows that there is only a 4% increase in the numbers of migrants between the years 2000 and 2019 for the United States, its quantity ranging from a migrant population of 30,000 to 40,000 all throughout. On the other hand, without including Japan, other countries' yearly new migrant population significantly increased during the reported timeframe, with two digit figure percentages of difference between years 2000 and 2019. Figure 1 and Figure 2 shows the change between the years 2000 and 2019, and illustrates the apparent decrease in the number of Filipino migrants to the United States as more emigrants explore other countries as destination options.

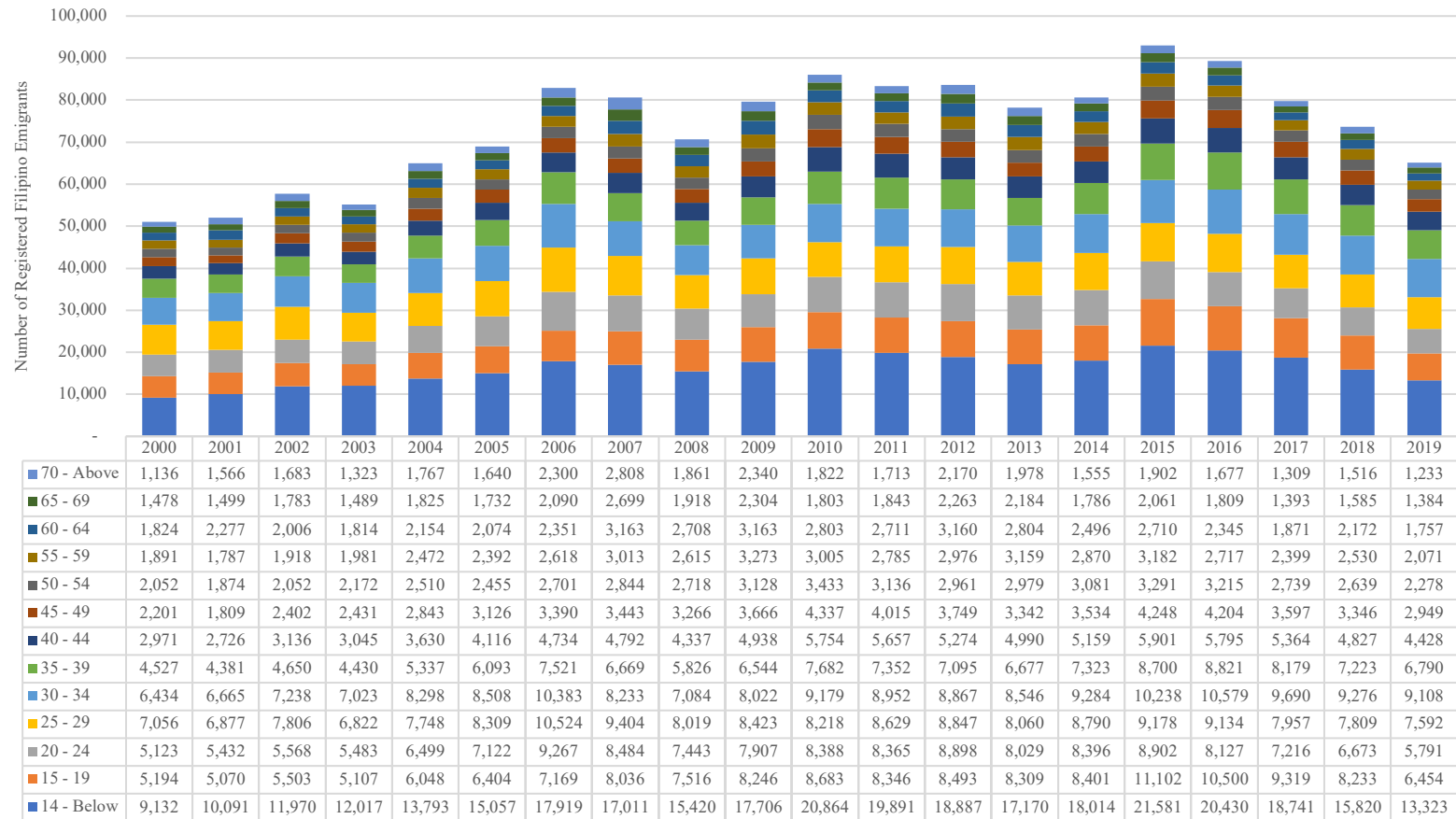


Table 5. Number of Registered Filipino Emigrants by Age Group
Source: Commission of Filipino Overseas

YEAR	USA*	Canada	Japan	Australia	Italy	New Zealand	United Kingdom	Germany	South Korea	Spain	Others	Total
2000	31,324	8,245	6,468	2,298	371	261	174	552	110	336	892	51,031
2001	31,287	9,737	6,021	1,965	823	284	176	507	62	411	781	52,054
2002	36,557	8,795	5,734	2,603	982	624	271	518	55	451	1,130	57,720
2003	33,916	9,521	5,929	2,223	662	382	225	445	77	586	1,171	55,137
2004	42,350	10,108	5,993	2,647	859	131	309	393	289	579	1,266	64,924
2005	40,280	13,598	7,062	3,027	1,250	394	478	367	480	685	1,407	69,028
2006	49,522	13,230	9,742	3,735	954	1,973	556	457	281	898	1,619	82,967
2007	46,420	14,572	8,806	3,467	1,490	1,639	654	424	576	933	1,618	80,599
2008	34,201	16,443	7,682	3,657	2,405	1,252	552	489	1,482	907	1,730	70,800
2009	40,598	19,967	5,278	3,850	2,734	1,725	646	518	1,458	970	1,974	79,718
2010	42,007	27,302	3,766	3,062	3,319	1,114	817	510	1,565	693	1,920	86,075
2011	38,463	26,203	3,965	3,957	3,632	1,185	749	590	1,618	871	2,177	83,410
2012	39,124	24,354	4,759	4,259	3,818	1,170	881	553	1,632	808	2,282	83,640
2013	38,637	19,041	4,554	4,748	4,526	888	829	609	1,419	868	2,109	78,228
2014	39,594	22,479	4,341	4,467	3,275	974	783	578	982	834	2,382	80,689
2015	40,814	33,700	4,387	4,860	2,452	1,197	936	651	700	1,005	2,296	92,998
2016	41,298	29,039	4,313	4,819	2,451	1,512	1,129	613	694	966	2,520	89,354
2017	34,956	27,376	4,129	3,993	2,241	1,236	1,015	616	616	920	2,681	79,779
2018	35,839	23,014	3,962	2,937	1,459	617	1,025	687	687	694	2,798	73,719
2019	32,698	18,190	3,862	2,468	774	1,178	1,345	730	653	546	2,720	65,164

Table 6. Number of Registered Filipino Emigrants by Major Country of Destination

Source: Commission of Filipino Overseas

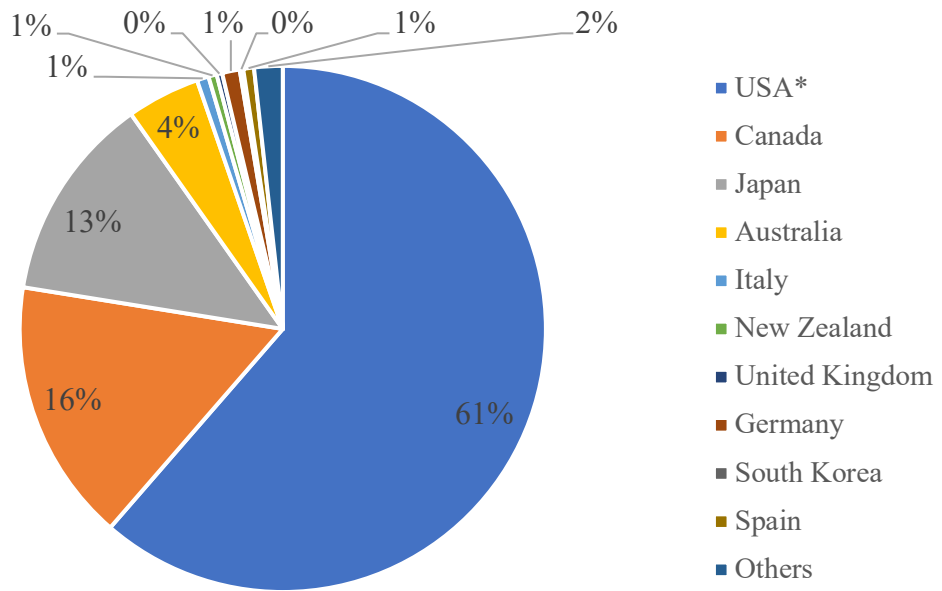


Figure 1. Year 2000 Number of Registered Filipino Emigrants by Major Country of Destination

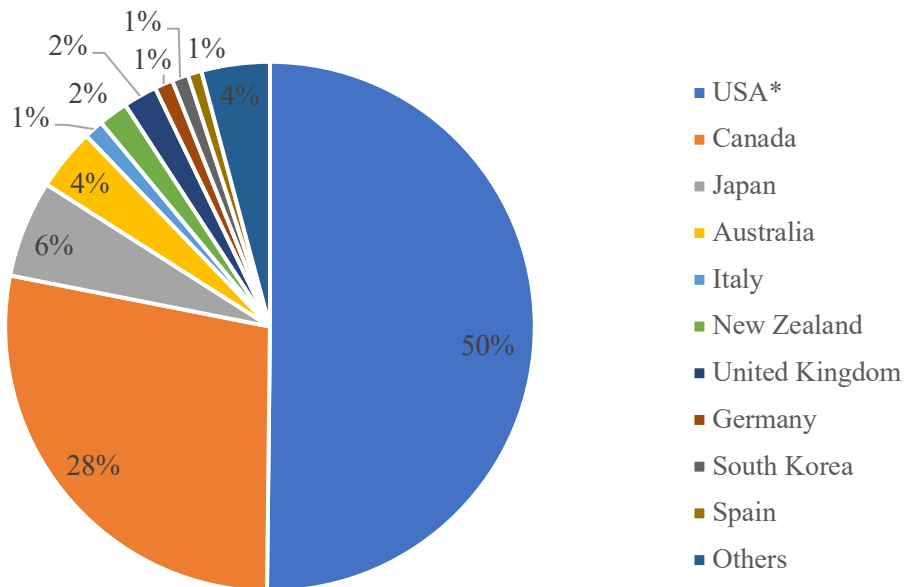


Figure 2. Year 2019 Number of Registered Filipino Emigrants by Major Country of Destination

1-2. Participants

The participants were selected according to their teaching background and their current place of work. The four participants were composed of three teachers and one former government official that worked for the Philippine’s Department of Education for five years . All teachers have been teaching for more than a decade and all have focused on high school subjects (science and technology). This study will make use of the pseudonyms for the four participants: Mr. B, Mr. D, Mr. G, and Mr. U. The summary of the participants’ background can be found on Table 7. A more profound description of their background and work conditions is discussed below.

	Mr. B	Mr. D	Mr. G	Mr. U
Occupation	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Government Official
Subject	Science	Science	Technology	-
International Baccalaureate	√	x	x	-
Teaching Experience in the Philippines	√	√	√	-
Teaching Experience in the Abroad	√	√	√	-
Foreign Countries Taught In	China	Vietnam	Malaysia	-
Relatives Abroad	√	√	√	√
Currently Teaching Abroad	√	√	x	-
Migration Intention	√	x	√	-
Is English beneficial in getting a teaching position?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Is brain drain affecting the education sector?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Is the education sector following in the steps of the medical sector in terms of brain drain?	Yes, but not soon.	Yes, but not soon.	Yes, but not soon.	Yes.

Table 7. Summary of Correspondents on Emigration in the Philippine Education Sector Interview

The first correspondent is Mr. B. Mr. B graduated Bachelor of Science in Biology and taught in the Philippines for 14 years before moving to Guangzhou, China to teach environmental science. Prior to moving to China, he was able to acquire a certificate to teach International Baccalaureate and Mr. B shared that this was beneficial in helping him earn a position in the international faculty of his current school. Mr. B also had relatives who resided abroad, mostly in the Western countries and not in China. His choice of going to China was supported by his preference towards oriental countries, his appreciation for the Eastern culture, his migration intentions, and the significant compensation they provided English-speaking faculty. He also iterated that his decisions are made easier by the fact that he is not currently married, which if so would make it more difficult to travel. Another factor that was also important to him was that China was closer to the Philippines in terms of distance. The process of applying to schools in China was not at all demanding, because the requirements were not, according to him, tedious. He shared that he could have asked for the help of agencies to make the Philippine process more bearable, but because he was able to do his own research, he decided to apply by himself. What made the whole process challenging was not the side from the Chinese school nor the Chinese government, but the administration and government agencies in the Philippines. He reported that he had to go back numerous times to different Philippine government offices in order to get signatures and approval. To him, brain drain is affecting the education sector, though not yet to the extent that it has in the medical sector. He shared that it is easier for public school teachers to teach abroad because of foreign requirements, and for this reason, teachers in different local sectors have to go through different processes in order to fly out

of the country. Presently, there is also not as many policies and agencies that support sending teachers abroad as there is with nurses and physicians.

The next correspondent is Mr. D. Mr. D also graduated with a degree in Bachelor of Science in Biology and had an experience of teaching in a high school in the Philippines for more than a decade before switching to teaching to university students for less than a year. In both times, he taught Biology. Mr. D is married to a teacher, as well, who has been teaching in Vietnam since 2011. He shared that in the Philippines, his monthly salary was Php 38,000 or approximately \$730. Following the footsteps of his wife, he applied to teach in Vietnam and China where salaries were approximately Php 180,000 or almost \$3500, almost fivefold of what is typical in the Philippines. He shared that he also considered United States as he knew a lot of acquaintances who have moved there to teach. He shares that the reason behind this was a lot of the American teachers are leaving the United States to utilize their profession abroad, hence, Filipino teachers are in demand especially for the reason that they have a stronger link to the English language. He explained during the interview the visas available to Filipinos, as well, should they decide to teach in the United States. Mr. D also noted that he did the research on applying abroad by himself without the help of agencies. For several years, he taught in Vietnam, but due to the pandemic, he flew back to the Philippines and applied to teach in China as remote work was allowed for the time being. While Mr. D and his family do not have intentions to permanently migrate to another country, temporary migration is their priority at the moment as this would be the most beneficial to their present and personal situation. When asked about what he thought about brain drain in the education sector, Mr. D agreed that it has become a greater challenge to the country as the nation lacked capacity to compensate the teachers, both in

terms of financial and career growth. He expressed that while the situation is not identical to that of the medical sector's, it might as well be going there. The difference of brain drain in the medical sector and the education sector is that there are existing policies that encourage the medical industry to go overseas, and the process of doing so is clearer. For teachers to teach abroad, a lot of research is required and going through agencies is costly.

The third correspondent is Mr. G. Mr. G graduated with a degree in Bachelor of Science in Electrical, Electronics and Communications Engineering. He first taught in Malaysia and moved back to the Philippines in 2007. He has been teaching high school students for 14 years now and it was only recently during the Covid-19 pandemic that he considered moving abroad again. He lamented that Philippines took a while to adjust to the pandemic, and this brought a lot of challenges to educators and students altogether. During the pandemic, friends and family discussed the possibilities of teaching abroad, and as he had relatives in the United States, it was an idea not impossible to ponder on. The countries that he is currently considering at the time of the interview are the United States, China, and Canada. Unlike other teachers, however, his decision to migrate would not be out of necessity, but more of an answer to a long standing *what if* question for him and his wife. Mr. G also shared that his family and friends provided him enough information regarding migrating and teaching abroad, hence, he wouldn't need the help of an agency to do so. With regards to brain drain in the education sector, he agrees that the extent of it is, indeed, a challenge to the country. As the income is much higher abroad, and the process of emigrating is getting more recognized, more educators are contemplating whether to move abroad. Mr. G prefers to retire locally, but migration prior to retirement, especially to attain better education for his kids, is what he is considering.

Nevertheless, when asked if the education sector's level of brain drain is close to that of the medical sector, Mr. G supposed that it was still very different. He mentioned about the policies that encouraged medical staff to work overseas, and reiterated that the schools abroad required experience, hence, graduates of education cannot immediately fly abroad to teach, they would have to teach within the country prior to working overseas.

The last interviewee was Mr. U. Mr. U worked for the Department of Education for 5 years during the Aquino Administration. As an Assistant Secretary and K to 12 Program Coordinator of the government division, Mr. U fervidly agreed that brain drain is a challenge that the education sector in the Philippines is facing. He added that brain drain in the said industry is not just caused by teachers emigrating, but also local brain drain that was brought about by the mismatch of jobs for graduates of education in the country. As the budget of the department was not sufficient, many educators preferred to work for other industries like business processing outsourcing (BPO) to attain higher wages. Mr. U pointed out two main problems for the Department of Education, the first was the teaching quality in the Philippines. He shared that mismatch of subjects were frequent (e.g. science major teaching English) due to the insufficient budget of some schools, and the competencies of teachers often do not meet the international standards. The second problem of the education industry is the supply and demand of teachers. As there are only a handful of qualified teachers, schools are often faced with the dilemma of hiring incompetent people for the job or overworking their employees. The Covid-19 pandemic has only highlighted the flaws of the education sector and brain drain remains to be one of the largest problem of the education sector of the Philippines.

All the teachers who participated in the interview knew about the availability of teaching positions abroad through co-workers, friends, and family members. They knew all about the agencies that facilitated the movement and the endorsement to the overseas schools, but all teachers who were interviewed also expressed it was possible to apply to the schools abroad without the help of the agencies. Because of the experiences and advice given to them by their other co-teachers who have both done research and migrated already, information was not scarce and was readily available given that interested applicants took the time and effort to do research. Employing the help of an agency, the participants described, was expensive because the agencies required teachers to pay fees to help cover placement fees and other expenses. Teachers who aspired to work abroad created a helpful environment instead to support each other and fellow aspirants of overseas employment.

The teachers that participated in the interview also expressed the importance of the International Baccalaureate Educator Certificate in landing more advantageous teaching positions. They conveyed that vacancy positions from schools are more plentiful for those that possess this certificate. The IB Educator Certificate, the interviewees share, also helps in building the qualifications' trustworthiness and dependability for applicants, and enhanced their employability.

2. Discussion

This section shall present interpretations, findings, and links to existing literature that augment the analysis of the teachers' responses.

Based on the data in Table 4 obtained from the government and related institutions, the occupational group that consistently had the largest number of emigrants belonged to

the Professionals, Technical and Related Workers. This encompasses the teachers and professionals that contribute to the knowledge building of their societies. The data also shows that for the past decades, the country has been losing its most educated and skilled workers, the same individuals that are most qualified to share their own knowledge with the rest of the population. Sako (2002) explained in her study that professionals are driven to leave the country due to differentials in living conditions, opportunities for professional advancement, and the existence of an environment that is peaceful and provides security.

Additionally, Table 5 demonstrates that the largest age group that emigrated were professionals between the ages 25-29, and 30-34. This age group is considered to be professionals in their most productive ages, inclined to seek employment opportunities overseas. This age group also includes those who have just recently graduated and those that have had experience already locally, hence, seeking for further career growth and higher quality of life outside the country. This presents a loss in investment in the human capital in the Philippines because it contributes to the decline of the effectiveness of the higher education system for the country.

The figures in Table 6, Figure 1 and Figure 2 display how globalization is evident in the increase of newly employed Filipino workers in other countries outside the United States. This denotes that prior to 2000, USA has already been a popular destination to Filipinos who seek to migrate and pursue career growth outside of their home country. The reason might be because of the historical relationship between the United States and the Philippines. However, without including Japan, other countries' yearly new migrant population significantly increased during the reported timeframe, with two digit figure

percentages between years 2000 and 2019, illustrating the effect of global connectivity and globalization has allowed Filipinos to further expand their employment abroad alternatives.

2-1. Context of Teachers' Migration

2-1-1. Existing Conditions for Filipino Teachers

On 2019, Philippine news outlet Philstar reported that according to the 2018 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Philippines ranked lowest among 79 participating countries and economies in reading comprehension. The country also placed second-lowest in the subjects of mathematics and science (San Juan, 2019). This is particularly contradictory especially because the Commission on Higher Education of the country reported just the year before that among the top five programs in terms of graduates, Education Science and Teacher Training ranked second.

Analogous to the narrative of the government representative that was interviewed for this study, the performance of students deteriorates as an outcome of the quality of education they receive. Without adequate budget, schools and universities are unable to employ enough teaching staff and qualified teachers for the respective subjects being taught. The interview response also mentioned that the nation struggles to meet international teaching standards, hence, failure to do so directly affects the ability of students to attain superior results in the international student assessments as well. Being unable to hire competent teaching staff for the students, teachers in the Philippines are both

directly and indirectly affected by the challenges brought about by inferior education, impelled to seek opportunities outside that may provide unproblematic working conditions.

The government of the Philippines has launched several reform programs to improve the quality of education in the Philippines, but compared to other middle income countries as illustrated on Figure 3, its allocation of national income to the sector remains lower. In 2014, it devoted just under 3% of GNP to public education spending compared to a 2012 average for lower-middle-income countries of nearly 5% (World Bank, 2016). The World Bank (2016) reported that Philippines, taken in the context of East Asia, devotes a similar amount to education as Cambodia, but considerably less than Thailand, Malaysia, and Vietnam – countries which, compared to Cambodia, have closer yet still less population to the Philippines. The low share of national income devoted to education is partly the result of the lower priority given to education by policymakers in the Philippines than in some other countries in the region, however, it is also due to the lower share of total government spending in national income in the Philippines than in other comparable countries (World Bank, 2016).

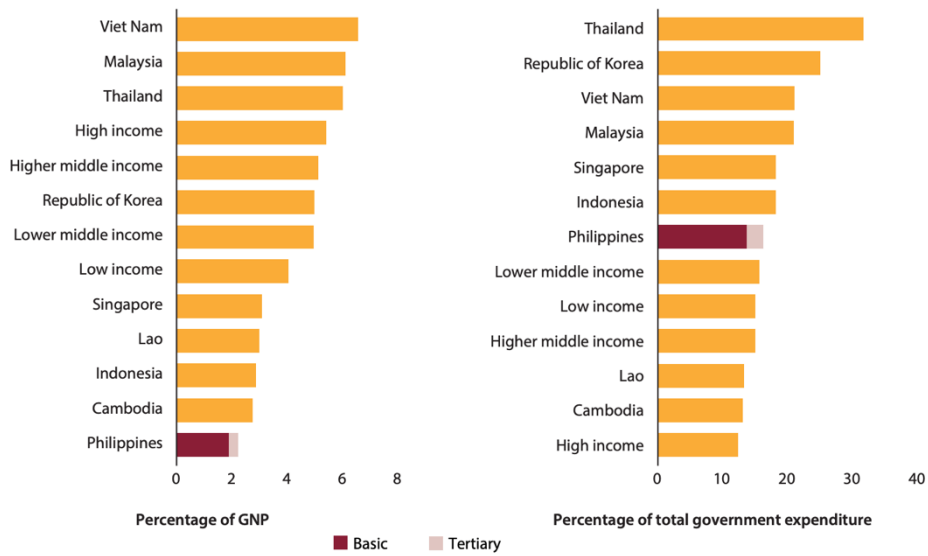


Figure 3. Public Spending on Education as a Share of GNP and Total Government Spending, Selected Countries 2012

Source: UNESCO Global Monitoring Report 2015, World Bank Group (2016)

Additionally, based from the January 2022 Labor Force Survey done by the Philippine Statistics Authority, the unemployment rate and the underemployment rate of the Philippines stand at 6.4% and 14.9% respectively, with the underemployed pertained by the government office as those who expressed their desire to work additional hours, add jobs to their present, or transfer to a new job that would require longer hours of work. With the insufficiency of opportunities, a large number of Filipinos, including the most educated and most qualified teachers, are compelled to look beyond the country to seek employment that is more appropriate to their level of educational attainment. To be able to work around the conditions that are offered by the education sector in the Philippines, consequently, Filipino educators look abroad for career growth.

2-1-2. Migration Motivations

The results of the data and interview analysis shall be enumerated and reviewed according to the themes or factors that can be found in the motivations that drive and affect the migration of teachers in the following section.

Theme One: Income. Income plays a large role, if not the largest role, in the decision process of professionals who consider migration. As it was in the medical field in the Philippines, teachers ranked low salary, both within the public and private sector, as the leading factor that urged them to work overseas. All of the interviewees are oriented to partake in employment abroad for higher income and return to their homeland when they have decided that they have saved enough money for retirement. All but one interviewee among the teachers mentioned that they considered how their income would affect their families, as it is common in Filipino families to provide for their relatives back home. One of the correspondents to the interview, Mr. D, shared that he was compelled to follow the footsteps of his wife who taught abroad because the salary offered by both Vietnam and China were nearly five times of what a private university in the Philippines could give. This is also corresponding to what was found in existing literature. Modesto (2020) discussed in her previous study that money was portrayed as the number one reason or what was technically known as the “pull factor” in teacher migration, being that the public school Filipino teachers, whom are considered to already have a higher salary compared to those in private schools, earn as much as fourteen times of their salaries abroad, or in the US, than in the Philippines.

	2016	2017	2018
Philippines	\$ 4,072.17	\$ 4,046.17	\$ 4,096.66
United States	\$ 58,479.00	\$ 59,660.00	\$ 60,483.00

Table 7. Average Yearly Basic Pay of Education Industry in the Philippines vs the United States
Source: World Bank Data, National Center for Education Statistics
Note: Basic pay is prior to the deduction of social security contributions, withholding taxes, etc. It excludes allowances, bonuses, overtime pay, benefits in kind, etc.

On 2018, Philippine Statistics Authority reported that the average daily wage of an average Filipino private school teacher is approximately \$16, or approximately \$320 per month. While the Salary Standardization Law of 2019 increased the minimum wage for the national public school teachers, this is still a far cry from what China and other countries offer its foreign teachers. Just as one of our interviewees mentioned, the Chinese school he applied for compensated foreign teachers with \$3,500 per month, more than tenfold of what he received in the Philippines. It is also important to note that in addition to the salary that foreign teachers receive, most of them are provided housing too. In comparison to what the Philippine education ecosystem offered, the route that other countries offered the Filipino educators was almost impractical to deny.

Developing countries such as the Philippines are not able to grant the university graduates from developed countries appropriate positions, material sources, and salaries corresponding to their knowledge and experience gained during their practical work. As this is so, teachers who have invested extensively on their experience and education, look elsewhere to earn the salary that they regard equivalent to their qualifications.

Theme Two: Opportunities and Career Growth. One significant push factor of migration of the professionals is low professional satisfaction in the home country (Lu, 2014). Professionals are typically enticed by continued education and environments that

are conducive to growth because these are often factors that earn them potential promotions and better quality jobs. Teachers are among the many professionals that are equipped with high skills, and teachers from the Philippines, especially, are also armed with a strong command of the English language. From existing literature and from the interviews, it is clear that English is one of the major factors that connects Filipino teachers to opportunities in English-speaking countries such as the US and Canada, and at the same time provides them the advantage over other foreign teachers when applying in countries that does not have English as their main language. English has brought many Filipinos abroad, regardless of major and occupation. This special characteristic of Filipino teachers grants them plentiful opportunities outside the Philippines in terms of communication, connections and others. As the International Baccalaureate certificate also provides plentiful of opportunities abroad and bestows upon certificate holders advantages over those that do not, Filipino teachers who have earned the said certificate are more enticed to make use of their additional qualification outside of the country, just as Mr. B from the correspondents have done. Given these qualifications, teachers aim to attain a better quality of life by furthering their skills and competence. Filipino teachers who teach abroad, especially in non-native English countries in Asia such as China, are granted not only with accommodation, and high wages, but also a more promising growth in their career from being able to learn from other cultures and participating in a more diverse work environment. As discussed by Zhatkanbaeva, et. al., (2012), pursuit of well-to-do life, the desire for self- realization and being demanded are common for everyone.

Developed countries like the United States were quick to take advantage of these career-driven attitude of teachers from developing countries. Modesto (2020) shared in her

study that public school districts in the United States sought Filipino teachers to supply their shortages. With the help of private recruitment agencies that aided US districts, H1B and J-1 visas were used to fulfill the requirements of these districts. Recruitment agencies presented the Philippines to school districts as fertile recruiting grounds, and the districts need not pay the agencies (Modesto, 2020). The information regarding these visas have also spread in teaching communities and online. As the correspondents of the interviews have shared, they were made aware of the programs by the United States through their peers and the majority prefer to personally acquire these visas as seeking the help of an agency would cost more.

As the interviewees supplemented, one of the most popular programs that enable teachers to get an introduction to the United States is the Exchange Visitor Program for Teachers. Categorized as a cultural exchange initiative by the United States, international teachers are given the opportunity to teach in accredited schools through the J-1 visa. Under this visa, professionals may work for 3 years and may be given up to 2 year extension. During this time, the interviews noted, teachers use the opportunity to save up for capital to open a business back in the Philippines upon program completion, or persevere to earn a permanent employment contract with their chosen school.

All teachers that were interviewed mentioned the need for experience, and seeing as that these teachers have had enough experience already in the Philippines, should the developing country not provide ample opportunity for further career growth, the teachers have little to no choice but to look beyond the borders of the country where there are more encouraging opportunities.

As individuals may feel urged to move to a more developed economy because of their current level of salary, entertaining the thought of migration as a means to attain better, social, professional and economic opportunities. As we have seen from existing literature, poor healthcare infrastructure, low wages, job insecurity, inconsistencies in practice and policies of the government, outdated curricula, institutional politics and inadequate opportunities for specialty training were all cited as factors influencing migration decisions (Castro-Palaganas, et al., 2017). Highly skilled people, especially teachers, possess the opportunity to bargain with their skills and knowledge, and the same set of people value the importance of having a better quality of living.

Similar to the medical industry wherein doctors from low income countries are faced with demotivating factors such as bureaucratic procedures, lack of recognition, and unsatisfactory working conditions, teachers, too, have been facilitated towards overseas by similar circumstances.

Theme Three: Migration Intention. While most of the interviewees expressed the desire to retire in the Philippines, all interviewees also mentioned that they are motivated by the idea of a better quality of life in more developed countries. The interviewees shared that it would be the most ideal if they can stay in the foreign country of their choice for long-term to save up for retirement in the Philippines, where they deem retiring to be easier. Prior to the age of retirement, the professionals prefer living overseas where employment opportunities and good quality of education are provided for. Many trained scientists from less developed countries are attracted to better standard of living in developed countries, they are also attracted to the fact that developed countries can offer higher salaries, more advanced technology, and more stable political environment (Kupfer

et. al., 2004). In Lu's (2014) study, she mentioned a similar study done on professionals from Turkey and similar motivations also urged them to leave for abroad.

The people equipped with high skills are bestowed by the capacity to bargain their skills and knowledge in the global arena, they are bestowed the good fortune of being able to choose where to live next should they desire to maximize the expected return on their invested human capital. The factors of international mobility are not only economic, included among the drivers are also cultural and political. Highly skilled people value the importance of having better quality of living (i.e., clean and safe environment, freedom of choice and movement, secured property rights, and good education where they can raise their children) (Lu, 2014). Developed countries like the US have successfully developed these pull factors which makes them effective in attracting professionals and high-skilled workers for migration. Important are also the pro-skills immigration policies that most developed countries have now put in place to attract those with skills in certain labor fields, and such policies do not only recruit skilled migrants directly through application of a range of preferential measures, but also indirectly through international education policies (Rizvi, 2005). Teachers and students view exchange opportunities and further studies as their "ticket to migration" to a more developed country.

In Rizvi's (2005) study, he discussed that 80% of doctoral students from China and India that were completing their studies from 2001-2003 intended to stay in the US. Additionally, he (2005) also shares that from the period of 1978-2001, Chinese students from Australia and the United States only retain return rates of 44.9% and 14.1.% respectively. Rizvi's subjects for his study are comparable to that of the Filipino teachers with the intention to migrate as the Philippines, too, like China and India especially

during the time of study, is a developing country unable to offer competitive salaries to its teachers.

This intention is evident, as well, among the three teachers who were interviewed. Among the three, the only one who preferred to remain in the Philippines expressed his dissimilar background from the rest of the teachers as he acknowledges that his family's privileged background permits him to live a more comfortable life in the country than others. He understands that other teachers who are equipped with strong qualifications are drawn to life abroad as other countries' living environment are more conducive to the attributes the teachers have worked hard for, and emigrating proves to be a more reasonable choice.

Theme Four: Family and Community . Family is an integral part of the Filipino culture, and so is migration. Even during the early years of the 20th century, Filipinos have migrated to other countries, especially the United States, to fill in employment gaps, and as a result, this has naturalized the concept of migration as a way to upgrade the quality of life for the Filipinos. Migration is seen as a way for tenth of the Filipino working population to sustain their families in the Philippines while advancing their professional careers (Abenir, 2021). This means that being able to provide for family persists to be one of the priorities of Filipino educators when it comes to job seeking.

Additionally, aside from being able to provide for their families, the interviewees iterated that one of the motivations for choosing their destination is the presence of their families and acquaintances. Furthermore, they added that the presence of immigrant communities eased their process of search for employment, and ultimately, their emigration.

5-2. The Problem of Quality and Quantity of Educators Generated from Teachers' Migration

The migration of teachers has important consequences for the education system in the Philippines, affecting both the teachers who have stayed in the country and the population depending on these educators. Just as the health industry in the Philippines questioned, "How do you respond to the health needs of the country when those who can respond are outside of the country?", we ask the same questions to the education system in the Philippines and the challenges encountered by the sector.

As countries such as the United States and others that are knowledge and technology-driven countries adjust their policies to welcome foreign students and professionals to increase their high-skilled manpower, the problem of the Philippines in its inability to grant university graduates, in this study's case, the teachers, appropriate positions and benefits, resources and salaries that are correspondent to their experience and level of education becomes more pronounced.

From the developed country's point of view, immigration policies usually favor outmigration of the highly skilled and educated workers (Davenport, 2004). In the US, the largest population of professional migration among those from Asia and the Pacific was the Philippines (Carrington and Detragiache, 1999). In addition, data from most countries showed that those people with tertiary education had the highest migration rate (Lu, 2014). Statistics from US also showed that immigration of people with no more than primary education was very few (Carrington and Detragiache, 1999). Horton (1994) further showed that Filipino returnees were those who were less likely educated than those that remained abroad. Thangamai (2017) noted that human capital can be classified into two

categories, the first one being the utilization of human as a factor of production, and the latter one considers the human factor as the creator who frames skill, knowledge, competencies and experience. Hence, this implies that US and other recipient countries generally harbor the better educated people from the sending countries (Carrington and Detragiache, 1999), and the second category of human capital, the creator who provides structure for knowledge, experience, and the like. This poses a problem to the Philippines because it signifies that the country, as the origin, is not able to maximize its return on investments, unable to utilize its most educated individuals to contribute to long-term economic growth.

Another reason for brain drain is the oversupply of educated professionals in developing countries (Lidgard and Gilson, 2001). Asis and Batistella (2013) noted that a higher percentage of new hires would indicate that more young Filipinos resorted to overseas job as their preferred employment because of the lack of employment opportunities at home. Persistent high youth unemployment constitutes the most immediate premise for youth migration (Asis and Batistella, 2013). The Department of Labor and Employment of the Philippines reported that in the early decades of the 21st century, the low absorptive capacity of the educational system of the country brought about by the insufficiency of funds has resulted in an oversupply of education graduates. This, as one of our interviewees also mentioned, has resulted not only in brain drain to overseas but also within the country, as the 2000 Labor Force Survey indicated that as high as 30% of education degree holders were engaged in non-teaching positions in the country.

Brain drain directly affects the availability and quality of public service, especially in developing countries (Lu, 2014). Substantial migration of professionals, including

teachers can cripple the education sector and the quality of service that the country provides. If the quality cannot be improved and sustained, the negative consequences of brain drain will be exponentially affect future students and teaching staff. Given that this paper is written at a time when countries are recovering from the Covid-19 pandemic, professional emigration cannot be entirely assessed, especially in the education sector. The paper has looked at the trends prior to the pandemic, and it may be assumed that when the world has recovered more, migration towards other countries possibly will reach a greater extent. Because of the challenges brought about by the pandemic over the past two years, many if not most industries, including education, have transformed, there is much research to be done on how being able to work remotely will reshape emigration and brain drain.

III. Conclusion

Globalization is the result of cross-border exchange of information, whereas leaving the country by scientists and young people for abroad is the result of social, political, financial distress and residual principle used to solve the problems of science and education (Zhatkanbaeva, et. al., 2012).

From 2000-2019, the number of Filipinos who have migrated abroad has significantly increased and as Docquier and Rapoport (2011) shared, it is noteworthy that empirical analyses of the determinants of high-skilled emigration show that poor economic performance and its correlates (such as rampant poverty, bad institutions, discriminations, political repressions, etc.) are all important determinants of emigration in general and of high-skill emigration in particular.

Since education is widely regarded as a major determinant of long-term economic growth, it is argued that the migration of people with high levels of human capital is highly detrimental to the countries from which they emigrate from. (Rizvi, 2005). Miyagiwa (1991) illustrates the negative impact of brain drain to countries from which high-skilled professionals originate from by emphasizing the cumulative effects of migration on productivity. Rizvi (2005) shares that according to Wong and Yip (1999), brain drain does not only affect the growth rate of a developing country, but it also has a negative impact on infrastructure, education, and income distribution. Rizvi continues to point that that Wong and Yip (1999) argued that the main driver of an economy's growth is human-capital accumulation and intergenerational externality, then brain drain must necessarily hurt the growth rate of the economy. It must also have important income distribution and welfare implications, and "in addition to the static effects that have been analyzed in the existing

literature, brain drain affects adversely the intertemporal welfare of the non-migrants in the present and future generations” (Wong & Yip, 1999).

A country’s wealth and growth is highly affected by its high-skilled population. Brain drain is a social and economic constrain to the economic development of developing countries (Lu, 2014). As the United States and other developed countries have long recognized, the subsidy of human capital production benefits the receiving country more than the source country because it is where the professionals performs with the highest productivity that experiences exponential growth, leaving the sending nations in a “poverty trap”. If not managed by proper policies to address this challenge, wealth gap between the richer nations that receive human capital and the providers of emigrants may intensify.

For the country to not further the damage brain drain does to the economy, its government should recognize the phenomena and undertake more complex measures, including admitting that remittances are temporary gains yet not as sustainable as a more sustainable system that will benefit the country in the long run. While the Philippines remains to be in the top five countries in the world that benefit most from remittances, it should be recognized that the laws that supported the dispatch of overseas Filipino workers were conceived during the times when remittances were used as remedies to the financial distress that was experienced by the country.

Alongside considering the long-term consequences of being dependent on remittances, the government should also take into account the socioeconomic conditions for employees in the Philippines. Just as it is in the medical sector and as Castro-Palaganas et. al. (2017) reported in relation to the health system, unless socioeconomic conditions

are improved and educators are supported with better incentives, staying in the country will continue to be an unviable option.

While the medical sector and the education sector are still not on par with each other when it comes to the level of emigration, given the advantage the Philippine has in terms of English as a medium of teaching, and the oversupply of qualified graduates especially in the education sector, the gap may grow larger if the government does not build on its policies to attract back or keep its education professionals in the country.

The same attention on the impact of brain drain to the country should be given to how the policy makers of the nation should address the same problem. Rizvi (2005) discussed that previously, one option that developing countries recognized was that nothing much could be done about the problem of brain drain as the global labor market principles will always prevail. However, most developing countries have not accepted this view, and have attempted in various way to reverse brain drain with a range of measures including restrictive policies aimed at delaying emigration through various taxation regimes (Rizvi, 2005). Guaranteed positions in their own areas of expertise, too, have been expended by some developing countries' governments in order to encourage high-skilled workers to return home. The correspondents in the interviews expounded on programs like these from the Philippines wherein government positions are now offered to teachers who have gone abroad for a certain period of time to expand their knowledge and eventually apply what they learned abroad locally. Other agreements and programs require international students and practitioners to work in the source country for a designated amount of time before they are given permission to migrate. Another increasingly popular option involves the construction of diasporic networks that enable emigrants to make a

contribution to economic and social development at home regardless of where they live, and this is possibly the most preferred by high-skilled professional workers abroad as this highlights the potential of the technology of the present world we live in, without giving up one or the other of their priorities.

Taking into consideration the fact that teachers and graduates stay in the countries where they have initially contributed and received education, the Philippines should consider crafting more and better partnerships with these countries that are recipient of Filipino migrant workers. As a means of compensation to the lost, may it be temporary or permanently, professionals, leading organizations in developed countries could send their experts to the Philippines to aid in the country's university-led lectures, research and development, and conceive more favorable gains for the Philippines.

Cooperation when it comes to training the Filipino teachers and staff may prove to be relevant as well. As based from the results acquired from the interviews, teachers pursue careers abroad in order to further their professional growth. Should universities and employing bodies arrange local training that is on par with global standards more attainable by inviting experts from developed countries, teachers within the country will gain faster access to personal and career growth.

Addressing the problems that push teachers to pursue foreign endeavors can be seen as an opportunity for the country and its leaders and law-makers to draft more effective policies that may create a more conducive environment for teachers in the Philippines in response to the outpour of teachers towards abroad.

This study, then, suggests that instead of focusing on the symptoms and damages brain drain has brought unto the country, we should direct the efforts more on the root cause. The implications for improvement in policies are defined:

1. A more effective and sustainable incentive and compensation system for the educating sector.
2. Continuous improvement on education and training for the teaching body to address the objectives and needs of the society, this will ensure that the quality of teachers are sustained.
3. Better planning and policies to address the demand and supply of teaching staff.

As the Department of Labor and Employment (2003) has shared, several studies have shown that “human capital investment” produces the greatest social returns among government expenditures particularly at the primary and secondary level, and therefore, a better compensation system for the teachers will allow them to attain for themselves and their families, whom majority identified their priority, a better quality of living. In order to function well, however, these policies and instrumentalities have to be cast in a wholesome national framework, for the problem of brain drain in many underdeveloped countries is an inextricably tied-up aspect of their general problem of creating a political, social, and economic milieu that will encourage development (Pernia, 1976).

This study is not to say that emigration holds no positive affects at all, Mountford (1997) reported that brain drain’s benefits to developing countries include the migrants’ establishment of commercial networks abroad, brain gain or the transfer of skills from abroad to the source country, and remittances.

In an age of globalization, the key issue has become not where people are physically located, but what contribution they are able to make to the social, cultural, and economic development of the countries with which they identify (Rizvi, 2005). Under the conditions of reterritorialization, the international mobility of skilled people is both a consequence of and a necessary stimulus to sustain the process of economic and cultural globalization (Rizvi, 2005). The increasingly globalized world requires exchanges and spread of skills and knowledge, and just as knowledge is important to developed countries, it is too for developing economies. Therefore, for Philippines to maximize the “brain” of its high-skilled workers, rather than bringing focus into the physical location of its people, it should draw more attention to how the country can draw from these teachers’ and workers’ expertise to create a more effective ecosystem.

Similar as to what Pernia (1976) deduces in his study, this paper, too, demonstrates that the Philippines’ problem of brain drain stems from the inability of the economy to absorb the going supply of certain high-level skills. It is only when the improvement and the effectiveness is extended to the point where it is able to cover the national framework that there would be potential for emigrants to retain in their country and for overseas workers to be attracted to work for home.

Hence, the issues of migration should be regarded as multi-dimensional and it should be recognized that different countries and different industries are affected dissimilarly. While it can be said that emigration may have benefits to the source countries, the advantages it brings may just present temporary relief. Beneath emigration is the need of the nation’s government to create a country that is equipped with an economy that is able to absorb high-skilled professionals for the same individuals serve as building blocks

of a nation that is able to lift itself up. Therefore, to prevent losing its high-skilled workers to more developed countries, the government should improve its mechanisms to provide an environment that is more conducive to its own professionals to nurture their talent and provide them with better career opportunities and a higher quality of life.

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Abstract

유엔은 2019년 전세계가 2억 7천 2백만 명에 가까운 국제 이주민의 수에 도달했으며, 이는 관련 장소와 사람들에게 중요한 영향을 끼쳤다고 보고했다. 두뇌 유출은 개발도상국에서 더 발전된 국가로 고도의 기술을 가진 전문가들이 유출되거나 이주할 때 발생한다. 필리핀의 의료 분야는 열악한 근무 환경이 의료 전문가 이민의 주요 근거가 되는 두뇌 유출 문제에 대해 오랫동안 잘 알고 있었다. 최근 몇 년 동안, 세계화에 비추어, 이민 선호는 그 나라의 다른 산업으로 확대되었다. 본 연구는 헬스케어 산업에 비해 비교적 새로운 것이지만, 필리핀의 교육 분야의 두뇌 유출에 초점을 맞추고 있으며, 교사들의 밀고 당기는 요인 등 배치 추세를 조사하기 위해 실시되었다. 본 연구는 다양한 필리핀 정부 기관으로부터 입수한 데이터의 분석과 토론, 다양한 배경을 가진 다양한 이해관계자들의 인터뷰를 통해 교사 이민의 상승 추세에 대한 동기를 보여준다. 미국과 중동은 주로 필리핀 노동자들의 목적지 국가였던 2000년대 초에 비해, 최근 세계화는 전문직 종사자들이 그들의 전문성을 실천하기 위해 더 많은 국가로 확장할 수 있게 했다. 더 나은 수입, 경력 성장, 더 높은 삶의 질, 그리고 지역 사회의 지원을 추구하는 것에 동기 부여를 받은, 인터뷰 응답자들은, 기존의 문헌들과 함께, 전문 이민에 대한 국가의 도전 뒤에 있는 이유들에 대해 설명했습니다. 이 연구는 두뇌 유출을 방지하고 개발도상국에 미치는 영향을 완화하기 위한 정책 개발 및 전략 수립을 위한 기준선 데이터를 제시할 수 있다.