

From Rural to Global Labor: Transnational Migration and Agrarian Change in Indonesia and the Philippines

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FROM LOCAL TO GLOBAL LABOR: INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND AGRARIAN CHANGE IN INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES

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Abstract: This project studies the impacts of overseas migration on a number of transformations in two villages in Indonesia and the Philippines. The project has focused its attention on the impacts of remittances on land ownership and practice of agriculture. It elaborates on the contexts or reasons behind the promotion, active promotion of the government in sending low-wage workers. It identifies and studies the relationship between transnational migration, remittances and the changing agrarian conditions.

International migration has changed the livelihoods of the people at households and village levels in both countries. Remittances associated with international migration play significant roles for household income and expenditures, as well as brought development the village. Investment in human capital for the young generation is expected to eliminate poverty, although overseas migration is still seen to be a way out as the job opportunities in both countries have been declined. Many of the migrants are willing to invest in agricultural land using the remittances. However, very few of them can buy agricultural land (less than 20%), while others manage to get access to land through leasing or sharecropping. More than 50% are only able to work as agricultural labor in the village. This study concludes that indeed, international migration has not changed the agrarian structure in both countries, which is unequal since long before.

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CHAPTER I

Introductory Chapter: Research Objectives and Methodology

1.1 Research Objectives and Background of the Study:

The project has aimed on finding out answers to the following questions: Are migrants from rural areas tending to sell or buy land with the remittance money they earn abroad? The study wants to find out whether there is empirical basis for this assertion. Who is carrying out the farming labor in communities with large number of out-migration and under what conditions? The study wants to find out the extent by which this is happening. From the basis of having a greater output of migrants from the Philippines, is there a difference in the structural changes in land access and agricultural production in the Philippines as compared with those in Indonesia given the different history and context?

Both countries have undergone rapid urbanization, industrialization and agrarian change in the recent decades (Hill 2002). Governments in both countries have been involved in promoting the overseas migration of low-wage workers, predominantly women and primarily originating in rural areas, to earn foreign exchange as domestic workers, nurses, childcare workers, and elder care aids in higher income countries (Parnasl 2005; Silvey 2004). The Philippines became involved in labor export a decade earlier than Indonesia's formal promotion of overseas labor migration. As such, the rates of out-migration from the Philippines remain much higher than those of Indonesia and the amount of remittances back to the Philippines are higher than those being sent back to Indonesia (Huang et al. 2005).

The collaborative research develops understanding of place-specific uses of remittances earned through transnational migration, and place-specific understanding of the patterns and effects of out-migration. The empirical research focuses on transnational migration as it is linked to rural livelihood transitions and land tenure and land use change aims to provide a grounded examination of specific resources and practices that low-income people deploy in order to survive. It aims to understand how out-migration of workers and their corresponding remittances affect rural inequalities and livelihood changes. It analyzes the social context, historic and geographic specificities of these processes to reveal threads differences, commonalities, and linkages between processes in Indonesia and the Philippines which can contribute to a broader understanding of the dynamics relevant to the region as a whole.

1.2 Research Methodology

To answer these questions and study these processes, a research team was formed by the AKATIGA Center in April 2009. It combined participating researchers from Indonesia and the Philippines to embark on a collaborative research. An initial four-day planning was undertaken in Bandung, Indonesia in May 2009. The research design, theoretical framework and some of the contexts were discussed and finalized. It was agreed to form a research team for each country. During the meeting in Bandung, some of the differences in contextual conditions between the two countries were taken into account, such as labor conditions, regional characteristics and ways of supporting labor migration flows.

The teams from Indonesia and the Philippines applied a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Simple survey was conducted to gather some demographic data on the migrant households in the selected village of each respective country. It gathered

information on the migration patterns, countries of destination, types of job and employment, ways of sending remittances, uses of remittances, and land tenure and land ownership structures that prevail in the study areas. In-depth interviews (individual and group) and field observations were used to gather data and information that will help trace and configure the rural transformations that took place in the last 10 years. Specific interest and attention were focused on understanding the overseas migrants' reasons to work abroad, change their livelihood systems. They were investigated using local understanding and interpretation of international migration, poverty, family relationships and changing agricultural production activities that relate to overseas migration and other factors.

1.2.a *The Indonesian Case Study:*

Preliminary fieldwork was carried out by the Indonesia research team in June-July of 2009. Additional fieldwork was carried out in August-October of 2009. The study village is located in Subang Regency. It is located approximately 60 km from the capital city of Jakarta. Subang is one of Indonesia's main sending areas of migrant workers, particularly women. Subang is one of the main rice production areas in West Java. However, Subang Regency is experiencing rapid rates of agricultural land conversion into urban uses. A big proportion of urbanization and economic development in the Java Island take place along the northern part where Subang is located.

Subang Regency is located closed to the North Java Sea and dominated by agricultural (farming, fishery and plantation), which has been existed since the colonial era. Its land area is 2,051 km². It has a population of 1,442,028 in year 2007 (BPS Indonesia 2008, BPS Jawa Barat 2008, BPS Kabupaten Subang 2008), with annual growth rate of 0.76%. The village study (North Subang) is located in the said regency. Its land is 6,030 sqm, with a total population of 4,132 (Data Potensi Desa, 2008). The average population growth is (1.06%), below the Indonesian population growth rate (%). Most of the population engage in agriculture and agriculture-related activities. Approximately, 47.08% of the total farmers are land owners, while the rest are landless (BPS Kabupaten Subang 2008).

The survey that was undertaken in North Subang covered 50 respondents. They were selected based on the following set of criteria:

- a. The household must have one or more (ex) migrant workers who have worked, or are working, abroad for a minimum period of two years. If they do not meet this criterion, they should have been employed abroad for at least two times. It is assumed that migrant workers who have spent at least two years abroad or who have been contracted for at least two times were able to relieve themselves of loans and salary deduction for paying up the placement fees. It has been established that in the study village, the longest period that was established for salary deduction is 18 months for those who are working in Taiwan.
- b. The (ex) migrant workers or the family currently live in the village and should be able to answer the questions that pertain to the process of migration, past experiences of working abroad, use of remittances, and the changing patterns of land tenure, agricultural production and livelihoods in selected rural area.

- c. The migrant households should be involved in agricultural production either as land holder, land tiller, or agricultural laborer.

However, households of migrant workers which are not involved in agriculture, such as small peddlers or shop owners were also interviewed. The proportion of non-agricultural household in the village is estimated of 5%, while the rest are agricultural households. As estimated by the village officials, the 50 respondents that were interviewed represented about 70-80% of the active and ex-migrant worker households in the village. The remaining were not interviewed due to the unavailability of migrant workers or family members who can answer the questions. Others were not interviewed due to the unwillingness of ex-migrant workers to answer questions due to some traumatic events that they had experienced while working abroad and some could not recall their experiences anymore due to a number of reasons. Some agricultural laborers' households with no migrant workers were interviewed to confirm the conceptual understanding on the various topics among those who have no assets and could not participate in international migration. Information related to the life histories of migrant workers, histories of international migration, agrarian transformations in the last 10 years, family relationships, factors affecting international migrant workers, changing pattern of livelihood, agricultural production, land ownership and land tenure, factors affecting the use of remittances were gathered in the village. Elaborations on the meaning of agrarian change, agricultural varieties that are being cultivated, existing agricultural wages, uses of labor in different stages of agricultural production, government interventions, land prices, and other external factors affecting agricultural production were also made.

1.2b The Philippine Case Study:

The town of Pakil is 114 kilometers away from Metro Manila. Pakil is a municipality in the rapidly urbanizing province of Laguna. The town, with hectares of rice lands that are converted to residential and commercial land uses, has 13 barangays. Casinsin is a mountainous barangay or village which is located on the shores of Laguna Lake. It has a total population of 1,419, consisting of 795 females and 624 males. Its land area is 418 hectares. Many residents in Barangay Casinsin are migrant small-scale farmers who were hired as tenants by landowners who reside in the town proper of Pakil, Laguna. They are engaged in the production of crops and vegetables, such as rice, ginger, apples, mustard, pechay, mangoes, pineapples and bananas. The farmer-tenants divide the earnings from agricultural activities to the landowners. Fourteen of the respondents are household heads. Ten of the respondents are women. Twelve respondents live in Sitio Maulawin in Barangay Casinsin. Many tenants who were able to buy agricultural lots from the original landowners convert some of the rice fields into fruit farms/orchard and as their residential lots. The 24 respondents in the study are households with OFWs and migrants who are engaged in agriculture. They are representative of the members of the community of Barangay Casinsin. Many tenants who were able to buy agricultural lots from the original landowners convert some of the rice fields into fruit farms/orchard and as their residential lots. They were able to build their concrete houses on their newly-acquired lands. The sample of migrant population represents the composition of the population in the study site.

The Philippine research team did an ocular visit in Barangay Casinsin of Pakil, Laguna on the first week of June in 2009. Barangay maps and basic demographic information were

gathered during the visit. Pre-fieldwork interviews with barangay officials and residents of Barangay Casinsin, as well as undertaking a review of related literature were utilized to develop the field interview questionnaire and the interview schedule. The Philippine team conducted preliminary household interviews and key informant interviews after the completion of the survey and interview instruments for pre-testing. The key informants who were interviewed for the study include the barangay captain who lends money to those who want to go abroad and other members of the barangay council. A trainer for the pipe-fitting job was also interviewed. They surveyed and interviewed 24 household heads and members. The team stayed in the study area during weekends from July to October of 2009.

CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION IN INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES

II. 1 Indonesia

II. 1a Policy on international migration

An Indonesian migrant worker (IMWs) is locally known as Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (TKI) or Tenaga Kerja Wanita (TKW) for a female migrant. International labor migration from Indonesia started in the mid-1980s. It was initiated by the national government of Indonesia to overcome its high unemployment rate due to a national economic crisis that impacted the country at the time. Sending migrant labor overseas was perceived as a way out to eliminate unemployment due to the government's failure to provide job opportunities for its constituents. To legalize this practice, the government came up with a national development policy which was contained in the Sixth Five-year National Development Plan (Repelita VI). This was to be implemented for the period 1994-1998. The Plan elaborated on the export of migrant workers to other places as a country strategy to boost the growth of the national economy. It was aimed particularly to reduce the high unemployment rate and earn foreign exchange from the remittances that the migrant workers will send to their families in Indonesia. The main destinations were countries in Southeast Asia and Southwest Asia (the Middle-East), which were experiencing high economic growth but lacked a steady supply of low-waged laborers. In 1991, the Indonesian government had an agreement with the governments of Hong Kong about sending labor migrants which was always subject to revision depending on the existing situations in the respective countries. Since 1994, the destination countries for Indonesian workers became more varied. They now include Brunei Darussalam, the Republic of Korea (South Korea), Taiwan, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Yordania and United Arab Emirates (Siagian 1996 in Tjiptoherijanto 1997, BNP2TKI 2009). In 2004 the government of Indonesia enacted Law number 39 which formally guides the processes that are associated with sending of migrant workers abroad.

II.1b Characteristics of IMWs

Majority of the Indonesian migrant workers work as domestic workers, plantation labors and factory workers; they are all classified as low-wage workers (Tjiptoherijanto 1997). In the early 1990s, the number of IMWs had rapidly increased, particularly to meet the demands of domestic workers in Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong and countries in Southwest Asia or the Middle-East. In 2006, the World Bank study estimated that the total number of IMWs was 4.3 million, and half of it was undocumented (World Bank 2008).

Table 2.1
Number of IMWs during 1983-2007

Year	Number of IMWs		Total
	Male	Female	
1983	15.676	11.995	27.671
1984	15.897	20.161	36.058
1985	15.756	39.720	55.476
1986	6.390	22.805	29.195
1987	14.482	42.833	57.315
1988	13.264	48.487	61.751
1989	16.143	52.799	68.942
1990	34.699	58.782	93.481
1991	41.368	76.837	118.205
1992	51.608	107.142	158.750
1993	n.a	n.a	n.a
1994	42.833	132.354	175.187
1995	39.102	81.784	120.886
1996	228.337	288.832	517.169
1997	39.309	195.944	235.253
1998	90.452	321.157	411.609
1999	124.828	302.791	427.619
2000	137.949	297.273	435.222
2001	55.206	239.942	295.148
2002	116.779	363.614	480.393
2003	80.041	213.824	293.865
2004	84.075	296.615	380.690
2005	149.265	325.045	474.310
2006	138.000	542.000	680.000
2007	152.887	543.859	696.746

Source: data on 1983-1992 (Siagian 1996 in Tjiptoherijanto 1997), data on 1994-2007 (National Agency for Placement and Protection of IMWs or BNP2TKI 2008)

The number of female IMWs has increased since 1985 (Siagian 1996 in Tjiptoherijanto 1997) in conjunction with the issuance of government policy to legalize and facilitate international labor migration. West Java Province is the leading region in sending labor migrants overseas; this is followed by the Central Java, East Java, as well as the West and East Nusa Tenggara, South Sulawesi and Lampung (World Bank 2008). According to the some non-government organizations (NGOs), which work for the welfare of labor migrants¹, there is a set of general characteristics of migrant workers in relation to areas of origin, educational background, socio-economic status, age and in relation to agricultural production activities in

¹ e.g. Serikat Buruh Migran Indonesia (Indonesian IMWs Association), Migrant Care

their home province, and their destination countries. West Java Province tends to send low educated migrants to work as domestic helpers in Southwest Asia or to Middle-East countries. Most of the migrant labors from East Java Province tend to work in East Asian countries, such as Hong Kong, South Korea, and Taiwan, where they work as factory workers and domestic laborers. IMWs from Nusa Tenggara Province tend to work in Malaysia as construction and plantation laborers. Many of the laborers are undocumented. The age of IMWs ranges from 18-35 years of age. More or less, 68-72% are females who work in the domestic and industrial sectors. About 30% are male migrant workers who are employed in the plantation, construction, transportation and service sectors.

II.1c Placement Procedures

The BNP2TKI is the government agency which was established to facilitate the placement and protection of the IMWs. Law no. 39, which was promulgated in 2004, states that the function of BNP2TKI is to implement the government policies on the placement and protection of IMWs. The tasks of BNP2TKI are to (i) ensure the placement of IMWs in the destination countries based on the agreement between the governments of Indonesia and destination countries; (ii) provide services, coordinate and control documents, undertake pre-departure training, solve problems, provide money to cover the costs that are incurred in the whole process (from placement to repatriation), process the procedures of placement until repatriation, improve the quality of services that can be provided by IMWs', disseminate clear information, implement the placement procedures, as well as facilitate the improvement of the living standard of the IMWs and their family (Naekma and Pageh 2009²).

Almost all migrant labors use an employer agency to assist them in finding a job and facilitating the completion of necessary documents. The government has officially assigned the private sectors to act as government representatives in facilitating the placement of migrant labors. It is called the Pelaksana Penempatan TKI Swasta (PPTKIS), or the Indonesian Recruitment, Employment and Manpower Agency. In 2007, the BNP2TKI recorded 499 PPTKIS that operate in various regions of the country; many of them are stationed in Jakarta (BNP2TKI 2008).

There are two types of recruitment staff members in the PPTKIS - the internal staff members and the local brokers and sponsors. Internal staff members are assigned to disseminate information on job vacancies to local brokers and sponsors. They select IMW applicants, facilitate medical check-up of IMW applicants, and inform the selection results of the IMWs through the local brokers. Local brokers are known as local sponsors and are based within the community. They normally do not work for one specific PPTKIS. The relationship between local sponsors and PPTKIS is informal. PPTKIS will pay the local sponsors for services rendered based on the number of applicants who were sent abroad. According to personal communication with some local sponsors in 2009, it is only when the IMWs have arrived in the destination country when the local sponsors could claim the fees from the PPTKIS.

Local sponsors usually convince the people to work overseas by showing them the wage rates, period of contracts, work types, labor conditions in the destination country, and the costs that are incurred in the placement process. They usually lend some money for placement fees

² See BNP2TKI website www.bnp2tki.go.id

with varying interest rates. Local sponsors commonly take the initiative to arrange for passport application, medical check-up, job contract, visa application and the pre-departure training which is provided by the PPTKIS. The applicants are requested to provide their citizenship cards, birth certificates, marriage certificates, photos, and permit letters that were signed by the spouses or parents of applicants. All transportation and communication costs that are incurred in the process of getting the documents are borne by the local sponsors. These expenses will be charged to the applicants as placement fees. It is common for applicants to have no exact knowledge on the costs of placement fees that they will pay the local sponsors back.

II.1d Wage and Remittance

Wage rates vary depending on the destination country, gender of the worker and the legality of documents. The wage rate for female domestic helpers in Saudi Arabia is fixed at 600 riyals during the period of 1985-2008. It recently increased to 800 riyals in 2009. In comparison, male Indonesian domestic workers (such as drivers, gardeners) in Saudi Arabia are paid higher – that is, between 800-1000 riyals. The wage rate for domestic helpers (specifically those who are providing care for the elderly and children) in Taiwan is the same as the salary of factory workers - that is, NT 15,840. The amount does not include over time pay, bonuses and salary deductions for 12-18 months of 30-60% salary³.

Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan offer higher rates of salary than other countries. They are complemented by some support for accommodation and medical/accident insurance, with more freedom to wear their traditional clothes, other social security needs, communicate with other migrant workers and visit other places. Due to these reasons, many IMWs prefer to work in these countries. However, these countries only receive semi-skilled and skilled workers, which is not a reflection of the majority of IMWs.

Agencies such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Organization on Migration (IOM) stated that the in-flow of remittances to Indonesia has increased over the years. The World Bank recorded that in 2006, the total amount of remittances to Indonesia was estimated at USD 5.6 billion recording an increase from USD 1.9 billion in 2005. The World Bank also estimated that 45% of the total earnings of IMWs were sent as remittances to their origin areas (World Bank 2008: 11). As estimated by Bank of Indonesia, only 18% of the total remittances transmitted through banks (BI, 2008). As recorded by the BNP2TKI, the total amount of remittances that was sent to Indonesia is shown in the table below.

³ Based on the documents released by PPTKIS, which reflects the real wages received by IMWs

Table 2.2
Flows of Remittances in 2003-2008

Years	Amount (x USD 1 billion)
2003	1,67
2004	1,88
2005	2,93
2006	3,42
2007	5,84
2008*	2,23

*Source: BNP2TKI, 2009; *data as of April 2008*

On the other side, to these institutions and also government (see BNP2TKI 2009⁴) perspectives, the big flow of remittances has not been utilized properly by the IMWs and their family. Most proportion of remittances has been used up for purchasing goods and building houses, and less was spent for investment. Some research also confirmed this issue. The advocacy groups (NGOs and migrant workers associations) also have similar view.

II.2 - The Philippines

II.2a Migration history in the Philippines:

The Philippines has been one of the countries sending professionals, workers and laborers to be employed abroad. Migration history in the Philippines can be traced back as far as the 1565 when Filipino seafarers brought merchandise to various places when they plied the Manila-Acapulco trade route (Samonte, Maceda, Cabilao, Castillo and Zulueta, 1995: 2). Filipino seafarers in 1763 who settled in Louisiana in 1763 and the educated Filipinos who went to Europe to escape the Spanish Colonial Government's political persecution, were the second wave of unorganized recorded overseas migration. There were also Filipinos who studied in American universities as scholars during the Philippines' Commonwealth Government (Holmvall, 2006). The bringing in of Filipino agricultural workers in Hawaii in 1906 who later on moved into the US mainland to work as hotel employees, sawmill, canneries, and railway construction workers was the third wave of overseas migration and was also considered as the first wave of recorded organized overseas migration.

The second wave of organized migration was after the Second World War when the Filipina brides of the US soldiers, Filipino scholars who studied in US universities and families of Filipino soldiers who served in the US Armed Forces migrated to the USA. In the 1960s, Canada, the USA, Australia and Europe reduced their restrictions to Asian immigration. In the 1970s to the 1990s, the third wave of organized migration took place when the country, troubled by a high unemployment rate among the professionals which ranged from 11.8 % to 12.7 % , sent thousands of skilled and semi-skilled workers in the fields of construction and engineering, health care, tourism, domestic and service jobs, and communications technology to the Middle

⁴ BNP2TKI, 29 December 2009, "Remitansi TKI NTB capai Rp 1 triliun per tahun" (Remittances sent back to West Nusa Tenggara reach Rp 1,000 billion per year)

East (which received 72 % of Filipino contract workers) (Samonte et al 1995) and other countries in east and Southeast Asia, such as in Japan, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan (Homvall, 2006: 9).

Table 2.3
Number of Filipino Migrant Workers in Various Years, 1975- 2007

Year	Number of migrant workers abroad
1975	36,035
1980	214,590
1985	372,784
1990	446,095
1995	653,574
2000	841,628
2005	988,615
2007	1,077,623

Source: POEA and Asis, M., 2008

On the first decade of the 21st century, there are more than 9 million Filipinos working in over 190 countries either on a permanent settler or immigrant basis, temporary overseas Filipino worker basis (OFWs) and undocumented or unauthorized workers. In the last two decades, there has been an increased feminization of overseas labour migration and importance of the foreign remittances sent by the OFWs on the stability of the Philippine economy (Iredale, Turpin, Hawksley, Go, Tangtrongpaioj and Yee: apmrn.anu.edu.au/publications/APMRN_pub_1.doc)

II.2b Policy on International Migration in the Philippines:

Many migrant workers are faced with problems pertaining to illegal recruitment, stigma that is associated with OFWs, deficient and defective documentation systems, lack of pre-departure orientation Particularly on cultural and social adaptation and inadequate assistance on dealing with employment and settlement arrangements abroad. Thousands of migrant workers who were victims of abuse, crimes and violence faced an utter lack of funds for legal assistance, unavailability of crisis centers and consular support. They were also faced with lack of reintegration support socio-culturally and economically. These problems prompted the Philippine Government to come up with laws and provision to protect their welfare.

Migration policies in the Philippines are enacted by the legislative and executive branches of the government. The Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995, or Republic Act 8042, governs both temporary and permanent international migration. It aims to protect the migrant workers and their families abroad. The implementing rules and regulations of Republic Act 8042 were formulated by the Department of Labour and Employment (DOLE), the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) and the Overseas Workers' Welfare Administration (OWWA) for temporary migrants. The Department of Foreign Affairs-attached Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO) handles the permanent migrants) (Samonte et al 1995, 9).

II.2c Characteristics of Overseas Filipino Workers:

From the 1970s onwards, most of the migrant workers consisted of previously employed and unemployed college-educated professionals. Most of the Filipino migrants are proficient in the English language. Many are technically skilled and some are semi-skilled workers in the infrastructure, health, business, sea-faring and service sectors. They were predominantly males in the 1970s. From 1981 to 2006, females have dominated the permanent migration patterns. Women accounted for 51 % of the total migrant workers in 1993 and 95 % of the migrant workers who are working in vulnerable conditions are female migrant workers. The increased unemployment in the Philippines has made females work more to contribute to the economic needs of Filipino households. In the past two decades, there were increasing numbers of Filipino fiancées marrying foreign nationals in the United States, Japan, Australia, Germany, Canada and other countries (Samonte et al, 1995). In the year 2007, the gender balance was about 50-50 (Asis, 2008). As a whole, the older migrants are often married with children while the younger migrants tend to be single. They send large amounts of remittances to the Philippines. As of the present time, about 3000 Filipino migrant workers with different educational and skills background leave to work abroad on a daily basis and the range of occupations vary from those who provide domestic services to those who are highly skilled, such as engineers and nurses and those who offer a field of specialization such as surgeons and topnotch musicians (Asis, 2008).

II.2d Placement Procedures:

In permanent migration, the DFA processes the documents that are necessary for the issuance of visa for whether for working or settling down purposes. The migrants get their visas from the embassies of the country destinations and stay there permanently or for a very long period of time. Many permanent migrants have familial support in their countries of destination. The permanent migrants usually change their citizenship. The usual destination countries are the United States of America, Canada, Australia, Japan and other more economically developed countries.

For temporary migration, the migrant workers either get their working contracts directly from the companies based from other countries or they get them through employment agencies. The OFWs stay in the country where they work for a shorter period of time, without changing their citizenship, and they return to the Philippines. In both cases, the migrants spend a lot of money in the processing of documents that are necessary for passport issuance, visa processing and other requirements. The expenses that are associated with the processing of the documents vary according to whether they are the ones directly working on them or they have relegated the responsibility of attending to every step of the process to professional travel and employment consultants. Among many OFWs, the contracting employment agencies often shoulder the preliminary costs of processing the documents under a signed agreement that the workers will pay the costs through salary deduction. Oftentimes, the OFWs are charged varying amounts of placement fees, which served as the commission of people who facilitate the placement of employment and are sometimes called fixers or travel consultants. The usual destination countries are countries in the southwest Asia (or Middle-east countries (such as Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Kuwait, et al), East Asian countries (such as Hong Kong, Taiwan,

South Korea, Japan and China), and European countries (such as Italy, the United Kingdom, Germany et al).

The DOLE, POEA, OWWA, DFA-CFO and other agencies work together to provide the necessary services for the migrant Filipinos in the different stages of the migration cycle. For pre-departure services they regulate the recruitment and manning agencies. They also undertake information campaign on a national basis to counter illegal recruitment in the communities which are sending migrant workers. They enforce the laws and policies against illegal recruitment and undertake pre-departure registration and orientation seminars for departing contract workers and emigrants. They facilitate guidance and counseling services for the partners and family members of migrant workers and foreign nationals in collaboration with the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). They share information with other agencies on the realities of migration and other related concerns.

The DOLE, POEA, OWWA and the DFA-CFO also provide some on-site services for the Filipino migrants. They provide legal and welfare assistance to overseas workers who are caught up in some labor-related and other international migration concerns. They conduct on-site visitation to check the working conditions of the migrants. They mobilize and maintain support network for Filipino migrant groups and undertake post-arrival orientation among Filipino migrants. The OWWA has set up Filipino Development Centers in Southwest Asia (Middle East countries), Asia and Europe while the embassies establish Philippine community schools in some countries. However, there are many coordination problems which exist between the DOLE and DFA due to the differences in their mandated agency concerns.

There are also some reintegration programs that are being undertaken among returning Filipino migrants that pertains to the following concerns: socio-cultural needs, skills upgrading, technology transfer, livelihood generation and entrepreneurship programs.

II.2e Wage and Remittance:

The salary of Filipino migrant workers varies widely. Domestic workers sometimes earn only about US \$ 200 while engineers who specialized in off-shore oil exploration earn about US \$ 10,000 a month. Domestic workers get the lowest salaries and are the ones most vulnerable to abuse and violence. In 2007, the Philippine government implemented some measures to protect domestic workers by building on their qualifications by requiring them to undergo some cultural and language training, increasing the monthly minimum wage to US \$400 and getting rid of the placement fee (Asis, 2008). This was received negatively by some employers and has deprived many women of employment opportunities. This has repercussions on the amount of remittances that are received by the family members of the domestic workers in the sending communities. Remittances and personal fund transfers from the Filipino participants in the global service industry have been the primary reason why the Philippine economy remains afloat in the past three decades (Aldaba and Opiniano, 2008).

Remittances in the Philippines are sent through the formal and informal channels. Banks or non-bank money transfer companies comprise the formal channels which process registered or regulated money transfers which are reported to the Central Bank of the Philippines while the

money transfer agencies which do not report their unregulated money transfers and transactions to government authorities comprise the informal channels. The migrant workers resort to informal channels due to their low transaction charges, and they offer swift money transfer activities in a tax-free and discreet fashion. This practice contributes to money laundering by some business companies which use this conduit to take money out of the country. People also rely on the *padala* system or asking fellow migrant workers to carry some cash for their family members in the Philippines. From 1975 to 2007, the amount of remittances sent to family members in the migrant worker sending communities has increased considerably as reflected in the following table.

Table 2.4
Remittances of Overseas Filipino Migrant Workers from 1975 to 2007

Year	Amount in US dollars
1975	103.00 million
1980	421.30 million
1985	687.20 million
1990	1,181.07 billion
1995	4,877.51 billion
2000	6,050.45 billion
2005	10,689.00 billion
2007	14,449.93 billion

Sources: BSP as cited in Asis (2008)

In 2007, the total amount of remittances that passed through the formal channels accounted for about 9.4 % of the Philippines' Gross National Product; It mounted to US \$ 14.4 billion. In 2005, the amount of remittances represented about 13.5 % of the country's GNP. The amount does not include yet the considerably large amount of remittances that were sent through the informal channels and the tons of goods that were brought home as coming-home gifts or *pasalubong* by the returning migrant workers. The 2007 figure is way above the Official Development Assistance that was received by the Philippines in that year, which amounted only to US \$ 1.25 billion.

The remittances provided disposable income to the members of the migrant workers' families, which are used to buy food, send members to school, get health services, pay utilities and enable more opportunities for improving communication and transportation services. The spending contributes to the vibrancy of the local economies. They also provide for the health and education needs of the receiving family members. They fund some investment ventures such as buying of real estate property, transport vehicle for commercial purposes and financing some commercial activities. They also provide some funding for payment of the services of local household help, thus passing on the benefits to other households. The remittances fund the

undertaking community improvement and charitable activities. The highest sources of remittances are the following countries: the USA, Saudi Arabia, Italy, Japan (BSP 2006, c.f. Asis 2008).

CHAPTER III

PRESENTATION OF MAJOR FINDINGS IN INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES

III.1 Profile of Migrant Households

a. Number of informants

Fifty (50) households in an Indonesian village were interviewed. They consist of households with family members who are either active migrant workers or ex-migrant workers. Twenty-four (24) households with members who are active migrant workers were interviewed in a Philippine village.

b. Household Size

The largest number of household members in Subang is 7. They comprise six per cent of the total. Eight per cent of the households have 6 members. Twenty per cent of the households have four members while 12 per cent have 5. Forty-six per cent of the households that were interviewed consist of 3 members while the remaining households comprise of households with one or two members. In the Philippines, the largest size of household members is five; they comprise 25 % of the total. Another 25 % comprise households with 4 members. Thirteen per cent of the total has three members and another 25 % have 2 members.

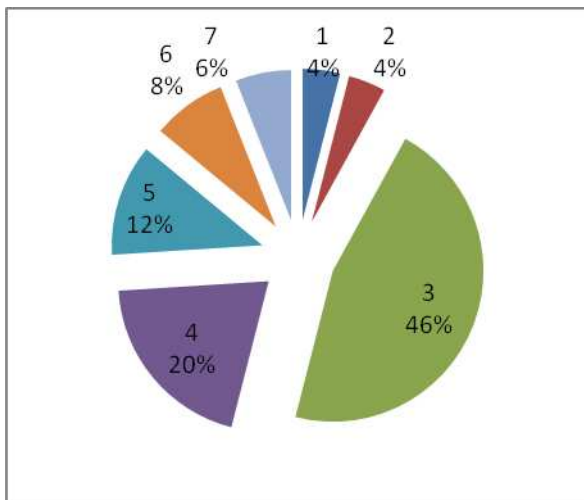


Figure 3.1.a Household Size (Indonesia)

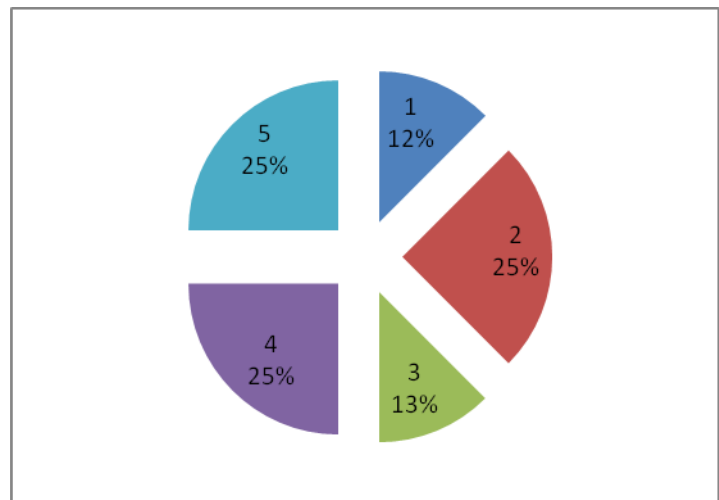


Figure 3.1.b Household Size (Philippines)

c. Number of Migrant Workers in the Household

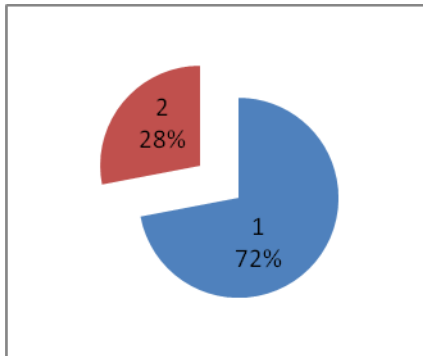


Figure 3.2.a Number of Migrant Workers in the Household (Indonesia)

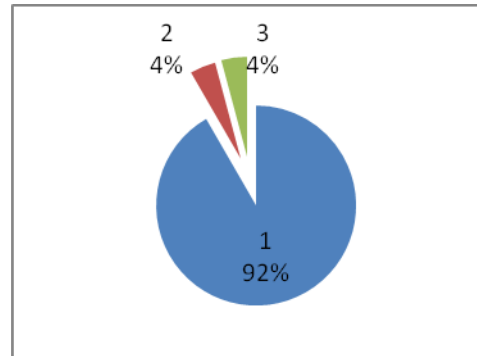


Figure 3.2.b Number of Migrant Workers in the Household (Philippines)

Survey results show that in both countries, most of the migrant households have one member working abroad. This variously covers male household heads, wives, daughters and sons. In North Subang village, the majority of the young female migrant workers have not yet married at the first time working abroad. Interview results in the Philippines have revealed that 50% of the respondents do not want their children to work as overseas migrant workers. In Indonesia, two (2) % of the total number of respondents expressed the same concern.

III.2 Livelihood of Migrant Households

The main occupation of the majority of the migrant households' members in Indonesia and the Philippines is farming. Similarly, 64% (in Indonesia) and 41.7% (in the Philippines) of the total respondents are engaged in agricultural activities. Rice is the main crop that is being cultivated in the village of Subang in Indonesia. In Barangay Casinsin in Pakil, Laguna, the Filipino farmers grow rice, vegetables and fruit trees.

Members of households in the Philippines combine agricultural farming and one or two of the following activities: fishing (about 4.2% of the respondents), serving as hired laborers (8.4%), driving for commercial purposes (8.4%), sewing (4.2%), and trading (8.4%). In Indonesia, agricultural farming is combined with activities such as: raising cattle or poultry (8%), operating a small business (10%), serving as school teacher (2%), and renting and driving a motorcycle (2%). Undertaking of other secondary occupations is mostly done in places within the two villages and in the surrounding areas. They contribute to the increasing frequency of visits to the nearest towns of members of households who were interviewed.

A number of former migrant workers in both countries become officials in their villages. For example, a male Indonesian migrant labor who was a former school teacher left his low-paying job to be employed as a factory worker in Taiwan. His salary in Taiwan was 20 times higher than his former salary as a village teacher in Indonesia. Upon his return to Subang after working for three years in Taiwan, he was appointed as an official or community leader in his village. However, not everyone who has returned to Subang ended up with a happy ending. Two Indonesian male laborers who returned from Brunei Darussalam were not able to renew their contract after working there for eight years; they are now jobless. Their spouses now work in Saudi Arabia as domestic helpers. Their children are attending an Islamic boarding school in

a nearby municipality. One person in the Philippines has met a similar case. The table below shows the composition of the main occupations in the two study villages.

Table 3.1

Main Occupations in the Study Villages in Indonesia and the Philippines

Indonesia	% of Total HH	Philippines	% of Total HH
Agricultural sharecroppers and leaseholders	28	Farmer	41.7
Farm labor	24	Housewife	8.3
Farm landowner	12	Village official (<i>barangay</i> kagawad) and farmer	4.2
Small business	10	Farmer and fishermen	4.2
Cattle/poultry	10	Laborer	4.2
No job in origin village (pure overseas migrant household)	8	Pipe fitter	4.2
School teacher	4	Domestic helper and farmer	4.2
Housewife	2	No permanent job in the village	4.2
Village official	2	Driver and farmer	4.2
Motor rental driver	2	Plantation and store	4.2
Overseas migrant recruiter (local)	2	Part time coop driver	4.2
		Seamstress	4.2
		Small trader (shop)	4.2

Source: fieldwork, 2009

In Barangay Casinsin many female respondents were former domestic helpers while the male respondents worked as pipe-fitters. The domestic helpers used to be employed in European countries such as Italy and Germany. The pipefitters worked in countries such as Angola and Qatar. Other migrants worked as seafarers or held clerical work. When in the village, the respondents work as farmers, fishermen, laborers, store owners, drivers and housewives. Aside from the remittances, the respondents cited that their earnings from farms and vegetable gardens are their other sources of income.

As mentioned earlier, farmers in North Subang (Indonesia) mainly grow rice. They grow fruits for family consumption only. Often, the market price of many fruits does not entice them to do fruit-farming even on a small scale basis. Vegetables are rarely grown because the soil in Subang is unfertile and not suitable for cultivating vegetables. Vegetables for home consumption are purchased from traders in the local markets. Among the Filipino migrant households, farmers grow rice in combination with cassava, fruits and vegetables. They plant mahogany trees, too. One similar condition in the two countries is the incomes that are derived from agriculture are not sufficient to meet their everyday and other development needs. Thus, many households are forced to send members of their households to work overseas.

In North Subang, the average net income of a farm laborer is IDR 400,000 per month. The minimum amount of expenses that a household with two adults and one child of schooling age incur is IDR 1,100,000 per month. The net income for a sharecropper is IDR 700,000-2,000,000 per harvest season (6 months). The net income of a land-leasing farmer and a small-scale landowner is about IDR 8,000,000-10,000,000 per harvest season (6 months). The agricultural laborers are considered as the most vulnerable group as farm work opportunities are not always readily available. If the landowners, sharecroppers or leaseholders decide to use the labor of their family members for cultivation instead of hiring casual laborers, the members of the households lose the opportunity to earn some income. The wage that a casual farm labor receives, without any provision of food and drink from the landowners, is IDR 40,000/day. Ten years ago, the wage given to them was IDR 30,000-40,000 and this did not include the amount spent by the landowners for providing the laborers with food and drink. In the harvest season, local farm laborers compete with the seasonal farm laborers who were brought to North Subang from other regions by enterprising middlemen.

In Barangay Casinsin, 20.8% of the respondents derive their income from rice cultivation. The rice harvest averages from 18 to 85 *cavans* of un-milled rice. The farmers have a profit range of PhP 8000 to PhP 15,000 per year. About 25% of the respondents rely solely on cultivating vegetable gardens. The income from vegetable gardens averages from PhP 5000 to PhP 48,000 per year. About 12.5% of the respondents rely on cultivating their rice field, vegetable garden and fruit orchard. An additional income, which ranges from PhP 1000 to PhP 10,000, can be derived from fruit farming. About 16.7% of the respondents have vegetable gardens and rice fields, and 2.5% of the respondents have rice fields and fruit orchards. The rest (12.6%) of the respondents have fruit orchards, vegetable garden, and mahogany plantations as sources of income and livelihood. Many respondents are also involved in fishing activities in Laguna Lake; this is especially relevant in the cases of four respondents who have their own small fishing boats. The incomes of the respondents range from PhP 5,000.00 to PhP 60,000.00 per month. Many households regularly receive remittances from abroad.

While the Filipino migrants are not working overseas, they work either as a factory worker, tricycle driver, student, barangay councilor, daycare teacher, vegetable dealer, computer technician, or an aluminum fabricator. The difference between their salary in the Philippines and abroad is about 500 per cent. The amounts of remittances that are sent vary from PhP 4,000 to PhP 60,000 depending on the kind of job and whether the workers are still paying for the fees that are asked for by the job placement agencies. They are directly sent to the members of the families, especially in the case of seafarers which receive about 80 % of their wages. The wages sent from abroad are used to pay loans, undertaking house and land improvements, provide for the food, shelter and educational needs of the family members.

The reasons for migrating abroad include the following: financial needs, poverty alleviation, and better life opportunities. Some migrants are enticed to work abroad because they already have relatives there and they greatly help in facilitating the move. In the case of the pipe-fitters, there are recruitment agencies who facilitate the job placement. These placement agencies also provide the necessary 2-3 weeks training in Bulacan on pipe-fitting.

III.3 Profile of Overseas Migrant Workers

a. Sex

Twenty-five per cent of the respondents from the Indonesian village are males and the rest are females. In the Philippine case, 53% are females and the rest are males. Some of the respondents are either heads of households, or mothers or wives of the migrant workers.

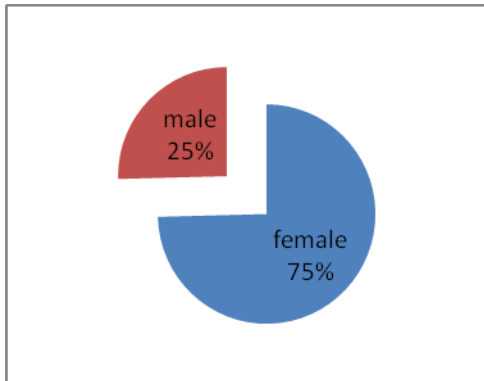


Figure 3.3.a Sex Composition of Indonesian Migrant Workers

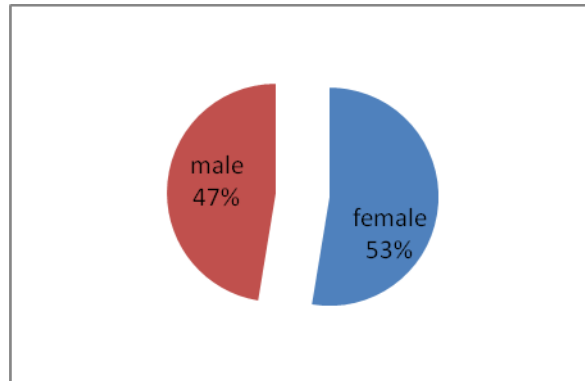


Figure 3.3.b Sex Composition of Filipino Migrant Workers

b. Age of Migrant Workers

Eight of the OFW respondents were born in Casinsin while 18 migrated from other municipalities or provinces. The migrants' ages in Barangay Casinsin range from 20-55 years old. Indonesian migrants work as early as younger than 15 years of age. Twenty-two per cent start to work when they were 15-20 years of age, and so on. The Indonesian migrant workers do not work subsequently in foreign countries. They normally finish a two-year contract and then return back to the origin village to get married and have children before working again for another two years. In some instances, one takes a temporary leave for one month to three months and then go back to work again with the same employer; but this arrangement rarely happens.

Table 3.2**Age of IMWs at First Time Working Abroad**

Age of First Time Working Abroad	Number of Household	% of Total Household
<15	4	8
15-20	11	22
21-30	24	24
31-40	3	6
Not remember	20	40
TOTAL	50	100

Source: fieldwork, 2009

Table 3.3**Age of OFWs**

Migrant Age	Number of Migrant	% of Total Migrant
20s	11	41
30s	8	30
40s	2	7
Not remember	6	22
TOTAL	26	100

Source: fieldwork, 2009

c. Highest education attainment

Table 3.4

Highest Education Attainment of Migrant Workers

Educational Level	% of Total IMWs	% of Total OFWs
Elementary school	64.3	45.8
Junior high school	25.00	29.2
High School	10.7	25.0
College	-	
TOTAL	100	100

Source: fieldwork, 2009

The respondents' educational attainments are as follows: 11 respondents finished elementary education, seven had high school education, and six respondents had basic college training. It is common for the OFWs to work subsequently for several years in foreign countries. None of the migrant workers interviewed in Subang did college education; 64 % did not go to college and high school but they finished elementary education.

III.4 Migration Patterns and Characteristics -Type of work in the Destination Country

In Barangay Casinsin at Pakil, Laguna, Philippines, the labor migrants are mostly domestic helpers and pipe fitters. Others work as seaman, service crew, or hold office work. Domestic helpers are mostly females and pipe fitters are all males. Many migrants are household heads (male migrants) or children of family heads (female migrants). Among the pipe fitters, their contracts usually last for six (6) months to one year. After the completion of the contract, the labor migrant usually goes back to the Philippines, stays in the home country for three (3) months then waits to be assigned for another contract with the same job. Some continue to work as pipe fitters; others are promoted as foremen, and thus, get higher salaries. For domestic helpers, they usually have two to three years contract. Most of them have family or relatives already in the host country who help them find work. Most of them have brought their families along with them, for a visit or for permanent residency.

Domestic helper is the major job filled by Indonesian female migrants. This job does not need high educational attainment as well as technical skills.

Table 3.5

Type of Work in the Destination Country

Type of Work	% of Total IMWs	% of Total OFWs
Domestic helper, eldercare worker, childcare worker	78	45.8
Pipe fitter	-	45.8
Seaman, service crew, hold office work	-	8.4
Factory worker (manufacturing)	8	-
Plantation labor	6	-
Restaurant worker (waiter, cleaning service)	4	-
Fishing pond labor	2	-
Small business labor	2	-
TOTAL	100	100

Source: fieldwork, 2009

III.5 Destination Country

Most female OFWs in Barangay Casinsin work in European countries (particularly in Italy and Germany), while the men work in Middle East countries and in Angola. Many labor migrants transfer to another country destination after one contract. For example, after a contract in Russia the labor migrant will be assigned in Libya or Qatar, with the same job - as a pipe fitter. Based on the interview, the destination country of an OFW is determined partly by the presence of family, friends or relatives who have been working or staying there. They help find employment opportunities and facilitate the job placement and arrival of the OFW in the destination countries.

Among the IMWs, their mobility is mostly facilitated by private companies which serve as manpower recruiters. Although the national government posts a list of job opportunities in a nationally-maintained website, this set of information seldom reaches the local villagers. About 62% of the IMWs work in Middle East countries as female domestic helpers and male drivers.

The destination countries are Saudi Arabia, Quwait, Syria, Abu Dhabi and Lebanon; 32% of IMWs in Subang village work in Southeast Asian countries, such as in Malaysia and Brunei Darusssalam. They are employed mostly as plantation laborers, restaurant workers and construction workers. Those who had been to Malaysia were mostly undocumented workers and had unpleasant experiences during their stay there, such as being arrested by the police, forced to stay overnight in the forest, and made to change jobs often according to the whims of the employers.

Fifteen per cent of the IMWs work in East Asian countries, such as in South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong, as manufacturing or factory laborers and caregivers for the elderly population. These countries do not recruit many domestic helpers as well as childcare workers from Indonesia; they prefer Filipinos who often have higher fluency in English. The OFWs also posses the technical capabilities to use modern home appliances. As mentioned by local recruiters in Subang, religion also matters. The domestic workers are usually asked to cook meat dishes for the family, and this includes pork. Pork is prohibited among Moslem believers while pork is commonly consumed among members of East Asian families.

In the Indonesian village, it is common for members of the same household to work in different countries for different types of job. Living separately with their families for about two years is common in Subang; husband and wife are often placed in two different countries or in different cities if they are stationed in the same country.

III.6 Length of Work in Destination Country

The earliest noted departure of labor migrants from Barangay Casinsin was on 1975 and the latest departure was on February 2009. Most recorded departures for overseas work were from 2000 to 2007. A key informant noted that the departures peaked in 2000. Another informant noted a decrease in the number of departures in 2008.

In North Subang, the earliest noted departure was dated in 1987 when three female workers went to Saudi Arabia as domestic helpers. Following the national economic crisis in 1997/1998, the number of overseas migrant had rapidly increased. Twenty-six per cent% of the households which were interviewed had members who went abroad in the period 1998-2000.

Most of the OFWs had worked for consecutive years in several instances in the destination countries and some of them had brought their family there, most particularly in Italy. The shortest length of stay for the IMWs in a country was for a period of less than two years (2%). Many IMWs had worked abroad for a period ranging from 3-19 years (68%). Ten per cent of the IMWs had worked abroad for more than 10 years. The longest length of migration experience was for a period of 19 years, wherein an Indonesian male worker was employed as a fishing pond laborer, an excavator and an animal hunter in Malaysia. The shortest length of migration period was recorded at 7 months - wherein a female worker who was about forty years old worked as domestic helper. She was sent back home by her employer because she suffered from an illness.

III.7 Reasons for Migrating Abroad

There are many similarities between the OFWs and IMWs on their reasons for migration. They include poverty (insufficient income from agriculture and other combined source of income) and willingness to gain work experience. They also have international

connection; this is particularly true among the youth who were persuaded by their friends and relatives to work in the same destination countries. They also get an offer of a higher salary compared to what they get in the village or in other urban areas in the two countries.

The declining job opportunities in Indonesian and Philippine urban areas, particularly after and following the financial crisis in 1997/1998, persist. Many Indonesians were persuaded to work abroad by the local recruiters in the village. Others IMWs have cited some personal problems with their spouses as the primary reason for migration. In the Philippines, some additional reasons for migrating include an ambition among migrant workers to buy a car, the presence of relatives or friends in the destination countries, taking on the responsibility of supporting the need for subsistence and education of the younger members of the households, and the determination to have a job other than an agriculture-related work.

III.8 Wage Rates

The IMWs and OFWs have different wage rates for similar jobs and positions due to some differences on the negotiations that are being undertaken by the respective governments and private companies which are involved in the placement process. The following table shows the wage rates of Indonesian labor migrants.

Table 3.6
Wage Rates based on Type of Work and Country of Destination (IMWs)

Country	Type of work	Salary rate	Indonesian exchange rate (Rp)
Saudi Arabia	Domestic helpers (female)	600 riyals	Rp 1,200,000-1,500,000 (USD 159)
Saudi Arabia	Drivers, gardeners (male)	1,000 riyals	Rp 2,000,000-2,500,000 (USD 266)
Kuwait	Domestic workers	50 KWD	Rp 1,600,000 (USD 174)
Malaysia	Documented migrants: domestic helpers, gardeners, plantation workers, construction workers, etc	RM 600-700	Rp 1,800,000 (USD 175)
Hong Kong	Domestic workers	HKD 2,000 (new) HKD 3,580 (ex migrant workers in Hong Kong)	Rp 2,400,000 (USD 257) Rp 4,300,000 (USD 461)
Taiwan	Factory workers, eldercare and childcare workers	NT 15,840	Rp 4,600,000-5,000,000 (USD 495)
South Korea	Factory workers	Won 900,000	Rp 7,300,000 (USD 778)

Source: fieldwork, 2009

There were no recorded data on wages among the OFWs in Barangay Casinsin, but an estimate can be deduced from remittances that are regularly sent to their families by the migrants and some employer groups. The highest recorded remittance amounts to PhP 60000 per month to as low as PhP 4000 every other month. Many of those earning a salary of higher than PhP 20000 are those who have worked abroad for a longer period of time. Those who send less than PhP 10000 are those who have worked abroad for less than five years. These migrants and their families are still servicing the debts which they incurred for paying the placement fees and procurement of the other necessary travel papers and documents. In general, the migrants' salaries abroad are twice as high or up to five times higher if compared to their previous salaries in the Philippines.

III.9 Migration Financing

A major similarity that exists between the IMWs and OFWs is that they highly depend and get the financing for facilitating their migration from local moneylenders. Very few Indonesian migrants sell or pawn their land or other properties to pay for their placement fees. No migrant worker has done this in Barangay Casinsin. Money lenders play a significant role in advancing money for the payment of placement fees. Many migrant workers do not have sufficient funds to pay for the placement fees. As an alternative to selling lands, there are people who lend them money to be able to process necessary documents to work abroad. This sort of micro-financing comes in two forms –one which requires a form of collateral and charges interest and the other form which does not require a collateral and does not charge any interest. Thus, the migrants borrow money from micro-financers and use their remittances to pay the loans. They pay a considerable amount of money due to the high interest rates on the loans that are charged by the micro-financers. A key informant who played as a middle-man in money lending said that the amount of money that is borrowed by first time labor migrants can amount to PhP 5000 to as high as PhP 30000. There are instances when some labor migrants are not able to pay back. Those who were able to pay back are the same people who are allowed to borrow money again. In the Philippines, the interest rate is as high as 20%, while in Indonesia the rate is much higher. It can reach up to 100-200%, depending on the ability of the workers to pay back the loan.

However, there were still cases in the past when agricultural lands were pawned to get money to pay for processing their travel and working documents. Four households in the Indonesian village pawned their agricultural land to pay for the placement fees. After five years of working abroad they have not been able to pay the mortgage for the land, even if the workers who are employed abroad have high salaries. Once cited reason is, most of the remittances have been used to buy a residential lot and build a new and modern house in the village.

The placement fees among those IMWs who work as domestic helpers in the Middle Eastern countries varies from IDR 300,000 to IDR 1,200,000 (approximately USD 40-130). Many of those who apply to be domestic helpers are poor who do not have enough money to pay for the placement fees. Local recruiters lend money to migrants which are being used by the migrant workers to pay the service fees that re charged by the local recruiters for preparing the necessary travel documents. Most of the IMWs do not know exactly the officially mandated placement fees, because the local recruiters often state only the amount of money the migrant workers should pay back the local recruiters back within a period of six months after they have arrived in the destination country.

Male migrants are requested to pay higher placement fees than their female counterparts. As explained by the companies of the local recruiters, the lower paying jobs for Indonesian male migrants are rare to find and recruitment companies often compete to get the job opportunities. The local recruiters exert more effort and thus they charge more processing and placement fees for these kinds of jobs. For example, a male migrant to Middle East countries should pay the amount of IDR 1,500,000 – 3,000,000 per person, while their female counterparts would pay IDR 300,000 – 1,200,000. For those who are working in Malaysia, the placement fees for male workers vary from IDR 3,000,000 to 5,000,000, while the female workers are usually required to pay IDR 1,200,000. However, since late 2009, the charging of placement fees among the Indonesian domestic helpers who work in Middle Eastern countries has been abolished. However, the Indonesian migrants are now requested to pay for the medical check up in the amount of IDR 300,000. The family left behind will pay the so-called ‘down payment’ which was given by the local recruiter in the amount of IDR 500,000 – 1,000,000 (approximately USD 60-90) after the migrant has arrived in the employer’s home in the destination country.

This situation is different with the experiences of the Filipino workers who have quite balance job opportunities both for male and female migrants.

III.10 Job contract

The job contracts between IMWs and OFWs are different from each other. Filipino pipe fitters usually have a contract that lasts for six months to one year. They usually go back to the Philippines after the completion of the contract and they stay in the home country for three months before getting a reassignment for the same job. It is also common for them to be reassigned or transferred to another country with the same job, for example one who has served in Russia will be assigned in Libya or in Qatar. Filipino domestic helpers have two- or three-year-contracts. Most OFWs have family members or relatives who are working in the destination countries who have assisted them in getting jobs and in settling there. It is also common for the Filipinos to bring the family along with them, either for a temporary visit or for permanent residency.

The situation is different among the Indonesian migrant workers. There are very rare opportunities for bringing their family members to the country where they work, unless the employer allows them to do so, or if the employer needs additional helpers to work for them or the employers’ relatives.

III.11 Remittances and Their Impacts to Livelihoods

Migration and remittances have heavily influenced the changing patterns of livelihood in the two villages in Indonesia and the Philippines. The sending of remittances constitutes a significant share in the household income in the households of migrant workers. The sending of remittances by the OFWs is more regular than the sending of remittances by the IMWs. The Philippine migrant workers send remittances on a monthly basis. The Indonesian workers rarely send remittances to their household members in Subang. The IFWs normally send money only when they receive some requests from their families back home. The similarities and differences on the remittances’ spending by the Indonesian and the Filipino households are described in the following section. Decisions on remittances spending are mostly done by the spouses or parents (mostly mother) of the migrant workers.

Table 3.7**Patterns of Remittance Spending at Household Level**

IMWs	OFWs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Six months to first year salary goes to pay debt incurred in the so-called placement fee, either to money lender or to local recruiter, with 100% interest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pay debt
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household expenses back home (food, drinking water, clean water, electricity) and medical expenses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education, everyday expenses, food, medical expenses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education of children and/or siblings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construct irrigation system
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agricultural production (buying seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and hiring farm labor) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agricultural production (hiring farm labors)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchase of residential lot, build house, repairing house, or purchase of house 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchase of residential lot
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve parent's house 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pawned cassava farm for 3 years
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchase of furniture and electric home appliances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Got a pawned lot, planted with banana, mangoes, coconut and cassava
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leasing, got a pawned land or sharecropping 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchase of a pawned land of macapuno plantation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Start running small business 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchase of kalamansi plantation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchase of vehicle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchase of kalamansi and mango plantation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchase of cattles (poultry, goat) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchase of rice field
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchase of buffalo and plow
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchase of a horse
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchase a non-farm land for future investment
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchase of fishing gears
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saving in the bank
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Running a store

Source: fieldwork, 2009

Different to what had taken place in the past, the Filipino migrants do not sell or pawn their lands in order to pay the placement fees and facilitate migration. Instead, they borrow money in the amount of PhP6000 to 30,000 from micro-financers, who charge a high interest on loans. Thus, many respondents had noted that the biggest chunk of the remittances is used to pay for the loans incurred for facilitating their application to work abroad. It is only after the loan is fully paid when household members of the migrants start to invest their earnings on other things. Most of the remittances are used primarily for the provision of food and education among family members. Next to food and education, remittances are used for house repairs and home improvements. The preference among the OFWs to invest in agriculture lands and crop

cultivation support and activities is realized only after the household's needs for food, health and education for the household members are satisfied.

The table below shows the patterns of sending and characteristics of remittance transfers in the two countries.

Table 3.8
Characteristics of the Remittances Transfer

Characteristics	Indonesian Case	Philippines Case
Regularity of sending remittances	Mostly irregular, per three to six months in average	Regular (monthly)
Share of remittances to household expenses	80-90%, depend on the type of occupation and ownership of valuable property	Not identified
Mode of transfer	Before 2004 by cheque, after 2004 through bank transfer; mostly bring it with them when travelling back to home country	Bank transfer
Highest noted remittances sent to home country	IDR 30,000,000 in year (one time)	PhP 60,000 (monthly)
Lowest noted remittances sent to home country	IDR 1,000,000 per monthly, but is sent every three months	PhP 4,000 (monthly)

Source: fieldwork, 2009

III.12 Remittances and Human Capital Investment

The utilization of remittances for human capital investment is more often practiced in Barangay Casinsin, Laguna, Philippines than it is being done in Subang village in Indonesia. Using the remittances that were sent by the migrant workers, four households in Casinsin, Philippines were able to send their children to college. The migrants' families in barangay Casinsin are willing to spend as much as PhP 120,000 per year in order for the children of migrant workers to finish a college degree. Among the Indonesian migrant worker households in Subang who were interviewed, the highest educational attainment of the migrants' children is a high school diploma (14%). Little attention is given to the education of children in North Subang primarily due to their financial situation. Although the national government of Indonesia

has endorsed a regulation on the provision of free tuition for primary and junior high school level students (with ages ranging from 7 to 15 years old), the parents in Subang still hesitate to send their children to higher level of educational institutions. The parents have to pay for that costs that are associated with getting school uniforms, books and stationary, payment of daily transportation costs, and supporting extra curricular activities.

The table below describes the level of education attainment among children of migrant workers as financed by remittances that are sent by the overseas migrant workers.

Table 3.9

Description of Educational Attainment of Children from Remittances

Indonesian Case	Philippines Case
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 86% of total migrant households have children/siblings in primary and junior high school, located less than 2 km from the village. Children usually walk or riding bicycle. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bagumbong-Jalajala elementary school (1 household)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4% of the total migrant households have children/siblings schooling in nearest urban areas (7 km from the village). They usually ride motorcycle or public transportation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bagumbong private elementary school (1 household)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4% of total migrant households send their children to Islamic boarding school in other region. Parents pay for monthly allowances and tuition fee. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bagumbong high school (1 household)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2% of total migrant households have no children/siblings in school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Casinsin elementary school (3 households)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4% --not identified 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Siniloan (1 household)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Little Shepherd Montessori, Lumban Laguna (3 households)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Siniloan private elementary school (1 household)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sitio Maulawin Casinsin (2 households)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Technological Institute of the Philippines (TIP)—electrical engineering (1 household)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ICCT Antipolo City—nursing (1 household)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> La Salle Dasmarinas—computer engineering (1 household)

Source: fieldwork, 2009

For the Philippine case, the choice of which school to send the children to is based on its location (nearness to their home due to transportation and other logistic costs), the quality of instructions and the level of educational standard, and whether the children like the specific course and school. In the Indonesian context, the choice of school is based on its location – it has to be near to save on transport costs. Often, Islamic boarding schools are chosen for teenage girls because both parents are working abroad and there is no one to oversee them.

However, none among the children of the migrant laborers were encouraged to study college courses that pertain to agriculture. Most of the college students are taking up engineering and nursing. Most of these courses are in line with the demand in foreign countries for skilled Filipino migrant workers. Although the children of migrant laborers are not forced to work abroad, some are being encouraged to do so themselves since they feel that the remittances that they have received from their parents or siblings help a lot in improving their livelihood; they think that it will do the same thing for them in the future. These sets of observations and opinions among the household members of the Filipino migrants are also similar with those of the Indonesian migrants.

III.13 Migration, Remittances and Changing Agrarian Patterns

Some use the remittances for buying farm animals and feeds to earn additional income from livestock ventures. One respondent mentioned that the family bought the land that they were tilling before as tenants from the original landowners. Other respondents who did not use to be tenants buy agricultural lands not for the reason of cultivating them but as a form of investment. The wives of migrants who had bought agricultural lands as investment ventures usually ask their relatives who are based in the village to cultivate the lot. However, one housewife complains that she does not get any produce from the land that she has bought. One person indicated that she bought the agricultural land to convert it later on into residential lots and build apartments on them. Other household members used the remittances to buy more seedlings and farm implements.

Migration in both study villages have been driven by insufficient household incomes, although most of them have already engaged in several economic activities. As mentioned above, the majority of migrant households are farmers. Based on the surveys that were undertaken all migrant households in North Subang (Indonesia) and 96% of the migrant households in Barangay Casinsin (Philippines) own their house lot. Apart from the remittances, the ownership of land and other valuable property (cattle, house) are significant for having a regular as well as immediate source of income. Selling land and other valuable properties is not a common practice even if they plan on going abroad to work. Survey findings indicate that 16% of the migrant households in North Subang and 88% of the migrant households in Barangay Casinsin have their own farm lands. The smallest size of an agricultural land that is owned by a household in North Subang is 2,800 sqm and the largest is 14,000 sqm. On average, a landowner in North Subang has 3,500 sqm of farm land. In Barangay Casinsin the smallest size of a crop land 213 sqm while the largest one measures 3 hectares. Crop lands are used to cultivate vegetables, coconut products (such as macapuno) and fruits (particularly mangoes); they are a highly valued fruit tree in the Philippines. The smallest size of a rice field in Casinsin is 300 sqm while and the largest rice field is 1 hectare. Not a single migrant household in

Barangay Casinsin has pawned or sold their lands to cover their expenses for migration purposes.

In North Subang there were four households which pawned their farmlands (7,000 sqm for each household) to finance their migration to East Asian countries. The migration has a total cost of up to IDR 30,000,000 per person. Many of the migrant households in North Subang, who were able to purchase, rent or accept land mortgages, historically came from the local landowning families in the village. Their engagement in farming can be traced since the previous generation. They see their farmlands as a very valuable property which can maintain their economic and social status. The table below shows the survey results which highlight the changes in the land tenancy profile in the North Subang village; this was made possible by the remittances that were sent by overseas migrants.

Table 3.10

Land Tenancy from the Remittances in North Subang (Indonesia)

Type of Agricultural Land Tenancy	Number of Household	Land Size (sqm)
Land ownership	8 (16%)	Smallest: 2,800 sqm Largest: 14,000 sqm Average: 3,500 sqm
Land leasing/holding	4 (8%)	Smallest: 2,800 sqm Largest: 14,000 sqm Average: 7,000 sqm
Sharecroppings	5 (10%)	Smallest: 6,650 sqm Largest: 14,000 sqm Average: 7,000 sqm
Got pawned land	8 (16%)	Smallest: 2,100 sqm Largest: 15,400 sqm Average: 4.200 sqm
Not able or willing to occupy land	25 (50%)	-
TOTAL	50 (100%)	

Source: fieldwork, 2009

Table 3.11**Agricultural Investment from the Remittances in Barangay Casinsin (the Philippines)**

Type of Agricultural Investment	Number of Household	Land Size (sqm)
Got a pawned cassava farm	1	2,000 sqm
Got a pawned lot planted with banana, mangoes, coconut and cassava	1	n.a
Purchase of pawned land of macapuno plantation	1	350
Purchase of kalamansi plantation	1	2,000
Mango plantation		<10,000
Rice field		<10,000
Purchase of land previously worked as tenant and buy a pawned rice field	1	4,000
Farming capital	2	
Construct irrigation system	Some	
Hire farm labor	Some	
Purchase of tractor	1	
Purchase of buffalo and plow	1	
Purchase of horse	1	
Purchase of fishing gears	Some	

Many migrant workers originally planned on buying agricultural lands using their remittances. However, the price of agricultural lands has increased rapidly in North Subang. Thus, many of the migrant households which hoped to purchase land using their remittances were not able to do so. A similar case applies on the price of leasing and pawning lands.

According to the interviews with the local residents, the price has greatly increased through the years. It is described below:

- In 1995-2000, the price for a hectare of land was IDR 14,285,000
- In 2000-2008, the price for a hectare of land was IDR 71,500,000
- In 2008-2009, the price for a hectare of land was IDR 215,000,000 – 285,000,000 (depending on the level of its fertility and where it is located, in terms of accessibility)

In terms of leasing lands, during 2000-2009 the price is pegged on IDR 10,000,000 – 12,000,000 depending on the quality of the farmland (whether it is fertile or unfertile). The price assigned for pawning land is also high; it is recorded at IDR 50,000,000 for two years. Although pawning of land is prohibited under the Basic Agrarian Law of 1960, the practice is still undertaken in the study village, although only on rare occasions. Despite the higher prices that were mentioned earlier, the willingness among farmers to sell, lease or pawn their land is very low. Rice productivity in North Subang is considered high (5-6 tons/ha per harvest; two harvest times in a year) and this is one of the reasons why very few farmers are willing to sell, lease or pawn their land. Only households who do not have full-time family laborers or have access to hired laborers to cultivate the land pawn or sell their lands. Others who have pawned the lands have done it only because of big financial troubles.

In Barangay Casinsin in the Philippines, none among the respondents has sold or pawned agricultural lands nor other properties to finance migration activities. This is especially true among households which are engaged in agriculture. It is not easy for them to sell their agricultural lands because they are their immediate sources of food and income. The respondents stressed that unlike remittances, which only comes in once a month and can stop from coming, the agricultural products that they get from the lands are readily available for their consumption and they can sell them, too. Furthermore, the lands can be inherited by their progenitors. From among the migrants who were not traditionally engaged in agriculture and are involved in sewing, teaching and office work, only a few of them would want to invest in agricultural-related activities, such as tractor renting, trading of agricultural products. Other more enterprising migrants have indicated that they want to run a store selling fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, animal feeds

In North Subang, however, there are very few non-farm activities in the village, except for small scale trading of agricultural products, household goods, cellular phone voucher and processed food, and undertaking motorcycle repair workshop. Also, many Indonesian households do not grow any other crops but rice. Some have mango trees on their home lots, but they are only for their own consumption. The market price of mango in Philippines is much higher than in Indonesia.

The largest share of the rice harvest in both study villages is reserved for family consumption. Only 16% of the households in Indonesia are able to sell rice on the market. Only 1 household in Barangay Casinsin sells a portion (50%) of the harvest in the market. The case is different in the case of vegetables and fruits that are cultivated in Barangay Casinsin; a majority of the harvest is sold to the market and only a small proportion of the harvest is allotted for family consumption (about 1%).

Most of the migrant households who are engaging in agriculture in both countries use a portion of the remittances for buying seeds, fertilizers and pesticides. Some engage in raising

cattle or poultry for the local market. In Barangay Casinsin, some migrant households who are engaged in fishing in the nearby Laguna Lake use the remittance to buy fishing gears.

CHAPTER IV

SOME PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS: MIGRATION AND CHANGING LIVELIHOOD SYSTEMS IN THE TWO VILLAGES IN INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES

4.1 Migration and Changing Livelihoods

Migration is not a new phenomenon in the two countries. International migration plays a more significant role in terms of provision of income and job security than the role that is being played by internal migration. In terms of internal migration, the village study in Barangay Casinsin, the Philippines has shown that the place has more urbanized areas now and in-migration to the village has been rapidly increasing. In the Indonesian case, the cases of out migration to urban areas most particularly to the Jakarta Metropolitan Region from the 1980s to the late 1990s had greatly increased. Many villagers now work in construction projects as well as in the informal sectors (for example as small traders, domestic helpers for rich families and cleaning service providers in restaurants). The urbanization process going on in the nearby areas has little impact to the villagers in North Subang, except the existence of new shopping malls which created new consumption patterns of the villagers. Job opportunities in the newly built urban areas has little significant impact in absorbing the local workforce. However, this phenomena has yet to be further studied.

International and internal migration considerably changed the livelihoods of migrant households in the two villages. In general, the respondents and key informants in the two countries have agreed that the migration of workers and the remittances that they have sent have brought development to the villages. The respondents from the two villages noted that migration and remittances have provided some forms of insurance to earn higher incomes and get more permanent jobs among the overseas migrant workers. This situation is much better if one compares it to the economic uncertainties that characterize many places in the two countries. In Indonesian context, declining job opportunities in urban areas has been affected the increasing numbers of international labor migration, particularly following the Asian financial crisis in 1997/1998 (Breman and Wiradi 2004). Recent study by AKATIGA also found that the industrial sector can only meet 62.4% of the total expenses of the industrial labors (Tjandraningsih and Herawati 2009⁵), therefore the salary offered in foreign countries is much more attractive for low-wage workers. Similarly, the increased unemployment in the Philippines has influenced the increasing number of international migration.

Corollary to this, the village respondents in the two countries say that the improvements made on the house structures in the village is a sign of economic development. The modern house structures make visible the socio-economic improvements at the household level. Village officials also stated that the road and house structures improvements are a symbol of modern development in the village level. However, in Indonesian context, the physical development at household levels have in some ways affected the respective households to be excluded from the poverty reduction programs. As the targetting beneficiaries of the government poverty reduction program is based on the physical appearance of the household, some of migrant households are

⁵ Tjandraningsih and Herawati, 2009. Menuju Upah Layak: Survei Upah Buruh Tekstil dan Garmen di Indonesia. Bandung, Jakarta: AKATIGA dan FES

not able to access subsidized food and health insurance for the poor. This is quite significant for the many of the households, as their average income is actually below the poverty line and remittances are not a regular income.

Following the increasing rate of out migration to foreign countries, the livelihoods of the rural families have been changed. Households with overseas migrant labors heavily depend on the remittances from the migrants, although the regularity of the remittances sent back was uncertain. At least, they have something to rely on, particularly for fulfilling the daily needs and education of children. Income from farming activities are uncertain as well, particularly due to flood and dry seasons. Both villages are located near the shores and laguna which are locally prone to disasters. However, the loan incurred from the placement fee is quite significant therefore for some time remittances are not able to be used for household consumption.

Another similarity between the two countries is about the type of occupation that the migrant workers are involved in before working in their country of work destination. Most of the villagers engaged in agricultural related work, either as sharecroppers, leaseholders, land owners, or farm labors. They also perform other agriculture related jobs, such as being vegetable dealers, harvesters, or acting as middlemen for agricultural products. They are also involved in non-agricultural activities such as being factory workers, tricycle drivers and school teachers. In the Philippines, some work as local politicians, daycare center volunteers and computer technicians. In Indonesia, some work as village officials, local cooperative volunteers, and housewives.

There are also notable differences between the migrants from the two countries in terms of the extent of their practices and willingness to work overseas. Most of the IMWs are not willing to stay abroad permanently; they prefer to return to the home village where their families live despite the fact that job opportunities there and in the surrounding areas have been decreasing. Those who were previously engaged in agriculture or agricultural related activities go back to the similar activities they were engaged with before working abroad. Those who do not engage in agricultural work, particularly if their family has no history of working in farming activities, try to run a small business,. Those who historically have agricultural plots would normally try to buy or lease agricultural plots if possible.

It is interesting to note that many of the Filipino migrants stay for a long time and even stay permanently in the host or destination countries. The Philippine Diaspora has successfully facilitated the migration of the family together with their friends and relatives. For instance, there is a migrant family who has been living abroad for 30 years already but have managed to , still maintain the relationship with the family they left behind.

In terms of expectations for the successive generations, interviews in both study villages have showed that many of them do not want their children to work also as low-paid migrant workers. Other migrants, however, said that they would encourage their children to migrate if they are almost sure that they do not have any future in their home country; this is particularly true among poor Indonesian families with low educational attainment.

In general, the respondents and key informants in both countries have indicated that working abroad brought about development. As they have noted, there is an assurance of a salary which is higher if compared with the salary one will get when one work in the home country. Many respondents indicated that due to the remittances they were able to buy what they want and the children were able to go to school.

It was also stressed by some local government officials that families with labor migrants are the ones constantly giving donations in undertaking projects such as beautification of the town cultural infrastructures. Likewise, it was mentioned that those without jobs before are now gainfully employed abroad. At the local and national levels, the respondents indicated that the positive effects of village residents who are now working abroad are reflected also in the increase in the villages' tax collections. Nevertheless, in a bigger picture, everything will still depend on how wisely remittances are utilized, how sustainable the flow of labor migrants will be, and how all these continuing relationships will be translated in the two agricultural landscapes of the two villages in Indonesia and the Philippines.

Familial support or diaspora of the Filipino migrants plays significant roles in facilitating permanent migration. In both countries, temporary migration is facilitated by the employment agencies. In Indonesian case, permanent migration of low-skilled workers has not been existed, different with Philippines context. Most of the IMWs are low-skilled and have rural origin, which prefer to stay temporary rather than permanently settling in foreign countries as they have close attachment to their rural origin.

In terms of political supports from the government, Philipinnes have better policies and programs than Indonesian, which aims to protect as far as facilitate the reintegration of the migrant workers with origin communities. These efforts have not yet been implemented in Indonesia, with some exceptions such as law advocacy and reintegration programs done by local NGOs. Even the local government agency (BP2TKI) in Subang Regency does not have data on the numbers of overseas migrants in its respective region. Protection efforts have been made by the Indonesian government, but its effectiveness is still weak. The major problem with protection is because of the large number of undocumented migrants who are not registered in the government data (personal interview with government officials, 2009).

Sending of remittances is often viewed as the success side of international labor migration. The amount is considerably high. In some countries the amount of remittances is even bigger than the international financial aid that they receive, and contribute significantly to the national GDP. In is not surprising that that many international agencies pay big attention to the flow of remittances. It is viewed that it could foster local economic growth without depending on international aids. This issue encourages the institutions to further improve the transfer mechanism for remittances between countries. Thus, more international labor migrants are able to send their salary home (see World Bank 2008).

4.2 Migration and Agrarian Change

Migration and remittance altogether have affected the changing agricultural production as well as land ownership in both villages, although not as single factor. It is noted that inequality of farm land ownership in both countries has been existed since long before the international migration. According to National Statistic Office of the Philippines, the average farm size in the country is 2 ha in 2002, while in Indonesia the average is less than 1 ha. Survey results show that the average farm size in North Subang village is 3,500 sqm, similarly in Pakil which is around 3,000 sqm. As land reform took place in Pakil several years ago, distribution of land ownership is better than in North Subang (16% landowners).

The study finds that distribution of land ownership has not changed although the in-flow of remittances take place quite significantly to the village. In North Subang village, 50% of the migrant households manage to get land (16% buying land, 8% leasing land, and 16% get

pawned land). Others involve in sharecroppings and agricultural labors. In Indonesia, only the former landowning households manage to buy land, while in Philippines 24% of the former landowners manage to buy larger land from remittances. In this sense, we could conclude that international migration and associated remittances are not affecting the agrarian structures in the villages.

Results in both countries show that agricultural still plays significant role in village and household livelihoods, therefore selling agricultural land and other properties to cover expenses for migration purposes is not preferable. Getting loan from the moneylenders (either village leaders and employment agencies) is considered better rather than selling land, although the interest rate is high. Ownership of land and livestock is significant for household immediate income. Investment in agriculture by the migrant households in both countries is also in the form of financing of agricultural production and possession of livestock. As the land price is getting higher over the years, investment in house and livestock are chosen.

Although most proportion of the remittances is spent for household consumptions, some households manage to get access to land, by buying, getting pawned land, or leasing. However, this does not reduce the inequality of land ownership in village level. Many migrant workers originally expected to buy agricultural land using remittances, however only small proportion can realize their expectation (less than 50%). In Indonesian case for example, migrant households who manage to get land are those who historically came from landowning or landholding families. This partially confirms our hypothesis that international migration leads to deeper inequality on the land ownership, although the dispossession of the farmers from their land is not only influenced by the remittances, but also by other factors. As found in this study, migration in both countries have been driven by insufficient household incomes and it is found that selling agricultural land is sometime needed to be done due to household crisis.

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APPENDICES

MONOGRAPH INDONESIA

A. General Profile of Migrant

Table A.1.

Number of Household Member

No.	Household Member	%
1	2	4
2	2	4
3	23	46
4	10	20
5	6	12
6	4	8
7	3	6
Total	50	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table A.2.

Age First Time Working Abroad

Age Range	Amount of HH	%
< 15	4	8
15 – 20	11	22
21 – 30	12	24
31 – 40	3	6
Not remember	20	40
Total	50	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table A.3.

Highest Education Attainment

Education Level	Amount of HH	%
Elementary School	32	64,29
Junior High School	13	25,00
Senior High School	5	10,71
Total	50	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table A.4.

Main Occupation of Respondents in the Household

Main Occupation in Household	Amounts of HH	%
Farm labour	12	24
Sharecopper, leaseholder	14	28
Landowner	6	12
Small businessl	5	10
Cattle/poultry	4	8
Not working	2	4
School teacher	1	2
Housewife	3	6
Village official	1	2
Motor rental driver	1	2
Local recruiter	1	2
Total	50	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

B. Migrating Pattern and Characteristic**Table B.1.**

Type of Work Abroad

Works Type	Amount of HH	%
Domestic helper, eldercare worker	39	78
Fishing pond labor	1	2
Restaurant (waiter, cleaning service)	2	4
Factory worker (manufacturing)	4	8
Plantation labor	3	6
Small business labor	1	2
Total	50	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table B.2.

Major Countries Destination

Negara Tujuan	%
Middle East Countries (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Syria dan Lebanon)	62
East Asian Countries (Korea Selatan, Taiwan, Hongkong)	15
Southeast Asia (Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam)	23
Total	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table B.3.

Length of Departure

Length of Departure (Years)	Amount of HH	%
< 2 yr	1	2
2 – 3 yr	10	20
3 – 5 yr	15	30
5 – 10 yr	19	38
> 10 yr	5	10
Total	50	100

*Source: Fieldwork 2009***Table B.4.**

Education of IMW's Family

Education Level	Amount of HH	%
Primary (age 7 – 12 yrs)	27	54
Junior High School	14	28
Senior High School	7	14
Higher Education	n/a	n/a
Not Identified	2	4
Total	50	100

*Source: Fieldwork 2009***Table B.5.**

School Location of IMW's Family

Where do They Study..	Amount of HH	%
In the village Only primary and junior high school (less than 2 km from house)	43	86
In nearest urban area (around 7 km from house)	2	4
In Islamic boarding school in other region	2	4
Have no school age children	1	2
Not identified	2	4
Total	50	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

C. Remittances and Household Social Economic Condition

Table C.1.

General Pattern in the Use of Remittances by Households

Departures	Used for...
First	salary goes to pay back the money borrowed for placement fee.
Second	salary goes to meeting household expenses (food, drinking water, clean water, electricity), education of children and siblings, and for agricultural production.
Third	buying house and lot, build and improve house. The reason was that before migration, their house was considered bad (made from bamboo, without sanitation facility). All of them build a brick house with sanitation, and most of them have minimal furniture (couch, table, bed)
Fourth	leasing, accept pawning of land from other farmer or buying farmland. It depends on the availability of land to be leased out, pawned and sold. And it also depends on price.

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table C.2.

Use Remittances in Agricultural Land Investment

Use remittances in agricultural	Household	Description
Able to buy farmland	6	2 out of 6 buy 3,500 sqm 2 out of 6 buy 7,000 sqm 1 out of 6 buy 14,000 sqm 1 out of 6 buy 10,000 sqm
Able to lease farmland	4	1 out of 4 leases 2,800 sqm 1 out of 4 leases 7,000 sqm 1 out of 4 leases 14,000 sqm 1 out of 4 did not identify the land size
Able to accept pawning of land from other farmer.	8	1 out of 8 has 2,100 sqm 1 out of 8 has 4,200 sqm 2 out of 8 has 3,500 sqm 2 out of 8 has 7,000 sqm 1 out of 8 has 8,400 sqm 1 out of 8 has 15,400 sqm
Able to sharecrop	5	
Not identified	27	
Total	50	

Source: Fieldwork 2009

D. Land Tenancy

Table D.1.
House Ownership

House and Lot	Household	%	Description
Owned	50	100	Average size of house lot is 280 sqm per household The smallest size of house lot is 112 sqm, and the largest is 8,428 sqm (scattered in three different plots)
Not owned	-	-	
Total	50	100	

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table D.2.
Farmland Ownership

Farmland	Household	%	Description
Owned	8	16	4 out of 8 have pawned their farmland to pay for placement fee. The smallest landsize is 2,800 sqm (1 out of 8) The largest landsize is 14,000 sqm (1 out of 8), Average is 3,500 sqm (6 out of 8)
Landleasing	4	8	The smallest size is 2,800 sqm (1 out of 4), The largest size is 14,000 sqm (1 out of 4), Average is 7,000 sqm (2 out of 4)
Sharecropping	5	10	The smallest is 6,650 sqm (1 out of 5), The largest is 14,000 sqm (1 out of 5), Average is 7,000 sqm (3 out of 5)
Accept farmland pawning from other farmer	8	16	The smallest size is 2,100 sqm (1 out of 8) The largest is 15,400 sqm (1 out of 8), Others: 3,500 sqm (2 out of 8); 4,200 sqm (1 out of 8); 7,000 sqm (2 out of 8) 8,400 sqm (1 out of 8);
Landless	25	50	
Total	50	100	

Source: Fieldwork 2009

MONOGRAPH THE PHILIPPINES

A. General Profile of Migrant

Table A.1.

Number of Household Member

No.	Household Member	%
1	3	12,5
2	6	25
3	3	12,5
4	6	25
5	6	25
Total	24	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table A.2.

Number of Current OFW in Household

Number of Current OFW	Amount of HH	%
1	22	91,7
3	1	4,2
5	1	4,2
Total	24	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table A.3.

Number of ex-OFW in Household

Number of ex-OFW	Amount of HH	%
None	15	62,5
1	5	20,8
No answer	4	16,7
Total	24	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table A.4.
Migrant Age

Age Range	Amount of HH	%
20s	11	40,7
30s	8	29,6
40s	2	7,4
Not remember	6	22,2
Total	27	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table A.5.
Highest Education Attainment

Education Level	Amount of HH	%
Elementary School	11	45,8
High School	7	29,2
College	6	25
Total	24	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table A.6.
Main Occupation of Respondents in the Household

Main Occupation in Household	Amounts of HH	%
Farmer	10	41,7
Housewife	2	8,3
Barangay kagawad & farmer	1	4,2
Farmer & fisherman	1	4,2
Laborer	1	4,2
Pipe fitter	1	4,2
DH and Farmer	1	4,2
Driver & farmer	1	4,2
Paint & store	1	4,2
Parttime coop driver	1	4,2
Sewing	1	4,2
Shop	1	4,2
None	1	4,2
Total	23	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table A.7.

Secondary Occupation (Source of Income)

Source of Income	Amounts of HH	Income (PHP)
General manager	1	10.000/month
Coop transport	1	1.500/month
Tailor & Store owner	1	700 / week & 300 / day
Tractor for rent	1	36.000 / yr
Office salary	1	15.000/month
Store profits	1	800 - 1.200 / day
Tailor	1	1000 / week
Jeep boundary	1	100/day
Total	8	

*Source: Fieldwork 2009***B. Migrating Pattern and Characteristic****Table B.1.**

Type of Work Abroad

Works Type	Amount of HH	%
Domestic helper	11	45,8
Pipe fitter	11	45,8
Seaman, service crew, hold office work	2	8,3
Total	50	100

*Source: Fieldwork 2009***Table B.2.**

Education of IMW's Family

Education Level	Amount of HH	%
Primary students	8	33,3
Secondary students	3	12,5
College	4	16,7
Vocational	-	-
No identified	9	37,5
Total	24	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table B.3.

School Location of IMW's Family

Where do They Study..	Amount of HH	%
Bagumbong private elementary school	1	
Bagumbong high school	3	
Casinsin elementary	3	
Siniloan	1	
Little Sherperd Montessori, Lumban Laguna	3	
Siniloan private elementary school	1	
Sitio Maulawin Casinsin	2	
ICCT Antipolo City – nursing		
La Salle Dasmarinas – computer engineering		
Total	14	100

*Source: Fieldwork 2009***C. Remittances and Household Social Economic Condition****Table C.1.**

Percentage of the whole Income

Total income	Amount of HH	%
Rice field only	5	20,8
Vegetable garden	6	25
Rice field, Vegetable garden, fruit orchard	3	12,5
Rice field, Vegetable garden,	4	16,7
Rice field and fruit orchard	3	12,5
Vegetable garden and fruit orchard	1	4,2
Fruit garden and mahogany plantation	1	4,2
Nakikisaka	1	4,2
Total	24	100

Source: Fieldwork 2009

Table C.2.

Use Remittances in Agricultural Land Investment

Use remittances in agricultural	Household
Everyday needs and payment for educational expenses	17
Saving in the bank	2
Put in the store	1
Pay for credit incurred for her husband's death	1
Farming capital, educational and food expenses	2
Farming capital	6
Education, everyday expenses, bayad utang, food, medicine	18
Buy residential lot and pawned cassava farm (2,000 sqm) for 3 years	1
Construct irrigation system	
Pay labor working their agricultural land	
Got a pawned lot for PhP 15,000, planted with banana, mangoes, coconut, cassava	1
Buy a pawned land (350 sqm) of macapuno plantation for PhP 65,000	1
Buy kalamansi plantation (2,000 sqm), kalamansi and mango plantation (<1Ha) and rice field (<1Ha)	1
Buy land they previously work as tenant and buy a pawned rice field (4,000 sqm) for 5 years	1
Buy seeds of sitao	1
Buy buffalo (<i>carabao</i>) and plow	1
Buy Kubota tractor	1
Buy and construct irrigation system and buy a horse	1
Buy land for investment not in agriculture	1
Buy fishing gears	
Total	58

Source: Fieldwork 2009

D. Land Tenancy

Table D.1.
Farmland Ownership

Farmland	Household	%	Description
Owned	21	87,5	4 out of 8 have pawned their farmland to pay for placement fee. The smallest landsize is 2,800 sqm (1 out of 8) The largest landsize is 14,000 sqm (1 out of 8), Average is 3,500 sqm (6 out of 8)
Landleasing	2	8,3	The smallest size is 2,800 sqm (1 out of 4), The largest size is 14,000 sqm (1 out of 4), Average is 7,000 sqm (2 out of 4)
Sharecropping	1	4,2	The smallest is 6,650 sqm (1 out of 5), The largest is 14,000 sqm (1 out of 5), Average is 7,000 sqm (3 out of 5)
Total	24	100	

Source: Fieldwork 2009

FIELDWORK PICTURES NORTH SUBANG VILLAGE, INDONESIA



Picture 1.

Nearest town center from North Subang village. Its name is Pamanukan. Formerly was a sugarcane plantation areas during the colonial times. Recently (from late 1990s) became urbanized area as it is passed by the major highway of Java Island namely the North Coast Java highway (*see the flyover above the traditional market*). Since early 2000s, this area has been the location of branches of major national banks and two modern shopping centers have been built around this time.



Picture 2.

Jewellery shops and small jewellery pawning kiosk in Pamanukan towncenter. Number of shops and kiosks have been growing since many of Indonesian Migrant Workers (IMWs) came to pawn or sell jewellery purchased or given while working abroad. IMWs said that the jewellery from Middle East countries and Malaysia have higher quality and price than the local ones.



Picture 3.a.



Picture 3.b.

Traditional market in Pamanukan town center, ± 7 km from North Subang village. Most of the village inhabitants shop here, both for foods, clothes, and other consumer goods. Livestocks are also sold here.




Picture 4.









Money changer in Pamanukan towncenter











Picture 5.

National Food's Logistic Agency located in Pamanukan

	<p>“Program Raskin” means a national program in which national government provide cheap price of rice for poor family around the country. Each poor household is entitled to purchase 30 kg/month at price of IDR 1,600/kg. The market price for rice is around IDR 5,000 (with higher quality than cheap rice provided by government)</p>
 <p>Picture 6.</p>	 <p>Picture 7.</p>
Main street to North Subang village	<p>BRI = Bank Rakyat Indonesia (Indonesian People's Bank)</p> <p>Initially established during colonial times. Until now the bank mainly operates in rural areas. This is a major national bank whose branches reach the village level around the country</p>
 <p>Picture 8.</p>	 <p>Picture 9.</p>
Road to the village	<p>This is a special van operated by private company which has a license from government to take the IMWs home from Jakarta International Airport. Since 2007, all IMWs must take this van to go home. Before, family could fetch them in the airport, but because of the security issues, the government made a decision that all IMWs have to go through special line in the international airport and take this van to go home.</p>

 <p>Picture 10.</p>	 <p>Picture 11.</p>
<p>Plowing season</p>	<p>Plowing and planting season</p>
 <p>Picture 12.</p>	 <p>Picture 13.</p>
<p>Planting seeds season</p>	<p>Pre-harvest season</p>
 <p>Picture 14.a.</p>	 <p>Picture 14.b.</p>
 <p>Picture 14.c.</p>	 <p>Picture 14.d.</p>
<p>Irrigation system in North Subang village</p>	

 <p>Picture 15.</p>	 <p>Picture 16.</p>
<p>Motorcycle—main transportation mode to travel within the village</p>	<p>Typical settlement area in North Subang village</p>
 <p>Picture 17.</p>	 <p>Picture 18.</p>
<p>Old farmer</p>	<p>Typical settlement area in North Subang village</p>
 <p>Picture 19.a.</p>	 <p>Picture 19.b.</p>
 <p>Picture 19.c.</p>	 <p>Picture 19.d.</p>
<p>Old traditional house in the village, made partly from bamboo and partly from bricks.</p>	



Picture 20.a.



Picture 20.b.

New 'modern' style of houses in the village, made from bricks, colorful painted, with iron gates. These houses are not owned by migrant worker family, but local rich families



Picture 21.a.



Picture 21.b.

House before improvement (see picture in the right, house after improvement)

House after improvement: modern style house owned by IMW family working in South Korea as factory labor for 8 years (both husband and wife)



Picture 21.c.

Inside the house: kitchen set style was copied from apartment in South Korea. Some electronic devices were purchased abroad.



Picture 22.

New house owned by IMW family working in Malaysia for 4 years as small factory workers (both husband and wife)



Picture 23.a.



Picture 23.b

House of IMW family, working in Saudi Arabia as domestic worker



Picture 24.a



Picture 24.b

House of non-migrant family

House of non-migrant family



Picture 25.



Picture 26.

IMW working in Saudi Arabia as domestic worker








First IMW from North Subang village, first departure in 1986, working in Middle East countries for 10 years (with mother and nephew)






Picture 27.









Picture 28.



Parent and sibling of female IMW working in Middle East country. This household has 7 members, the biggest in the village	IMW with her parent. The house was built using remittance and agricultural production of the parents.
	
Picture 29.	Picture 30.
Part of modern lifestyle and emerging small business: hairdresser	Part of modern lifestyle and emerging small business: rental of music instruments and local band
	
Picture 31.	Picture 32.
Small business in the village, running by local people, selling boiled noodle with chicken, bottled softdrinks and coconut juice	Small business in the village, running by local people, selling traditional kitchen stuffs
	
Picture 33.	Picture 34.
Primary school in the village	Small business run by ex-IMW to Saudi
	
Picture 35.	Picture 36.
Small business (machine service) run by ex-IMW (male)	Local recruiter/broker (sponsor) in the village

as car workshop worker in Saudi	
 <p>Picture 37.</p>	 <p>Picture 38.</p>
Interview with local recruiter/sponsor	License of local recruiter, issued by Department of Manpower
 <p>Picture 39.</p>	
Contract with Manpower Company, stating that this people is a local recruiter working for this company therefore has a license to recruit IMW	

FIELDWORK PICTURES
PAKIL, LAGUNA, THE PHILIPPINES

 <p style="text-align: center;">Picture 1.</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">Picture 2.</p>
<p>Anita Bueno's House (front) her neighbour are working</p>	<p>Leonisa Torres jetmatic pump and apart units</p>
 <p style="text-align: center;">Picture 3.</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">Picture 4.</p>
<p>Leonisa having a conversation in her yard</p>	<p>Leonisa Torres</p>
 <p style="text-align: center;">Picture 5.</p>	 <p style="text-align: center;">Picture 6.</p>
<p>Barbwire that will be used as fences at Leonisa's newly bought farm</p>	<p>Woven tying up "pechay" usual products of Casinsin.</p>

 <p>Picture 7.a</p>	 <p>Picture 7.b</p>
Rosalinda Mantala's House (front)	Rosalinda Mantala's Garage

 <p>Picture 8.a</p>	 <p>Picture 8.b</p>
Rosalinda's Rice Harvest	

Rosalinda's Rice Harvest	
 <p>Picture 9.a</p>	 <p>Picture 9.b</p>

Anita Bueno's wife (Anita) sewing machine which she bought from remittances send by her husband. She used to work in her parent't in law vegetable garden. But since her husbands departure she stopped working in the farm and bought this sweing machine and nows considered sewing as her source of income



Picture 9.c.

Anita Bueno's kitchen, that she built out of remittances sent by her husband



Picture 10.

Cornfield overlooking Mt. Cristobal of Angel Sombilla



Picture 11.

Banana trees, another common product of Casinsin.



Picture 12.

Cassava plants

 <p>Picture 13.a</p>	 <p>Picture 13.b.</p>
<p>Bromeo Camar in his ricefield.</p>	<p>Bromeo's eggplant farm which he do crop rotation with okra.</p>
 <p>Picture 14.a. Angel Sombilla's house</p>	 <p>Picture 14.b. Angel Sombilla</p>
<p>Angel Sombilla were able to interview him because he's vacation and his contract just been finish as pipe fitter and just processing his paper and waiting for another contract.</p>	

 <p>Picture 15.a.</p>	 <p>Picture 15.b.</p>



Picture 15.c.

Fermina Consignado and her computer unit (picture 14.b.) bought from the remittances from her daughter, her daughter requested it to be bought for communication purposes. And then Sari-sari store (picture 14.c) built from remittances by her daughter.



Picture 16.

Fishing and farm equipments of Peterio Laurel



Picture 17.

Felisa Montala's House built and Tricycle bought from remittances