GENDER AND MIGRATION: FOCUS ON FILIPINO WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL LABOR MIGRATION

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Abstract

The Philippines is one of three countries in Asia where women comprise the majority of migrant workers. The problems of overseas employment, particularly of females, had been the subject of much research as well as of legislation and other forms of government action, not to mention NGO efforts and initiatives. Recent research has focused on the factors behind female migration, particularly the role of the family in decisions to work abroad, working and living conditions of women migrant workers and the consequences of female migration to husbands and children who are left behind as well as to the migrant worker herself. Among the research gaps that have been identified are: the health consequences of migration, return migration and the reintegration of women migrant workers; the impact of migration on married vs. unmarried women. The links between migration and other demographic phenomena such as family formation, inhibition of fertility, etc. should be more closely examined, and indicators developed or tested to measure the conditions of migrant workers to help monitor their situation and provide protection. There is also a need for long-term researches and alternative approaches to study the development of the phenomena and the role of the family in various phases of migration.

The Philippines, along with Indonesia and Sri Lanka, is one of the three countries in the Asian region where women comprise the majority of migrant workers. From a trickle in the 1970s, the numbers continued to grow in the 1980s, and by the 1990s, women have come to comprise the majority — accounting for as much as 60 percent — of the annual deployment of new hires from the Philippines (Table

4.1). Like Indonesia and Sri Lanka, the majority of Filipino women migrant workers are concentrated in reproductive work, i.e., the work of care-giving and nurturing that has been traditionally assigned to women. Unlike women migrant workers from the two countries, Filipino women migrant workers are more widely distributed in terms of occupation (Table 4.2). Note, however, that entertainers are included among the professionals. Women migrant workers from the Philippines are also more widely distributed in terms of destination compared with their counterparts from Indonesia and Sri Lanka (who are mainly in the Gulf Region), although they are found in large numbers in countries such as Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore and Saudi Arabia (Table 4.3).

The profile of documented women migrant workers from the Philippines, based on data collected by the NCRFW (n.d.) ca. 1992-93, show them to be:

- young, mainly in the 20-29 age group; women tend to be generally younger than their male counterparts who are likely to be in the ages 25-39 years old;
- unmarried, that is, 56% were unmarried in 1992 and 1993, in contrast to most male migrant workers who are married (about 72% in 1992 and 1993,); among household workers, the proportion of unmarried among women migrant workers runs as high as 80% (DOLE, 1995:35 as cited in Asis 1994;
- fairly educated: about half of women migrant workers have completed some college education, of whom about a quarter have baccalaureate degrees; more male migrant workers are college educated;
- most women migrant workers come from the Ilocos, Luzon and the National Capital Region, basically the same regions where most migrant men also come from.

Factors contributing to the feminization of overseas employment

The feminization of international labor migration from the Philippines can be seen from several vantage points. For one, it can be seen as an extension of the freedom of mobility afforded Filipino women. Since the end of frontierward migration in the 1960s, women — mostly young, unmarried women — have predominated in rural to urban migration. Such a pattern is more in keeping with what has been observed in Latin America than in Asia (Smith, Khoo and Go, 1984:15). For another, the involvement of Filipino women in international labor migration can be seen as a response to the demand for women workers in the more developed countries. This explanation has been advanced for the feminization of Asian migration in general (e.g., Lim and Oishi, 1996).

Particularly in the Asian context, the demand arose out of development processes that left a void for reproductive workers as local women were increasingly absorbed in paid work outside the home. In the absence of changes in the organization of reproductive work in the domestic front, and lack of state support, families instead turned to women in the less developing countries in Asia to perform reproductive work. The demand for women migrant workers also came at a time when the demand for male workers was slowing down in the Middle East, the major destination of migrant workers in the 1970s and the early 1980s. Countries of origin such as the Philippines were poised to respond to the demand for women migrant workers given the experience they had gained with large-scale overseas employment in the 1970s.

The government, the various participants in the migration industry (particularly recruitment agencies), and the various personal and social networks that have been established between migrants and non-migrants all contributed

to the persistence of international labor migration. Not all countries of origin in Asia, however, responded to the demand for female workers. Bangladesh, Pakistan, and India imposed restrictive policies on female migration as a protective measure and because of national need for certain skills (e.g., nurses in Pakistan). As a result, female migration from these countries is extremely low, although irregular migration and trafficking of women are suspected to be substantial.

Weighing the benefits and costs of overseas employment

For all the economic benefits that can be derived from overseas employment, concerns have also been raised about the social consequences for the country, the communities, the families left behind, and the safety of migrant workers, particularly women migrant workers. Several studies have already pointed out that when government got involved in overseas employment in the 1970s, it was only intended as a temporary measure to address rising unemployment and problems with the balance of payments (e.g., Asis 1992). However, due to one economic crisis after another, overseas employment continued. The contributions of remittances in keeping the economy afloat from one crisis to another have been duly recognized by various administrations, from Marcos to Aquino to Ramos to Estrada (see Table 4.4). Interestingly, just as the Philippines was ready to implement a slowdown in the deployment of overseas employment, the crisis of 1997 set in, as a result of which, the government encouraged migrant workers to stay put where they are and to search for alternative labor markets. Also, as pointed out earlier, in addition to the economic push for migration, other factors have intervened to sustain the phenomenon.

While there is a consensus that overseas employment has contributed to the economy, the arena of social consequences is a lot more contentious. Fears of the erosion of nationalism, the many affronts to national dignity, the rise of materialism, and fears about the break-up of families are among the social costs that have been associated with overseas migration. These concerns are magnified several times over where migrant women are involved. What becomes of the family when mothers, who are regarded as the light of the home, leave? Who will take care of husbands, children. and the elderly left behind? Can other family members assume the roles performed by mothers? More importantly, what guarantees are there to protect the welfare of women migrant workers in the countries of destination? Concentrated as they are in domestic services and entertainment, their vulnerabilities to abuse, health risks, exploitation and violence cloud the possibilities for a better life migration could bring.

As pointed out by Cox (1997), the vulnerabilities of women migrant workers practically for those in domestic services — derive from their being women, their being domestic workers, the fact that they come from developing countries, the lack of interest on the part of governments, employers and other parties to protect their interests, the nature of domestic work overseas, and the role of social networks in promoting this type of migration. The issue of protecting migrant workers, particularly women migrant workers, has thrust the government in a bind due to the competing interests of promoting overseas employment on the one hand, and the difficulties of extending protection to workers overseas on the other. Given the strong demand for female migrant workers and prospects for even greater demand in the future, the country finds itself in the difficult position

of allowing the migration of women under circumstances which seemingly promote or allow what Lim (1998) calls the "comparative advantage of women's disadvantage."

The dilemmas of female migration

Indeed, problems attendant to female migration surfaced even in the early years of the phenomenon. Like male migration, women migrant workers are subjected to such problems as illegal recruitment, illegal or exorbitant placement fees, contract substitution, withholding of passports, and non-payment or delay in salaries. Women migrant workers, however, are more vulnerable to abuse and violence, including sexual violence. The social construction of reproductive work as unimportant and its relegation to the private sphere has rendered women workers invisible, isolated, and unprotected by labor laws. Compared to other countries of origin, the Philippines has, in fact, instituted various measures to ensure the protection of women migrant workers. Early on and several times thereafter, the government had instituted several bans on the deployment of domestic workers (1982) for Saudi Arabia, which did not push through; a general ban in 1987 and the gradual lifting of the ban as better conditions obtain in the receiving countries; a ban for Singapore in 1995) and in the deployment of entertainers to Japan in 1991, in the hopes of stopping the migration of women migrant workers. Bans, as our experience showed, do not work. Instead, they only lead to irregular migrations, which puts women migrant workers in greater danger. Under the circumstances, the government instituted various approaches to protect women migrant workers (Table 4.5).

Despite these measures, problems persist (see, for example, SMC, 1996a; Cabilao 1995), and yet, the government, at this point, cannot simply control the migration process. On

the one hand, close to thirty years of large-scale migration cannot be stopped; on the other hand, the economic benefits of female migration cannot be discounted. The Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995, for example, provided for the eventual phase-out of unskilled workers (including domestic workers), in light of the many vulnerabilities such workers experience. This has been modified in practice because of the great demand for domestic workers. The law is currently under review. Since migration cannot be stopped and in the absence of other options, the government instead attempts to empower migrant workers by providing information and training. For women migrant workers (particularly, household workers), for example, the mandatory pre-departure orientation seminars have been provided by NGOs since the 1990s instead of recruitment agencies. In general, while the institutional framework for many of these programs have been set in place, there is a need to review how they are actually implemented and their impacts in improving the conditions of women migrant workers.

Still, the best efforts of the government and NGOs on the Philippine side are inadequate to ensure the protection of the rights of women migrant workers. Corresponding commitments on the part of receiving countries are critical for the promotion of migrants' rights while they are working overseas, and these links are generally lacking. Particularly in the Asian context, the migration policies of receiving countries are intended to ensure that migration remains temporary. Under a highly regulated and restricted migration regime, the admission, work and stay of migrants in countries of destination are all tied together. In the case of women migrant workers, this means that when they are accepted as domestic workers, their residence and work in the countries of destination are tied to their admission as domestic work-

ers. In other words, they cannot change employment, even if they have the necessary qualifications. Such policies, thus, do not offer possibilities for social mobility for migrants. It is in this sense that migration in Asia can be very limiting for women migrant workers who are channeled into domestic work. Unlike in other contexts where domestic work is but a step for other work possibilities, in Asia, women migrant workers tend to be stuck in the same occupation, unless they are able to negotiate for a different contract.

In part because of the 1997 economic crisis, which highlighted the limits of uncoordinated national policies on migration, there is now some openness to discuss migration issues in the region. The common concerns that countries of origin and countries of destination share about irregular migration contributed to this important development. An international symposium on migration, "Towards Regional Cooperation on Irregular Migration/Undocumented Migration" was held in Bangkok, on 21-23 April 1999. The syposium came out with the Bangkok Declaration which provided directions for follow-up activities. If sustained, this could be the beginning of more open and more effective means of maximizing the gains of migration and minimizing its risks for all parties concerned.

Research highlights on female migration from the Philippines

The phenomenon of overseas employment has been the subject of considerable research in the Philippines. As regards female migration, a compilation of studies done in the period 1975-1995 indicated that the following aspects were examined by various studies: demographic and socioeconomic profiles of women in specific occupational categories; recruitment methods, including trafficking of women; description

of working and living conditions in particular destination countries; documentation of exploitation and sexual abuse that are characteristic of the dominant female populations; and assessment of migration policies and recommendations for improvement (SMC 1996:22).

Following are some of the major findings from these studies and other materials:

A. Factors behind female migration

The country's poverty provides the larger backdrop of the origins of labor migration.

However, while it is an important push factor, it does not sufficiently explain why poorer countries have much less migration compared with the Philippines. As pointed out earlier, the role of the government, the migration industry, and the role of social networks are also contributing factors. Like male migration, female migration is usually undertaken not so much to promote individual interests but to promote the interests and welfare of the family. One aspect of the overseas migration debate that has achieved some measure of agreement is the important role that family plays in decisions to move. The family is the source of support and happiness for most individual Filipinos and the promotion of its welfare remains a principal driving force for seeking overseas employment. This ideology calls for subordination of members' individual interest to the family's collective welfare and solidarity (Guerrero in Bragado 1995).

Cecilia Tacolis' study of Filipino migrants in Rome (1996) showed that when age of migrants is taken into account, the decision to move appeared to have been "somebody else's decision rather than their own" among migrants in their twenties. Gender also appeared to play a major role among younger migrants, i.e., women are more than twice as

likely as men to migrate because of other family members' decision (p. 19). Young single women thus appear to be subject to greater parental authority. They also send home on average "significantly larger amounts of money" than their male counterparts. Tacoli also points out that "daughters also tend to provide more consistent financial support to their households, with over two-thirds of them sending money on a monthly basis; compared to one-quarter of sons" (p. 21).

In the case of female migration, studies on the migration of young, unmarried women to the cities was said to be part of the household strategy for survival or mobility. The decision to send daughters, as suggested by Trager (1988), apart from the availability of "female jobs" in the cities, also gains family support because daughters are perceived to be more reliable in sending remittances to the families left behind. Similarly, in international labor migration, the migration of women has also become part of the household strategy for survival or mobility, and this has included not only the migration of unmarried women but married women as well. Although most studies suggest that women were the ones who took the initiative to migrate for the sake of the family, there are some concerns that families may exert some subtle pressure for women to migrate. Family support for women who migrate as entertainers, despite the negative perceptions about entertainment work as a cover for prostitution, suggests the family's accountability in allowing the possibility that their female kin may fall into prostitution. Holding on to their work at all costs or the entry of some migrant women into prostitution when they are abroad to earn extra money are some indications of how women's sense of responsibility towards the family can lead them or expose them to situations that endanger them.

It has also been suggested that perhaps the role of personal and social networks is even more important in female migration than in male migration (Lim 1998). As the ones responsible for much of kin work, women are likely to have more access to information and support exchanged between family members. The chain migration that develops among the relatives and friends of migrant workers reflects the function of the networks. Interestingly, these personal and social networks have also been found to be at work in facilitating irregular migration, or in the trafficking of women. For example, in Belgium, it has been noted that the role of impresarios and recruitment agencies in the trafficking of women seems to have declined while the role of social networks seems to be on the increase (e.g., PNATW 1997).

B. Working and living conditions of women migrant workers

Reported incidence of women migrant workers who encounter problems overseas suggest that on the whole, it would seem that the working and living conditions of most women migrant workers are not problematic. In general, those likely to encounter problems are the undocumented ones. However, it is possible that reported incidence underestimates the actual extent of problems that women migrant workers face in their places of employment. Even studies that attempt to obtain information on the working and living conditions may only scratch the surface. Studies that employ more qualitative approaches (e.g., Constable 1997) suggest that the dayto-day realities of domestic work are difficult, subject as they are to many controls imposed by the employer, and yet women are able to cope and adjust to the situation. The views of women migrant workers also present a different perspective of their experiences. Interviews with migrant women generally point to the positive valuation by women of their migration experiences. Also, it is important to point out that some destinations provide better conditions for women migrant workers. Hong Kong, for example, is regarded by many women migrant workers as a good place to work. Interviews with women who work as domestic workers in Spain and Italy also suggest that on the whole, women regard their work and stay in these countries positively. A few generalizations can be made regarding favorable conditions for women migrant workers in the destination: the existence of NGOs and other support organizations, the availability of consular services, the possibility to form support groups and associations, and the institution of basic protective measures (e.g., wages, days off, etc.)

As regards entertainers, although they may be deployed through legal channels, this does not seem to be sufficient in protecting them from various risks. The *dohan* system, which requires entertainers to go out on dates with their clients, predisposes women migrant workers to certain risks, including health risks and the industry also exposes women to forced prostitution, as suggested, for example, by a 1997 study of Filipino women in Japan (see IOM 1997).

On the whole, most of the data concerning the conditions of women migrant workers in the destination countries speak of the usual indicators of working and living conditions—salaries, work schedule, days off, positive and negative experiences with employers, involvement with other Filipino workers, support systems. Little has been said about the health conditions of workers, the health risks that they face, their access to health services, and how they respond to their health needs. More importantly, there is a need to help those who had encountered traumatic experiences abroad, and their families in the healing process.

C. Consequences of female migration

Most of the concerns around female migration assume that most female migrants are married leaving behind not only husbands but young children. Data, however, show that the majority of women migrant workers are unmarried. Most studies do not seem to distinguish the consequences of female migration according to the migrant's marital status.

Interestingly, while studies generally show that the women left behind by male migrant workers are able to cope with their additional responsibilities, studies on the men left behind suggest that men do not necessarily take on the role of women migrant workers. Instead, other female family members assume the roles hitherto performed by them, including grandmothers (e.g., Asis 1995). The role of the wives in managing the family, and in particular, the remittances from their husbands, was found to be instrumental in the success of migrant families to maximize the benefits from migrant workers (e.g., Arcinas and Bautista 1993). Studies are silent on whether the new gender roles that wives assumed in the absence of their husbands persist or revert to the old pattern upon the return of their husbands.

Research on the impact of women's migration on the men left behind suggests that women's assumption of the role as primary wage-earner for the family has affected men's notions about masculinity. Pingol's 1998 Ph.D. thesis on absentee wives and househusbands provides a good analysis of the power dynamics between females and males as a result of changes in the work of women. Focusing on an Ilocano community which holds traditional norms of masculinity (e.g., "macho, patriarchal and clannish") she interviewed in depth 13 husbands of OCW women.

Her study revealed that husbands cope with their situation by redefining their masculine identity. They did housework, took care of the children, disciplining them and considered all these as part of the sacrifices "for the sake of the family, for the love of the wife. . . and the future of the children."

"Becoming househusbands did not feminize them. Rather, it became a process of redefining their identity in response to the role reversal. Redefining identity came by combining the traditional masculine code with new sensibilities required in the performance of the nurturing role. . ."

A study on the impact of the women's migration on the children left behind shows that young children have, in fact, been affected by their mothers' absence, particularly in terms of school performance and social adjustment (Battistella and Conaco 1998). Older children, i.e., high school and college age children, acknowledged that while they felt the absence of their mothers, they had learned to be more independent (e.g., Asis 1995).

As to the impact of migration on the women themselves, women acknowledge new learnings and the gain of confidence from their overseas stint. Interviews with women domestic workers in Hong Kong, for example, indicated that they had learned to be independent abroad; for those who were involved with organizations, they learned skills in organizing and interacting with people. It is also important to ask how migration affects migrant women vis-a-vis the other members of the family or the household. It is possible that the family as a whole may benefit from women's migration, but at a great sacrifice on the part of women themselves. How do families and households then ensure that women migrant workers also benefit from the migration project? How do families and households manage the remittances by women migrant workers? Who and how are decisions made about the use of these remittances?

Many other questions on how overseas migration has affected migrants and their families remain unexamined. Moreover, the policy implications of these issues have yet to be clarified. Following are some dimensions of the phenomenon where research and appropriate responses are lacking:

- The health consequences of migration have somehow taken a backseat to the concerns raised about migration. In the early years, the government has been bent on the marketing aspect of labor migration; later, it had to address welfare and protection issues. Health issues, however, cannot be ignored in female migration given the occupations that women migrant workers are employed in. The need to protect themselves from health risks, including STDs and HIV, cannot be overemphasized. Some discussion on health issues is devoted in some pre-departure orientation sessions (PDOS) for women migrant workers, but the treatment has been rather too general. Providing health information to migrants and how to incorporate them in existing information programs needs to be considered.
- Return migration and the reintegration of women migrant workers is one aspect of international labor migration that has not been studied extensively. Data on return migration are not collected and monitored in the same way as deployment. Migrants also tend to re-migrate as often as possible such that the idea of return migration as a more or less permanent return to the country may only hold true for a certain proportion of migrants. Government policies and programs on reintegration also need some fine-tuning to make them more responsive to the needs of migrants and their families. Presently, reintegration programs offer the options of paid employment and self-employment (entrepreneurship) to returning mi-

grants. This option may not be realistic or may pose difficulties for women migrant workers whose work experience overseas is either in domestic services or entertainment. Reintegration programs thus have to recognize that migration has different outcomes for different migrants, which imply different policy trajectories for interventions in the postmigration phase (see, for example, Battistella 1997). Among the questions that need to be explored in this aspect are: migrants' concept of reintegration, the kinds of assistance they need vis-a-vis the assistance provided by various reintegration programs, and an examination of the different types of returnees (e.g., those whose contracts had ended, those who returned voluntarily, those who were repatriated, migrants who had encountered problems overseas, etc.) and how they approach their return and reintegration in the country. As mentioned earlier, it would also be important to consider non-economic aspects of reintegration. For example, are there gender differences in the return experience of migrants, particularly in the family setting?

- What is the impact of migration for unmarried vs. married women? What are the benefits and costs of migration to unmarried vs. married women? Does migration have more lasting effects on unmarried women than for married women e.g., married women may have to revert to traditional gender roles upon their return which may not hold true for unmarried migrant women.
- The links between migration and other demographic phenomena have not been examined closely. How does migration, for example, affect plans for family formation? Are the demographic consequences similar for male and female migration? Female migration may be more likely to inhibit fertility more so than male migration because of restrictions on pregnancy for migrant women.

 In line with monitoring the situation of migrant workers, there is a need to use indicators which can provide useful summary measures on their conditions. The use and dissemination of these indicators can also help in promoting the protection of women migrant workers. Since several indicators have already been proposed (e.g., indicators of vulnerability and violence from the Expert Group Meeting on Violence Against Women Migrant Workers) to gauge the status of women migrant workers at various points in the migration cycle, the next step would be to actually test these indicators and assess their performance. Where necessary, other indicators can be developed. The experience of developing the Human Development Index can serve as a reference point in undertaking a similar project for women migrant workers. The development of indicators, however, should not be limited to quantifiable measures. Many of the experiences, of migrant women do not easily lend themselves to easy measurement, for which other qualitative measures need to be developed.

Some research gaps

Some research gaps have already been alluded to in the earlier section. Apart from exploring other research questions, there is also a need to explore alternative approaches to the study of migration. The usual study designs used in most existing studies have been cross-sectional and one-shot designs which are inadequate in assessing the long-term consequences of migration. Future inquiries could explore the possibility of using other approaches, including the use of more gender-sensitive research methodology, in examining further areas for research.

Following are some topics which need further study:

- The rise in irregular migration and trafficking suggests the need to examine the new ways in which this phenomenon unfolds. Are women more likely to be victimized by illegal recruiters than men? Do recruiters employ different strategies in enticing women and men migrants? It is also interesting to note that more women have been arrested for illegal recruitment than men: what explains this particular pattern?
- The role of the family in other aspects of the migration process is not that well understood. As suggested by various studies, the family plays an important role in the decision of migrants to seek overseas work, and there seems to be general support from the family for the migration project. The family, however, also figures in other phases of migration. How are families affected by the traumatic experiences of women migrant workers? How do they cope under these circumstances? What kinds of assistance do they need? How can the family be a source of healing for women who have suffered serious difficulties during their overseas stint?

Table 4.1

Deployed Filipino Overseas Workers, 1990-1998

	Land	Seabased	Total		
	New Hires	Rehires	Total		
1990	217,942	116,941	334,883	111,212	446,095
1991	301,317	184,943	486,260	125,759	612,019
1992	291,219	258,346	549,565	136,806	686,371
1993	274,305	276,567	550,872	145,758	696,630
1994	268,711	296,515	565,226	154,376	719,602
1995	219,018	269,603	488,621	165,401	654,022
1996	206,734	277,919	484,653	175,469	660,122
1997	222,139	337,088	559,227	188,469	747,696
1998	223,589	338,795	562,384	193,300	755,684
1999*	91,071	208,842	299,913	81,791	381,704

Source: Asian Migration Atlas (http://www.sequel.net/-smc)*

Scalabrini Migration Center Asian Migration Atlas 2000 http://www.scalabrini.asn. au/ atlas/dmatlas.htw

^{*} Up to May only.

Table 4.2 Filipino Overseas Workers by Region, 1984-1998

Total	300,378	320,494	323,517	382,229	385,117	355,346	334,883	489,260	549,655	550,872	565,226	488,621	484,653	559,227	562,384
Other*								12,567	32,023	41,219	47,564	51,737	61,589	72,600	76,339
Trust Territories	2,397	3,048	3,892	5,373	6,563	7,289	7,380	11,409	11,164	8,890	8,489	7,039	4,469	5,280	6,483
Oceania	913	953	1,080	1,271	1,397	1,247	8	1,374	1,669	1,507	1,295	1,398	1,429	1,970	2,062
Middle East	250,210	253,867	236,434	272,038	267,035	241,081	218,110	302,975	340,604	302,975	286,387	234,100	221,224	221,047	226,803
Europe	3,683	4,067	3,693	5,643	7,614	7,830	6,853	13,156	14,590	13,423	11,513	10,279	11,409	12,626	15,682
Americas	2,515	3,744	4,035	5,614	7,902	9,962	9,557	13,373	12,319	12,228	12,603	13,469	7,731	7,058	8,210
Asia	38,817	52,838	72,536	90,434	92,648	86,196	90,768	132,592	134,776	168,205	194,120	166,774	174,308	235,129	221,257
Africa	1,843	1,977	1,847	1,856	1,958	1,741	1,273	1,964	2,510	2,425	3,255	3,615	2,494	3,517	5,548
Year	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	19%	1990	1661	1992	1993	1991	1995	9661	1661	1998

*Includes OFWs processed at regional offices and air crews. Source: Asian Migration Atlas Scalabrini Migration Center, Asian Migration Atlas 2000 http://www.scalabrini.asn.au/atlas/amatlas.htw

						٦	ployment o	f Filipi	no Migrant	s by Sk	cill Category	/ (New	Deployment of Filipino Migrants by Skill Category (New Hires) 1992-1998	-1998
	1992	88	1993	8	1994	8	1995	%	9661	8	1997	%	8661	%
Professional	72,848	28	66,105	92	74,218	29	43,976	21	36,055	8	51,228	23	55,576	25
Entertainers	49,996	61	42,056	91	53,292	21	23,434	=	18,487	6	25,636	12		0
Administrative	495	0	405	0	385	0	352	0	268	0	555	0	385	0
Clerical	4,943	2	3,801	1	3,709		3,386	2	3,169	2	3,534	2	2,881	1
Sales	2,725	-	2,576	-	2,284		2,090	-	1,938	-	2,560	-	2,510	-
Services	82,440	32	89,154	35	90,967	35	81,306	38	84,745	41	76,402	34	80,917	37
Maids	58,700	.23	71,444	28	71,386	28	62,653	29	986,19	30	47,544	21		0
Caretakers	11,399	4	7,885	3	10,088	4	10,410	5	14,695	7	19,225	6		0
Agricultural	1,920	-	1,706	-	1,204	0	972	0	822	0	538	0	388	0
Production	94,525	36	92,664	36	85,816	33	81,857	38	75,683	37	83,560	38	75,222	34
Not classified	869	0	506	0	403	0	219	0	3,345	2	3,027	-	1,367	-
Total	260,594	100	256,197	100	258.986	100	214,130	100	205,791	001	221,560	01	219.24	01
												0	9	0

Contractor

Scalabrini Migration Center, Asian Migration Atlas 2000

http://www-scalabrini.asn.au/atlas/amatlas.htw

Table 4.4

Overseas Filipino Workers' Remittances

	((in Million US d	ollars)	
Year	Landbased	Seabased	Total	%
				Change
1975	71.10	31.90	103.00	
1976	67.00	44.00	111.00	7.2
1977	153.60	59.40	213.00	47.9
1978	208.84	82.01	290.85	26.8
1979	264.57	100.17	364.74	20.3
1980	299.72	121.58	421.30	13.4
1981	383.65	162.22	545.87	22.8
1982	642.34	168.14	810.48	32.6
1983	660.08	284.37	944.45	14.2
1984	472.58	186.31	658.89	-43.3
1985	597.89	89.31	687.20	4.1
1986	571.73	108.71	680.44	-1.0
1987	671.43	120.48	791.91	14.1
1988	683.31	173.50	856.81	7.6
1989	755.19	217.83	973.02	11.9
1990	893.40	287.67	1,181.07	17.6
1991	1,253.04	375.23	1,500.29	21.3
1992	1,757.36	445.02	2,202.38	31.9
1993	1,840.30	389.28	2,229.58	1.2
1994	2,560.92	379.35	2,940.27	24.2
1995	3,658.32	210.51	3,868.38	24.0
1996	4,055.39	251.24	4,306.64	10.2
1997	5,484.22	257.61	5,741.83	25.0
1998	4,650.00	274.54	4,925.30	-14.2

Source: Asian Migration Atlas (http://www.sequel.net/-smc)*
Scalabrini Migration Center, Asian Migration Atlas 2000
http://www.scalabrini.asn.aw/atlas/amatlas.htw

Table 4.5 Interventions for Protecting Filipino Women Migrant Workers

* Conventions

The Philippines has ratified the following migration-related conventions:

A. International Convention on the Rights of Migrants and Members of Their Families (one of 12 countries that had ratified the convention as of October 1999; not yet in force)

UN: Economic and Social Rights, Civic and Political Rights, Elimination of Racial Discrimination, CEDAW, Traffic in Persons, Rights of the Child, Status of Refugees.

B. ILO: ILO 87 (Freedom of Association and the Right to Organize Convention), 118 (Equality of Treatment, Social Security Convention), 157 (Maintenance of Social Security Rights Convention).

* Legislation

Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995 (RA 8042)— primary aim is to establish higher standard of protection for migrant workers and their families (currently under review)

A. Policy thrusts

- The State shall afford full protection to migrant workers.
- The State does not promote overseas employment.
- The State shall only deploy Filipino workers to countries that protect the rights of migrant workers.
- The State shall apply gender-sensitive criteria in the formulation of policies and programs affecting migrant workers.

B. Protective measures

- Definition of illegal recruitment (not limited to unlicensed agencies); stiffer penalties.
- Pre-departure services (see Preparation and Empowerment)
- Office of Legal Assistant for Migrant Workers Affairs (OLAMWA)
- Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipino Resource Centers
- Replacement and Monitoring Center.
- * Government control (particularly important are bilateral agreements) POEA revealed new agreements are being negotiated with or have been proposed to Saudi Arabia, Oman, Malaysia, Cyprus, Qatar, Libya, and the Northern Marianas on top of existing ones now in place with these seven countries. Presently, the POEA is working out labor agreements with 13 economies hosting OFWS: Bahrain, Libya, Lebanon, Qatar, East Malaysia, Taiwan, Palau, the Commonwealth of Northern Marianas Islands, Panama, Norway, Cyprus, France, and the Netherlands. Once agreements on these negotiations are reached, these will bring to 34 the number of such bilateral pacts undertaken by the government (AMN, 30 April 1999).
- Supervision (as a mechanism for implementing conventions, bilateral agreements and MOAs through labor attaches, by local government officials, by NGOs accredited by governments).

Presently, there are 40 labor-attaches and assistant labor attaches assigned to 26 posts worldwide. Ten of the 40 labor attaches are women.

Preparation and empowerment (preventive, providing training)

A variety of pre-departure information programs on migration are provided by government and NGOs through radio and print media, and through community-directed information campaigns.

Pre-departure orientation seminars (PDOS) are mandatory for all departing OFWs since 1983. The feminization of migration required changes in the implementation and orientation of PDOS. Another program, pre-employment orientation seminars, to accompany PDOS has not been institutionalized in the same way as PDOS.

* NGOs

RA 8042 recognizes NGOs as partners in protecting migrant workers. Many NGOs serve OFWs, although some destination countries do not welcome NGOs.