

***Constructing Social Identity: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
Approach to Understanding Filipino Migrant Workers in Wales, United Kingdom***

Beverly Bernal-Davies, University of Wales Trinity Saint David, UK

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Abstract

Migrants from the Philippines have been coming to the United Kingdom under the work permit scheme as a response to the country's shortage of workers in the 1970s. In 2015, there were 139, 570 Filipinos living and working in the UK, a small fraction of almost 8.5 million migrant population across United Kingdom. In rural areas of Wales, however, Filipinos are becoming one of the major migrant groups in the labour market particularly in the health care sector. Unlike other migrant groups, the Filipinos attract little and almost none existent attention from social researchers. Economic migration in Wales, in general, is also understudied. There is a need to understand the experiences, not only of the Filipino migrant workers but of all migrant groups as well as the impact of these experiences to their social identity, sense of belongingness and wellbeing. This study aims to fill these gaps in research. The methodology adopted in this study includes semi-structured interview and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of accounts to gain an in-depth understanding of the lives of Filipinos living and working in rural areas of Wales and how their perceived social identities are shaped by and in return impact their experiences in their receiving communities. The result of this study aims to add to the knowledge in the field and inform future public policies concerning economic migrants as a whole.

Keywords: Social Identity Theory, Economic Migration, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, Filipino, Wales

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Introduction

Since the 1970s, Filipinos have been coming to the United Kingdom under the work permit scheme as a response to the country's shortage of workers during that period (Winckler, 2008). In the year 2000, the United Kingdom issued almost 7,000 work permits among Filipino workers alone (Winckler, 2008; Hoegsholm, 2007). By the end of 2015, there were 139, 570 Filipinos living and working across United Kingdom (The Organisation for Migration, 2015). This number, however, is insignificant when compared to the population of other nationals who come to work or study in the UK every year. In the year 2011 alone, for example, around 343,000 long term migrants have entered the country most of which were Commonwealth citizens and EU nationals. In the same year, 690,000 National Insurance Numbers were issued among non-UK nationals (Office for National Statistics, 2012). By December 2015, a total of 8,543,120 immigrants, 13.20% of the total population, were living in the UK. These statistics may be the reason why Filipinos in the UK has received very little attention from researchers (Winckler, 2008).

Following an extensive research of the literature, it would appear that at the time of submission there is only one study found solely for Filipino migrants in Wales. A small scale study conducted by Winckler (2008) was commissioned by H. Francis, an MP for Aberavon, to better understand the diverse local community of Neath Port Talbot. According to Winckler (2008) working conditions of Filipinos were extremely favourable compared to their Polish counterparts although access to top wages, recognition of qualifications and previous experience, and access to training were reported problematic. It was also reported that, although most participants showed upward mobility and expressed their intentions of settling long term in the country the small Filipino community were less likely to engage fully in the local community. Moreover, Filipino adults who had been in Wales for years had very little contact with Welsh community. Compared with other ethnic groups, particularly Poles, only few Filipinos reported discrimination and insecurity at work. The study of Winckler (2008) is significant in this study; however, her study is considered non-representative of Filipino migrant community in Wales let alone in the United Kingdom. Employing only six Filipino workers confined in one area and the same line of work, which is health care, Winckler's (2008) study was not able to look at the day-to-day lived experiences of Filipino adults in the wider community.

Central to this study is Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1982). Social identity as defined within SIT is the 'sum total of social identifications used by a person to define him – or herself' (Tajfel, 1982, p. 18). Social identification, in social psychological terms is the process of finding oneself or another person, within a system of social categorisation. Social identity in simple terms is the persons' sense of who they are according to their group membership. In society, social groups such as family, 'ethnicity' and 'race', nationality and social class which people perceived to belong to are important source of self-esteem, pride and belongingness (Tajfel, 1982). The tendency to seek belongingness is fundamental to people and people have strong aversion to exclusion (Hewstone, 2012). The need for belonging, strengthened by an unconscious positive emotion tied with membership in a group signifies an emotional attachment by which an individual seeks membership not only for personal benefit, but also because the alternative of solitary existence is something to be avoided (Davis, 1997). The idea of a nation, for example, has been the entity that most often

satisfies these demands (Davis, 1997). National identity is a form of social identity. It is a measure of self-identity reflecting the subjective nature of national identity. The feelings of attachment that comprise loyalty to certain nation for many are not whimsical but are generally basic to the individuals' definitions of themselves. Loyalty to a group, such as a nation, strengthens one's identity and sense of belonging (ONS, 2013). The nation and its tangible components represent one such form of group association by which individuals may fulfil this desire for involvement, affiliation and inclusion (Davis 1997).

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982) suggests that in order to increase self-esteem, we tend to enhance the status of the group (a country, perhaps) to which we belong. For example, English may say that England is the best country in the world! However, we also tend to discriminate and hold prejudice against the group we don't belong to. For example, a Welsh fan may always say that English Rugby Team is not as good as the Welsh team. SIT assumes that members of an in-group seek to find negative aspects of an out-group to enhance self-image; and this may result to attitudes of racism, ethnocentrism, prejudice and stereotyping – all cognitive processes that enable us to make sense of our world or to simplify our social perception. Seeking positive differentiation from others is universal and fundamental and this tendency drives our anti-social behaviour and fuels group division (Hepburn, 2003; Tajfel, 1982).

Migration is a well-researched field in the UK and in the past years has become a popular topic of discourse both in the fields of politics and academic. However, research that links migration and social identity is still scarce, particularly in Wales. Polish migration UK has been popular among independent academic researchers, the politicians and policy makers in the UK (White, 2011). It is because Poles constitute the single largest nationality to migrate in the UK since the expansion of European Union in 2004 (White, 2011). Highlights of many studies on Polish migrants include how they become potentially vulnerable to social exclusions, workplace segregation, living in poverty and problematic English communication which can lead to potential life-long segregation in the society (White, 2011). Research suggests that Polish identity has a problematic impact among other Eastern Europeans migrants because British people tend to assume and label other Eastern European nationals such as Slovakian or Latvian, 'Polish'. This 'Polish' labelling was found to be unlikeable among other Eastern European nationals (White, 2011). The study of Eade, et. al. (2007) also highlighted the persistent conflict and social class division among Polish population in the UK. According to Eade, et. al. (2007), sense of division, although discrete, was one of the key features of Polish social identities. It was suggested that relationships among Poles tend to be opportunistic and individualistic. Criticism of fellow Poles and discourses of hostility were eminent among them. Direct competition especially those who were in the construction industry was also reported. Senses of suspicion and competition were also reported predominantly among men than women. Ethnic solidarity was therefore a realm of ideal rather than realistic day-to-day life. These ethnic conflicts and unfavourable views of co-ethnics caused some Poles to hide their ethnicity or true identity to avoid being unfavourably judged by British people in the labour market. In Wales, Polish migration also received fair attention from researchers. Kreft (2009), for example, reported that majority of Polish

migrants in rural Wales were young, healthy, motivated, and employed. Kreft (2009) also reported that Poles experience alienation in the community, insecurity at work, and doing menial low-paid jobs often in food processing, construction, hospitality and retailing. Similar to Eade, et. al., Kreft (2009) also suggested that Poles in Wales seem to be divided in sub-groups although networking and communication within groups are found to be good and effective.

Relating back to the study of Wrinckler (2008) on Filipino migrants, a similar study in America reported that Filipinos tend to be advantaged compared with other ethnic groups. They are known to be industrious showing upward mobility and the least likely to be poor (de Torres, 2002). This suggests similar standing of Filipinos in Wales who are less likely to report discrimination and insecurity at work (Winckler, 2008). Moreover, comparable with Eade, et. al.'s (2007) report, de Torres (2002) also reported disunity, regionalisation and class division among Filipinos in America (de Torres, 2002).

Methods

In social Psychology and in other fields such as health and clinical psychology IPA is becoming prevalent particularly in the UK (Reid, et. al., 2005). A study on lesbians or bisexuals 'You still feel different: the experience and meaning of women's self-injury in the context of a lesbian or bisexual identity', for example, used IPA to elicit a number of significant issues that emerge from social context (Alexander & Claire, 2004). The IPA approach is exemplar in understanding the lived experiences and how participants make sense of their experiences. As the name suggests, IPA is phenomenological. It aims to explore the participants' personal account of a phenomenon or an event they are experiencing, for example, migration. It does not attempt to produce an objective record of the event or the phenomenon itself (Smith and Osborne, 2007). Analysis of accounts in this study, as IPA suggests, involved two stages of interpretative activity: first, the participants tried to make sense of their world; and second, the researcher tried to make sense of the participants who were trying to make sense of their world (Smith & Osborn, 2007). This method is inevitably subjective because no two analysts of data are expected to come up with an exact interpretation or themes but is a powerful tool in eliciting unexplored phenomenon.

Semi-structured interview is exemplary in IPA because it allows open, spontaneous and deep exploration of thoughts of participants (Smith, et.al., 2009; Brocki and Warden, 2006). The researcher used a digital recorder and an interview schedule. Following the interview schedule, the researcher used the skills of reflexive thinking and questioning as well as warm and relaxed relationship with the participant. As suggested by Smith, Flower, and Larkin (2009), this study used a small sample – nine in total, 5 males and 4 females. All nine participants were purposely selected so that they were diverse in terms of age, tenure in the UK, job roles, location, and gender. With the aim of comparing trends in the experiences and the perceptions of identity over time and the quality of experiences from different communities and work environments, it was made sure that participants' demography was diverse. Participants' age ranged from 32 to 64 and the mean age was 40. They all have been living in the UK as permanent residents – seven are British citizens. None of them was a temporary or a contractual worker. Participants' tenure of residence in Wales

ranged from six to 36 years and with an average of 14 years. All participants came to the UK either through a working permit or as dependent of a Filipino migrant worker who have gained resident status in the UK. Those who came to the UK through another visa route like student visa were purposely excluded in this research to achieve a homogenous sample. The names used in this study were fictitious to ensure confidentiality and protect participants' privacy. The following names used in this paper - Benedict, Janina, Ricky, Gerard, James, Emrys, Joy, Delma, and Karen are all pseudonyms.

At the time of data collection, there was no previously published IPA study on either migration or social identity in Wales so it was considered both desirable and appropriate to formulate own open-ended and flexible questions. The questions were formulated to accommodate the interpretative aims of this study. They were drafted during the conception of the subject the researcher wished to explore and have evolved and developed into desirable and more appropriate questions during pilot interviews and consultations with the research supervisor. The participants were not given copies of question ahead of time, although they were briefed of likely questions, to ensure spontaneity and reflexivity which are principal in the study. The average time span of face-to-face interview was 45 minutes. Each participant was interviewed only once and on separate occasions.

The research question

Using IPA, the study sought to explore stories of Filipino migrants as they take on new lives in their receiving communities. Their accounts were critically examined of social identities or perception of selves. In what ways do their experiences impact their perception of selves and belonging? In what ways do their social identity affect their experiences or social participation and wellbeing? This research sought to gain an in-depth understanding of the lives of Filipinos living and working in rural areas of Wales.

Results and Discussion

Results of study suggest that social identity of Filipinos is complex. Due to limited space, only four of the most persistent and highly (and not so well) articulated accounts by the participants are included in this paper. The four superordinate themes are 'From old self to new self', 'National identity crisis', 'Collective values' and 'Group division.' These superordinate themes are presented in Table 1 below together with their subordinate themes and evidences in quotation marks. It has to be emphasised that superordinate and subordinate themes included in this paper are not solely based on the prevalence of accounts. Factors such as the richness of account, eloquence, and emphasis of particular thought or experience are also considered. Order of accounts is by no means arranged according to importance or frequency of accounts.

Table 1: Four superordinate themes, their subordinate themes and evidences

Superordinate Themes	Subordinate Themes	Accounts
Form old to new self	The 'old' self	<p><i>'My life was quite good you know... I was really contented there (The Philippines). I was happy because I was working as an optometrist.'</i> - Janina</p> <p><i>'I am uhh also businessman. I've got a gym and I got a pet shop but uhhh that was when uhh So I was happy because ah well that's my course.'</i> - James</p>
	The 'new' self	<p><i>'I think they're calling us economic people... It's quite sad.'</i> - Emrys</p> <p><i>'It takes time to kind of prove to everyone that you can do what you can do'</i> - Joy</p>
	The reality in between	<p><i>'I was really lonely. When I came over here, I thought I was gonna be really happy'</i> - Janina</p> <p><i>'Here you are on your own. You know... and rather than going out you stay and do some cleaning and looking after the children because nobody will help you'</i> - Ricky</p>
National identity crisis	Nationality vs. citizenship	<p><i>'I think its I don't it's alright. I feel proud to be a British citizen. I don't know.'</i> - Gerard</p> <p><i>It's just that the paper works is like uhmm it's the..uhmm the status is different but the feeling is the same. In my heart.. I am still a Filipino with British citizenship.'</i> - Janina</p> <p><i>'...I still want to retire in our country. But probably it will change in the future.'</i> - Ricky</p>
	Being British	<p><i>'It's all like a dream come true'</i> - Delma</p> <p><i>'Am proud to be a British citizen because it's like... (long pause)...an achievement.'</i> - Delma</p> <p><i>'with the current changes in immigration in the UK it is really quite securing and quite you know... uhmmm just makes you feel safe'</i> - Karen</p>
Collective culture	Family	<p><i>'I have 1 child... she's 2 years old now. And I've got another one expected for this year'</i> - Janina</p> <p><i>'I could say that I am a hard worker. A good friend. Uhmm hopefully I am a good mother as well and a wife. And definitely I am a good daughter. Uhmm uhhh... I think I get along well'</i></p>

		<i>with everybody... not everybody but most of the people I know and uhmmm Diyos ko (My God) And I am willing to help as much as I could.</i> - Joy
	All about relationships	<i>'trying to be accommodating trying to please everyone but that's impossible. I am struggling to kind of uhmm uhmm to say no when I should have to say no.'</i> - Gerard <i>'I avoid conflict. I don't want to be involved in conflicts about others ... I don't want them to have anything to say against me ... I don't do anything against them'</i> - Delma
	Submission to authority	<i>'As a Filipino, I am obedient to management... Having the fear of God'</i> - Delma
	Unstable self vs. stable society	<i>'...that's life. I have to accept it whether I like it or not.'</i> - Benedict <i>'I think it's just the way how they... their systems work here isn't it?'</i> - Joy
Group division	In-group is 'good'	<i>'We Filipino as you know it.... is more respectful and polite... the Filipino has an edge over the whites'</i> - Delma <i>'I don't know probably they envy my family because as I've said, I'm focused on my family. That's why my family ah, my family is very you know, my children are very obedient to us you know. And they're well taught also.'</i> - James
	Outgroup is 'not good'	<i>'It's quite a sad thing that the elderly just being left in a nursing home so it's not a good thing because I love... you know.. in the Philippines we used to take care of the elderly until their last breath that's one thing...'</i> - Emrys
	Discrimination of self	<i>'no matter how we regards.. it is still not your.. the country of your ... of you were born is still different you know.'</i> - Benedict <i>'We just came over in this country. This is their home. We are the invaders.'</i> - Emrys

Consistent with Tajfel's (1982) definition of social identity, participants were extremely inclined to view selves in the context of their membership to groups, particularly with family and job affiliations. When asked to describe self at the beginning of the interview most participants immediately talked about their roles in the family, for example as a father, a sister or a daughter followed by their vocational roles.

The theme **'from old to new self'** is found most interesting in this study because most participants spent considerable time and fondness talking about their past lives, particularly their job roles and experiences and often with a tone of 'happiness' and

contentment. The stark difference in the presentation between the old self and new self was also prominent. It has to be noted, however, that accounts on 'past and new lives', are confined within the contexts of vocation and lifestyle. Most participants shared their old professional affiliations, which include teaching, army, and engineering and how life was 'happy' and fulfilling. The positive nuance of past life was often linked to a desirable job as James and Janina shared, they were contented in life because they were doing the jobs that were related to their earned qualifications. The sense of belonging in family and relatives was also emergent in accounts about old self.

Example: *'I was happy there (the Philippines), all my friends and relatives there...'* - Janina

Interestingly, participants talked about current vocations in a less engaged manner. For example, Janina who was a qualified optometrist in the Philippines was a student nurse at the time of interview and had been working as a nursing assistant. Moreover, Emrys was a marine engineer in the Philippines but worked as a maintenance worker in a local slaughter house and working towards a management qualification at the time of interview. Discourse about 'new self' were more pessimistic. The words 'sad', 'lonely' and other negative tones were found.

'When I still pass an optometrist shop, I still regret, How the four years of study were wasted. I still feel regrets, feels it's too late. It is sad.' - Janina

'Here it's just work, family, work, family, work, and that's it. In the Philippines we've got a lot of things you can do in there – socialize a lot with your family because of your close family ties they can come to you as often they want. Here ... it's quite, sometimes, what do you call this... one eh... it's a lonely place for us. It's a lonely place' - Emrys

The negative nuances attached to perceived new self were often linked to lifestyle and career outlook. For example, most participants and their partners were engaged in shift works to share domestic and childcare roles leaving them limited time to socialise, for example talking with neighbours and getting involved in community charity events. Moreover, most participants work long hours to earn as much money as they could for remittance purposes. Many of participants also invest in the Philippines for retirement. However, it is important to note that the negative nuance around job and lifestyle is not true with one participant – Delma. Delma is single and works in the kitchen at a local fast food restaurant. Her previous job was domestic help.

'I'm able to do what I want.... I also can buy what I want which I could not buy then because I didn't have money.' – Delma

This phenomenon shows that job affiliation, particularly the perceived direction of changes in employment (upgrade or downgrade) affect social identity and life perspective of participants.

The experiences of participants during transition from old to new selves indicate the space where processes of adaptation and integration occur. A pattern of integration

process and adaptation experiences within their receiving communities were salient in the accounts. The willingness to do menial jobs which are distant from their previous academic qualifications or acclaimed fulfilling jobs was highly implied although not directly claimed. Most participants landed with menial jobs if not jobs that were 'unfulfilling' when they first came to the UK. Participants then sought upward changes in their careers. Comparable with Winckler's (2008) report on Filipinos in Neath Port Talbot, participants in this study reported slow promotion and non-recognition of previous qualifications and access to top wages. Participants experienced and aimed to move their way up the ladder, work hard, and prove themselves capable of more challenging job roles and therefore acquiring the identity they aim to achieve. Take Joy, for example. Joy stated:

'It takes time to prove to everyone that you can do what you can do'.

She further stated at the later stage of interview:

'I'm looking forward to uhh moving to a more uhmm challenging environment... I am planning to do a speciality courses.'

The accounts above were consistent with the study of de Torres (2008) in America. According to de Torres, Filipinos in America tend to show upward mobility known for their industriousness. Compared to other minorities, Filipinos tend to climb up owning houses and lands and joining the richer communities.

However, in terms of social relationships, the process of integration was found to be in a pessimistic stance. Janina's early experiences in the host country, for example, had a shade of despondence because of the absence of social contacts; and in Ricky's experience, because of his overwhelming work and house responsibilities and the cold climate.

'Here you are on your own. You know... and rather than going out you stay and do some cleaning and looking after the children because nobody will uhmmm help you. You know... will help you look after the children.... here, it is cold. You don't want to go outside. You just stay at home.' - Ricky

Consistent with Winckler's (2008) report, accounts suggest that all participants have little contact with the Welsh community despite their long tenure and intentions of long term residence in the country. Ricky's account above offers an explanation to this phenomenon.

'National identity crisis' is the second super-ordinate theme that emerged from the rich accounts. Unlike other themes, discourse around national affiliation was carried out by participants with vagueness and sense of confusion. When asked about national membership many participants were not able to articulate their views although it was consistent that participants showed membership to both country of origin and the receiving country. Five participants and a total of seven accounts showed ambiguity of their national affiliation. Ambiguity was interpreted from long pauses, deep thoughts, repetitions, and unclear statements from the participants. For example:

'I hope there will not a time where in my loyalty will be tested as to which of the countries I really prefer.. because I.. I care them I like them both' - Benedict

'That's part of our Bri... we swore to be... you know to be British. Well uhhhh probably by probably by writing could be and but our heart belongs to our country technically. Well ... we try to be like a good, a good citizen here. And ah... (Deep breath .. sighs) just to be responsible and obedient citizen here in UK.' – James

Although there was a hint of confusion in terms of national membership, it was found consistent that all participants claimed Filipino nationality and British citizenship. Many participants were Filipino 'by heart'. Six participants disclosed their investments and plans of retirement in the Philippines. All participants go 'home' regularly to the Philippines to visit their families and relatives.

A question on national identity allows a person to express a preference as to which country or countries, nation or nations that they feel most affiliated to (ONS, no date). The sense of attachment that comprises loyalty for many is not unusual but is in general basic to the individuals' definitions of themselves. Loyalty to a group such as a nation strengthens one's identity and sense of belonging (Davis, 1999). Issue of national identity was strongly emergent in five of the participants' accounts.

'We don't want to stay here for retirement as much as possible... We don't want to stay here for retirement. We want to go home after a few more years. ... Honestly. (laughs) Uhhh ... because of... there is no place like home (laughs) that's it.' – Emrys

Many participants also take pride in their British citizenship. Emergent in the accounts were notions of security, freedom, convenience, achievement, belongingness and social acceptance. Seven participants are British Citizens at the time of interview and the remaining two are permanent residents awaiting British citizenships while two participants hold dual citizenships. Interestingly, only two participants showed interest in civil duties such as voting, community volunteering and watching local news. Many participants view British citizenship as an opportunity, security and comfort. For example:

'And having this citizenship status makes you feel secure for staying here.' – Joy

'But being British if you have British passport, it's just easy, you can go anywhere else in the UK.' – Janina

'We just want to because of this economy in the Philippines so ... we're forced to come here for money... honestly... there's no other reason' - Emrys

British citizenship was also viewed as an achievement or pride. As Delma shared:

'(I) Am proud to be a British citizen because it's like... (long pause)...an achievement.'

Or

'It's something that you just ,... have within you... you can not explain it... you know.. you can go abroad.. you can go to Europe, mainland continent and when people ask you where you from I am from Britain... it just gives you that uhmm ... that notion... that feeling that uhh you are .. British....' - Gerard

The notion of British citizenship as an upward movement or an upgrade of social status was suggested but not clearly supported although sense of discrimination of self as 'Filipino' was highlighted numerous times. This idea will be discussed further on in the paper.

Another interesting theme that emerged from the rich accounts of participants is the expression of **collective values** or culture. Kagoleraki (2009) suggested that Filipinos are generally collectivists. Collectivist culture is characterised by their pride of strong close family relationship, high regard to authority figures, and flexibility of self-views to satisfy the demands of the perceived unchangeable environment (Triandis and Suh, 2002). These characteristics were prominent in most of the participants' accounts. Participants showed pride in their close knit family relationship and value of social relationship. For example, James showed preference of family and domestic roles over self and career advancement. He also showed great pride of his role as a father and being able to pass on to his children the culture of respect and obedience.

Submission or high regard to authority figures was one of the collective values also found in the participants' accounts. Collectivists tend to be submissive to authority and to promote conventionalism (Triandis and Suh, 2002). Submission to authority is almost similar to the acceptance of the perceived unchangeable environment and fate. For example:

'As a Filipino, I am obedient to management... Having the fear of God' – Delma

Participants showed instability of self and acceptance of the changing situations around them. Participants view the society as stable and self as unstable. For example, Janina's qualification as optometrist was not recognised in the UK and did not pursue her profession because of lost confidence. She then took on a caring job because it was available and convenient.

'I was working as a health care support worker and in the end I loved what I was doing, So I said, well better... because I lost my confidence then' – Janina

'Well I felt sad because it's not our fault really. And we have to deal with it and go on like that.' – Joy

Joy's account above pertains to perceived discrimination at work. Joy disclosed that she often covers unsociable shifts and often feels excluded at work. Although this was viewed unacceptable, Joy never brought up the issue with her manager in order to avoid conflict and to maintain 'good' work relationships. According to Triandis and Suh (2002), where there is inconsistency or conflict in situations, collectivists tend to be more concerned in maintaining relationship with others than achieving justice.

Therefore, inconsistency in the environment, such as discrimination in Joy's case, was rather accepted than achieve justice to avoid conflict.

Group division is the fourth and last theme to be discussed in this paper. Although Filipino communities are often perceived as close-knit and united, discourses of group division and competition between sub-groups were evident in many accounts. James noted that:

'the Filipino community is now divided into groups, unfortunately but I don't like it.'

There was no clear account that directly explains group division, however, dialogues of perceived jealousy between families and subgroups were found. For example:

Then... when there's a gathering, it was united. Now, there are cliques/factions/groups ... in-fightings/conflicts... They fight perhaps due to envy/intrigue' – Delma

'When you go to a big (Filipino) party, you feel some people are in a group and we can just feel them you know. But well... I just ignore it really. Maybe that's how... I don't know... maybe they have different, not really attitude, maybe same preferences' – Janina

Most participants disclosed that there were subgroups within Filipino communities where they live, however, no participant was able to articulate or identify factors of division or exclusion. Delma's accounts, however, suggest that social status or job affiliation is important in forging subgroups within Filipino community. Delma's closest contact at the time of interview was someone who she perceived as a person with similar social standing. Her friend also worked as a domestic help and worked part-time in the local fast-food chain. Sense of acceptance and belonging in the same social category is important in forging groups within the Filipino community. This suggests that the choice of contact is determined by the sense of acceptance of social standing or the sense of belonging in similar social category.

Self-discrimination is a notion that is understudied in the field of migration and integration. Hence, this is an interesting finding. Self-discrimination in this paper pertains to the thinking, treatment or consideration of self as not being equal with the local people because of ethnicity and nationality rather than on individual merit. For example, Janina felt treated unfairly at work and promotion has not been favourable to her but has been tolerant of situation because she perceives herself as a 'foreigner' despite her British citizenship.

'You feel that (discrimination) but sometimes you just accept it because you are here in a foreign country.' – Janina

'I think we will just be fooling ourselves if we think that we are equal with anyone. There is always a difference isn't it? Maybe it was not glaring. They don't show it but deep down.. you know that we are not equal.' – Benedict

Benedict's account was a strong example of self-discrimination against his adopted country. The perception of self as not being equal with the local people is found to be existent in many accounts. This notion is a strong assertion and is a significant proposition to explain group division, exclusion and problematic integration among migrants in the UK.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Filipino migration to the United Kingdom receives little attention from researchers. Migration to rural areas of Wales, although not a recent phenomenon, is also understudied. Underpinned by Social Identity Theory, this paper has explored how Filipino migrant workers in Wales view their social identity and the different ways identity and experiences affect each other. This paper provided an understanding of the lives of Filipinos living and working in rural areas of Wales. Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, a method that is exemplar to the nature of study, revealed the complex and unique features of the Filipino migrant group. The Filipinos' construct of selves is defined, not only by current job affiliation but also by previous profession and status acquired in the country of origin. This sense of 'old' self is suggested to remain to contribute to the sense of self-esteem and identity of the participants. Similar with Poles, Filipinos also show discourses of jealousy and fragmentation within their Filipino communities. Parallel with the study of Wrinckler (2008) on Filipinos in Neath, Filipinos in general have little contact with the Welsh community notwithstanding long term plan of residence in the country. Lack of social participation is suggested to be affected by domestic and work responsibilities but it would suggest that a deeper reason such as self-discrimination may be a barrier to full integration or social participation in their wider communities. The notion of jealousy, suspicions of envy and threat between different sub-groups were also eminent. National identity of Filipinos is confounded. All participants claim the benefits and pride of being British but also express strong affiliation with their home country. Lastly, most Filipinos still show strong collective values and are proud of them after many years of residence in the UK.

This study also uncovered interesting ideas that may be important in the exploration and understanding of social inclusion and integration not only of Filipino migrants in Wales but by all migrants across the UK. The notion of self-discrimination, for example, is understudied but may have bearing on migrants' reluctance and difficulty in integration. This discovery may add to the gap in the knowledge of migration and identity and may be useful in future policies on migration and integration.

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Contact email: btbdavies@yahoo.co.uk