

GENDERED PATTERNS OF LABOR MIGRATION IN PHILIPPINE

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Abstract

This paper focuses on gendered patterns of labor migration from Philippine during 2001 to 2009. Its objective is to identify the different levels of male and female Filipino migrants' participation in different work sectors in international labor market. The data was collected from the yearly official records of migrants for the period from 2001 to 2009 as gathered and compiled by the republic of Philippine. The data was analyzed and interpreted by the author and presented in graphical form to serve the purpose of this paper. It is argued that a highly gendered pattern of migration emerged in Philippine. The overall number of women migrants throughout the period studied has remained higher than that of men. The work sectors in international labor markets also generate highly gendered demands resulting in different patterns of men and women migrants leaving Philippine to join work outside their country. The majority of Filipino women migrate to join the feminine jobs as service workers. On the contrary, Filipino men migrate to join production, transport equipment and labor related works in international labor market.

Keywords: Gender, Migration, Philippine, Service sector, Production sector.

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INTRODUCTION

Migration is defined as the relatively permanent movement of people from one place to another (Bryjak and Soroka 1997, 418). It occurs on two levels: internal and international migration. Internal migration refers to the movement of people within the geographical territory of a country. When this movement takes place across the territorial boundary of nation states it is considered as international migration (Bryjak & Soroka 1997, 419). In either case, it results from social, political and economic conditions of a geographical area. The nature of these conditions may be categorized as Push or Pull factors. The former refers to factors that cause for driving off people from a particular area (e.g. unemployment, natural disasters, etc.) and the later refers to the one that draws or attracts migrants to a geographical area (e.g. opportunities of employment and better living conditions) (Bryjak and Soroka 1997, 419). Go (2009, 155) identifies migration as a means to improve people's socio-economic prospects. The conditions effect women and men differently and give rise to gendered patterns of migration and the consequent socio-economic status and prosperity to both genders.

Gender is a cross cutting factor that effects all the aspects of human life. Migration should also be analysed through a gendered lense. It has different causes for and effects of migration among men and women. The gendered pattern of migration are becoming markedly visible at global and local levels. Accordingly, the paper aims to examine gendered patterns of migration in Philippine during 2001 to 2009. It explains the migration of women and men to participate in different work categories in international labor market. It shows a marked gender typing of work in international labor market which Filipino men and women migrate to join. It is found that majority of Filipino men migrate to join work in production/transport and labor sectors. While Filipino women migrants are segregated in the service work in international labor market.

The paper is divided into following parts. A brief introduction is followed by a note on method and data, a review of relevant literature and data presentation and analysis. The data analysis section was further divided into sections dealing with gender wise migratory flows from Philippine, gender typing of the work sectors attracting Filipino migrants, segregation of women migrants in service sector, and segregation of men in production, transport and labor work. This part also includes the analysis of professional and technical sector showing a mixed pattern of male and female migrants' participation. These sections aim to highlight the marked difference between men and women's participation in migratory flows to join work in service, production, transport and labor, and professional or technical work sectors. It shows Filipino migrant women's segregation in service sector of job showing a marked difference between a large majority of women and a marginal number of men participating in migratory flows to join service sector in international labor market. It also shows that a large majority of male migrants are segregated in production or transport sectors.

METHOD

The paper aims to give a gender focused review of migratory pattern in Philippines to show the feminization of migration from Philippine and the segregation of Filipino women in the service sector in the international global capitalist labor market. The paper is based on secondary data. The data set used for analysis is taken from statistics gathered by Philippines government. The data used is gathered by Philippine Overseas Employment Administration that works under Department of Labor and Employment in the Republic of the Philippines. The statistics are taken from the official website of the department. The data set selected and taken for analysis for this paper covers state owned official records of labor migration from Philippine to different countries throughout the globe under different skill categories. The data set is selected for the time period from 2001 to 2009. The statistics were reviewed, analyzed and presented in statistical, graphical and textual forms according to the purpose of

this paper. The data is not without limitations. As the illegal migration is also taking place but the official statistics do not include any record of those migrating through illegal ways. Despite the limitations the data presented is enough to understand the broader gendered patterns of migratory flows from Philippine to satisfy different demand of international labor market.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The gendered pattern of migration are becoming markedly visible that a new term of 'feminization of migration' has been coined to express the phenomenon. The term refers to "the growing participation of women in migration" (IOM Glossary 2005 cited in Ionesco and Aghazarm 2009, 11) and the rising number of independently migrating women in migration streams (Piper 2005, 5). It also deals with the experiences, and issues related to the increasing number of women involved in migration streams (Piper 2009, 24). In short, the term includes the phenomenon of increased participation of women in migratory streams, its statistical visibility, and the growing demand for feminized jobs in international labor market (Piper 2009, 24).

The demand for feminized job in the international labor market is an important factor for triggering the dramatic increase in women's migration globally. Feminized jobs can be explained as the "sex typing" or "gender typing" of the work and occupations specifically assigned to women and men (Henslin 1997, 285; Wharton 2004, 164). All the societies throughout globe associate activities with one gender or the other. Although the list of activities assigned to one gender in different societies is not always same. Henslin (1997,285) analyzing Murdock's survey of hundreds of societies showed a general categorization in which metalworking, making weapons, pursuing sea mammals, and hunting are almost always associated with men while making clothing, cooking, carrying water, and grinding grain with women. The services provided for reproduction of human beings and their families is considered as feminine (Lan 2008). These

services are usually done as either unpaid work within family or low waged and prestige work in paid labor market. Wharton (2004,164) identifies the general pattern that “low-status jobs containing low amounts of power and control over others are much more likely to be gendered female” while “the jobs involving the display of authority are more likely to be gendered as male”. The division of activities is not without socio-economic and political implications for both genders. Men and masculine activities are more highly valued than women and feminine activities in terms of economic gains, status and prestige (Wharton 2004, 164).

The workplace and the labor markets are gender segregated. Although, women make up almost half of the paid labor force but they are employed in different occupation than in which men usually are (Wharton 2004, 166). The vertical and horizontal job segregation exists and conditioned women’s vulnerable position in paid labor market predominantly as service worker (UNSTATS, 2013). Similarly, when it comes to migration, the changing nature of global economy and labor market has affected men and women differently, giving rise to the gendered patterns of migration (Piper 2009, 22; Piper 2005, 5). It has brought a dramatic increase in the number of women migrants (Siddiqui, 2008, 4).

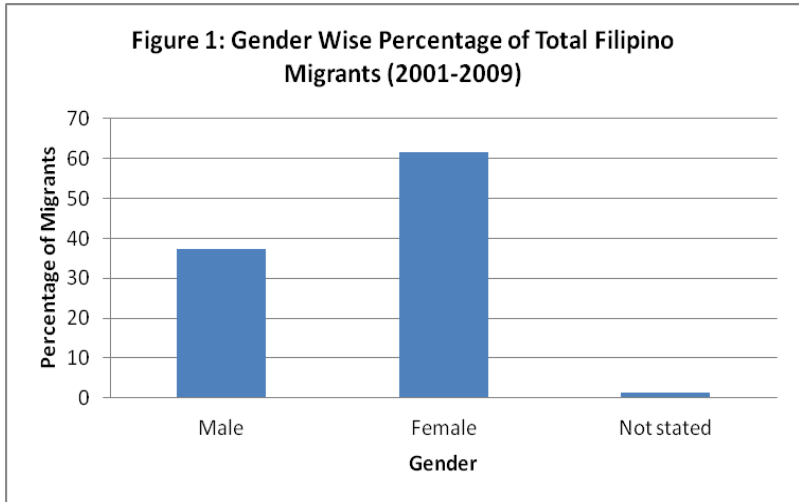
Percentage of international women migrants is hovering around 48.8% in 2000 (Piper 2005, 3) to 49.6% in 2005 (Siddiqui 2008, 2). Presently, they are constituting half of the international migrants; with total stocks of international women migrants as estimated to be 105 million in 2010 (Thimothy and Sasikumar 2012, 20). Asia stands at second top position with total stock of migrants as 53 million migrants in 2005 (Siddiqui 2008, 3). In 2010, Asian women made up one fourth (i.e. 26%) of the total female international migrants (Thimothy and Sasikumar 2012, 21). The three main countries from where the majority of Asian female international migrant workers come from are the Philippines, Indonesia and Sri Lanka (Siddiqui 2008, 3; Piper 2009, 25). The migration streams in Asian region are highly gendered in which men migrate to join work in construction

and women as domestic work or in labor for garment industries (Ionesco and Aghazarm 2009, 15). An overwhelming majority of international female migrants are segregated in either the low skilled or semi-skilled, non-skilled personal service work (Piper 2005, 5).

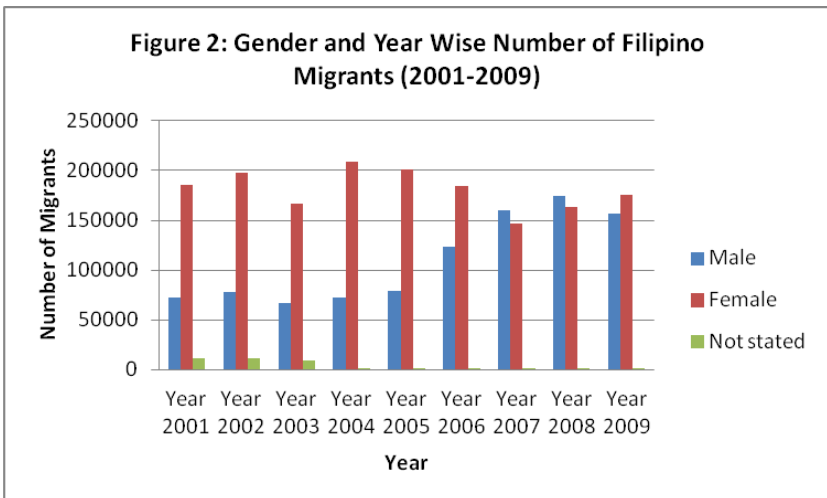
This paper focuses on Filipino women migrants. The female share among first-time migrant workers from the Philippines rose from 50% in 1992 to 61% in 1998. In 1993, 15 percent of households in Singapore had 81,000 foreign domestic live-in servants, of whom 50,000 were from the Philippines (Castles & Miller, 2003). Throughout the world, there are approximately 6.5 million Filipino migrants since the early 1990s and more than half of them are women. Of these women two third are employed in domestic services (Parreñas, 2001). In short, Filipino women labor migration and concentration in the domestic services in more than 130 countries represent “one of the largest and widest flows of contemporary female migration” (Tyner, 1999). The uniqueness of gendered patterns of migration and Filipino women migrants’ outflow as service workers in international labor market are the main focus of this paper.

GENDER WISE COMPOSITION OF FILIPINO MIGRANTS

This section deals with the gender analysis of migratory patterns from Philippines, with the help of data, during the year 2001 and 2009. The total number of migrants from Philippine was 2,644,346 persons during 2001 to 2009. The graph presented in Figure 1 shows gender wise percentage of men and women migrants. The percentage of women migrating is almost twice (i.e. 61.64%) as compared to that of their men counterparts (i.e. 37.17%) during this period. The gender of a marginal number of migrants (i.e. 1.1.8%) was not found identified.



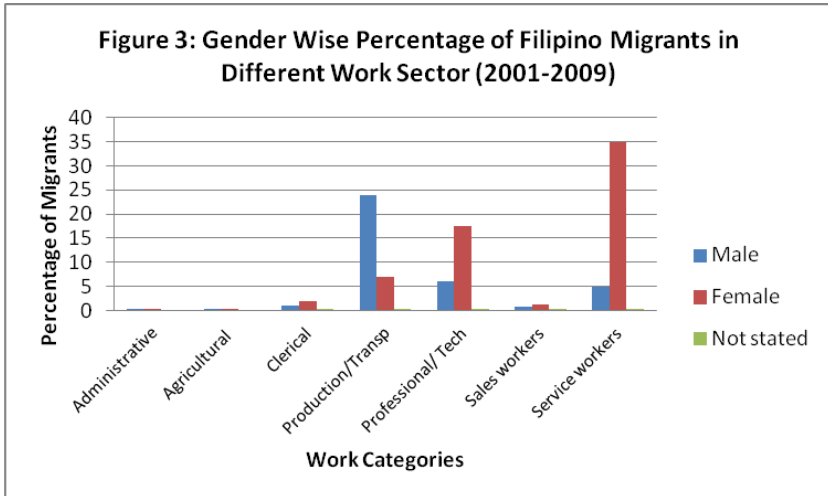
The gender and year wise details of the migrating persons from Philippine during 2001 to 2009 are given in the graph presented in Figure 2. It shows that the number of female migrating from Philippine has remained higher than that of men throughout the period studied, except for the year 2007 and 2008. The number of women migrants reached to highest in the year 2004, when 209,372 women left Philippines to work in various destination countries across the globe. During 2001 to 2009 the number of women migrating from Philippines was twice than that of men.



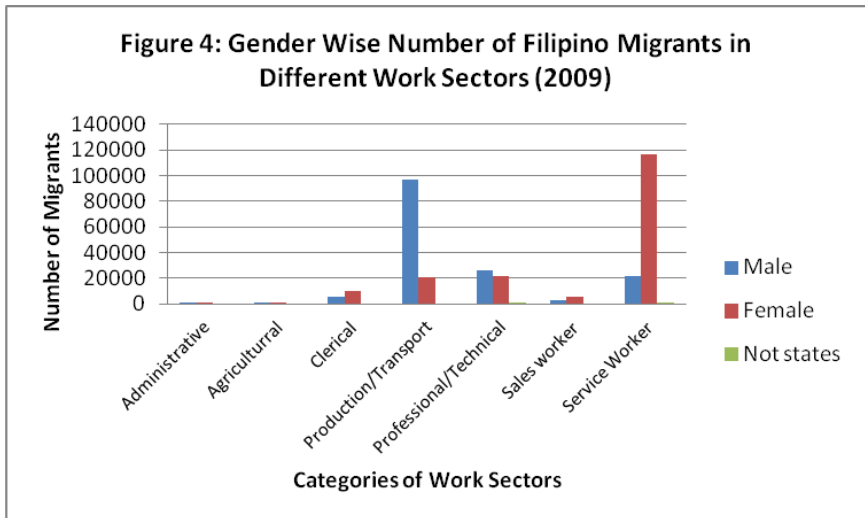
The gender gap in number of migrants started to become narrow during 2006 to 2009. The number of male migrants became higher than women only during 2007 and 2008. But the difference was not so large in numbers. It was only 13,761 and 11,606 women less than men in 2007 and 2008, respectively. The ratio of women migrants again increased in 2009. The number of women migrating from Philippine was 175,296 (i.e. 52.83%) as compared to 156,454 men (i.e. 47.15%) in the year 2009. The number of men less than women was 18,842 men. It seems that throughout the decade women's migration remain higher, hovering between 146,285 women as the lowest and 209,372 women migrants as the highest. While the number of male migrants witnessed a rapid increase and ranged between 66,401 men as the lowest in 2003 and 174,930 as the highest in 2008.

GENDER TYPING OF WORK SECTORS FOR FILIPINO MIGRANTS

Global pattern of skill wise migration has show that women and men migrate to destinations countries to fill the demands in different industries or work sectors. A marked gendered division of labor among men and women Filipino migrants is visible. They moved from Philippine to fill the demands raised from different job sectors in international labor market. The six broader categories of work sectors for data analysis included: 1) administrative and managerial workers, 2) agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers also including fishermen and hunters, 3) clerical and related workers, 4) production related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers, 5) professional, technical and related workers, 6) sales workers, and 6) service workers.



The graph presented in Figure 3 shows gender typing or assignment of different work sectors among men and women. It presents gender and work category wise composition of total Filipino migrants during the period studies. It depicts the percentage of men and women migrating from Philippine to join work in different work sectors in international labor markets during 2001 to 2009. The top three categories of work sectors to which Philippines migrate to work in are: 1) service work, 2) production, transport equipment operation and labor work and 3) professional and technical workers comprising 40%, 30.9% and 23.5% of total migrants, respectively. The other categories included a marginal number of Filipino migrants. Clerical job in destination countries accommodate only 2.98% Filipinos. Another 1.94% Filipino migrant men and women migrate to join a sales work somewhere outside their home country. The agricultural sector also including animal husbandry, forestry, fishing and hunting attracts only 0.27% Filipino migrants. The administration and managerial sector comprises the least number of migrants (i.e. 0.26%) from Philippine during 2001-2009.



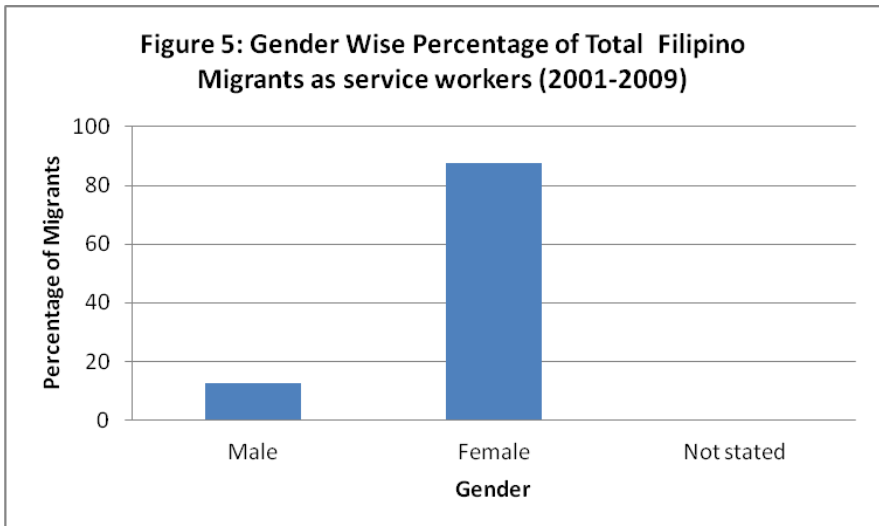
It is also important to have an idea about the bulk of people who migrate from Philippine to join work in different categories. The graph presented in Figure 4 shows the number of migrants in different work categories in the year 2009. It shows the similar pattern of largest migratory flows to join the service work, production sector and professional and technical work. The service sector includes the largest number of Filipino migrants (i.e. 138,221) in 2009. The category of production, transport and labor workers came at second number comprising 117,609 Filipino migrants in 2009. The third largest category of Filipino migrants is of professional and technical workers comprising 22,026 (i.e. 14.5%) migrants in 2009. The number of migrants moving to work in administrative, agricultural, clerical, and sales work is significantly lower in 2009 as 0.3%, 0.4%, 4.6%, and 2.5%, respectively.

Various categories of work sector differently attract men and women Filipino migrants. It appears in Figure 3 and Figure 4 that the majority of women migrants were migrating to join the international labor market as service workers while the highest number of men seems to be participating in production, transport and labor related works. The percentage of men among total migrants in the field of production, transport & labor work (i.e. 77.2% during 2001-2009 and 82.6% in

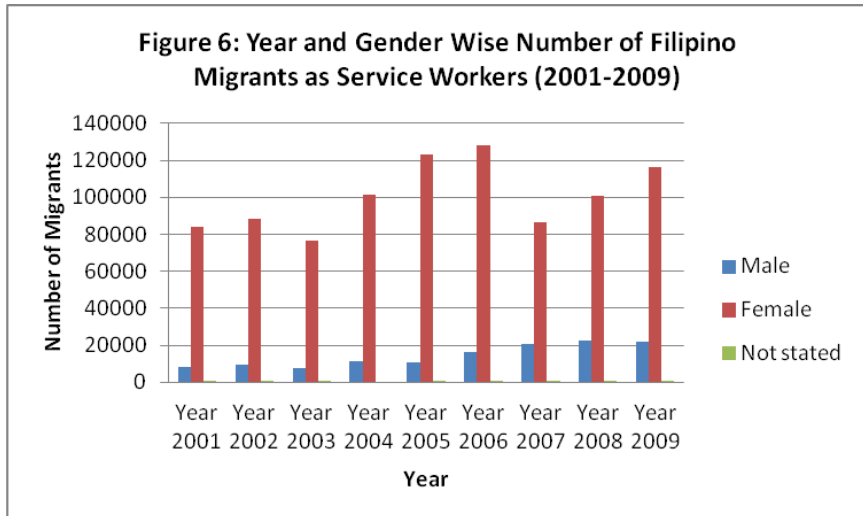
2009), agriculture (i.e. 87.8% during 2001-2009 and 79% in 2009), administrative work (i.e. 66.93% during 2001-2009 and 61.7% in 2009) and professional/ technical work (i.e. 26.03 during 2001-2009 and 54% in 2009) is higher than women. While women are mostly segregated in service sector (i.e. 87.5% during 2001-2009 and 84% in 2009), clerical work (i.e. 62.8% during 2001-2009 and 64% in 2009), and sales work (i.e. 62.3% during 2001-2009 and 62% in 2009). The following sections will give a deep understanding of gender composition of migrants in each work category, separately.

SEGREGATION OF WOMEN FILIPINO MIGRANTS IN SERVICE SECTOR

The data shows a highly gendered migratory flow in service sector (see Figure 5). Majority of women migrants are segregated in service sector. Women comprise 87.5% of Filipino migrants who leave the country to join work in service sector. Men only include 12.4% of all Filipino migrant service workers during 2001 to 2009. The gender of a marginal number of migrants service workers (i.e. 0.009%) was not identifies.



The ratio of men and women Filipino migrants in service sector remained almost same throughout the period studies. The Figure 6 shows year wise gender division of total migrants in service sector. Generally, the service sector is considered as feminine and assigned to women. Similarly, the number of women participating in service sector remained significantly high during 2001 to 2009; ranging from 76,292 women as the lowest in 2003 to 128,160 women as highest in the year 2006. It remained four to seven times higher than men in different years.

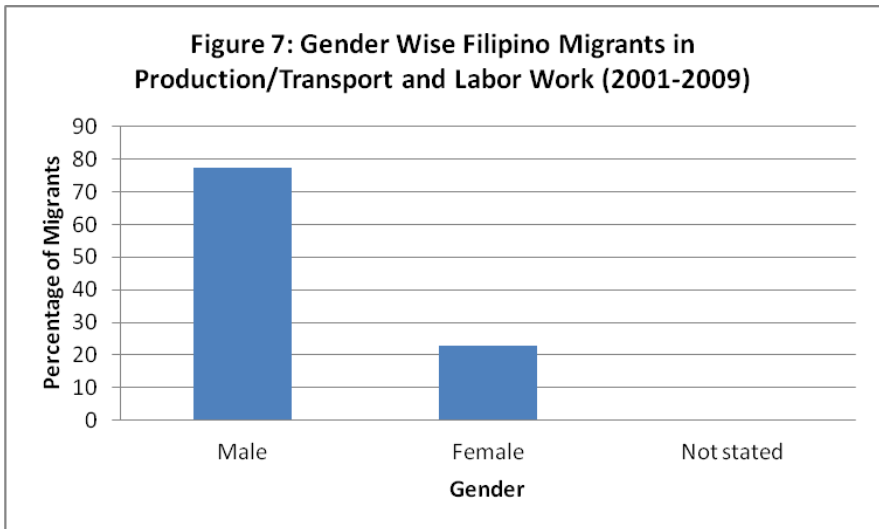


On the contrary, men were found comprising a minority of Filipino migrants to join this work sector. The number of men participating in this sector ranged from 7,725 men as lowest in 2003 to 22,754 men as the highest in 2008. In short, the international labor market generates a gendered demand for and accommodates a large number of Filipino women service workers. It neither generates a demand nor accepts a large number of Filipino men migrants in this sector.

SEGREGATION OF MEN FILIPINO MIGRANTS IN PRODUCTION/TRANSPORT AND LABOR WORK

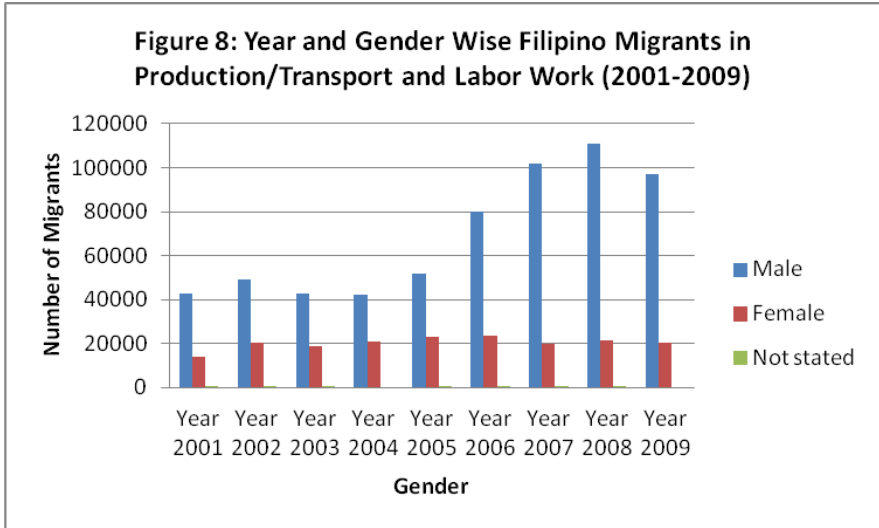
The data also shows a gender segregated migratory stream of Filipinos in production, transport equipment operators and labor

work in international labor market (see Figure 7). Men Filipino migrants dominate in this work sector throughout the period studied. It is seen that men comprises 77.2% of all Filipino migrants working to join production, transport equipments operation and labor related works. Women are only 22.6% of the total migrants in this sector. While the gender of a minority of persons (i.e. 0.006) is not identifies. The participation of men in this sector remained higher than women throughout the period studies.



The Number of men Filipino migrants in Production/transport equipment operations and labor work sector remained higher than that of women throughout the period studies. The Figure 8 shows year wise gender division of total migrants in this work category. Generally, production, transport equipment operation and labor are considered masculine jobs and assigned to men. Similarly, the number of men participating in this sector remained higher than women during 2001-2009; ranging from 41,978 men as lowest in 2004 to 111,011 men as highest in 2008. It remained twice to four times higher than that of women in different time periods. On the contrary, women were found participating in less number in this work category. The number of women participating in this work category

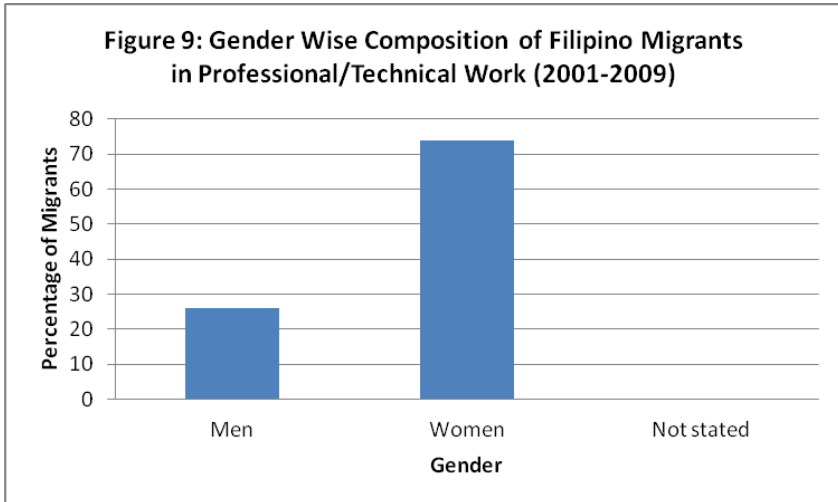
ranged from 13,755 women as lowest in 2001 to 23,338 women as highest in 2006.



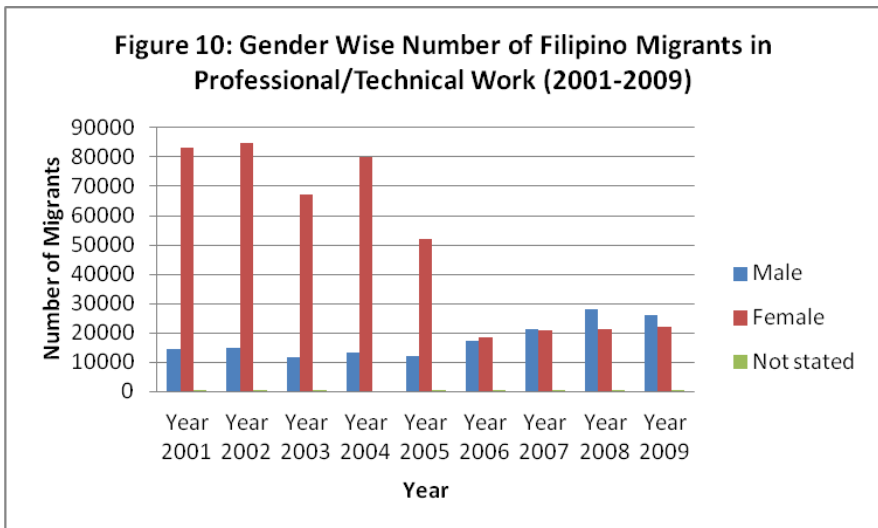
In short, the category including production related work transport and its equipment related work and the work as laborer predominantly include men migrants from Philippine. It means the international labor market generates a gendered demand for and accommodates a large number of Filipino men in these work sectors. It neither generates a demand nor accepts a large number of Filipino women migrants in this sector.

FILIPINO MIGRANTS IN PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL JOBS

The data also shows a highly gendered migratory flow in professional and technical work (see Figure 9). Majority of the total Filipino migrants comprising this category were women during 2001 to 2009. Women comprise 73.9% of Filipino migrants who join work in international labor market as professional or technical workers during 2001 to 2009. Men only made up 26% of all Filipino migrant in this sector during the period studies. The gender of a marginal number of migrants professional or technical workers (i.e. 0.007%) was not identifies.



The ratio of men and women Filipino migrants in professional and technical work dramatically changed during the period 2001 to 2009. The Figure 10 shows year wise gender division of total migrants in professional and technical work. The participation of Filipino migrants in this sector can be divided into two periods; the first period from 2001 to 2005 with higher participation of women migrants, and the second period from 2005 to 2009 with nominal participation of both genders.



Till the year 2005, the number of women migrants remained many times higher than that of men; ranging from 51,980 women as the lowest in 2005 to 84,828 women as highest in the year 2002. It remained four to seven times higher than men in different years during 2001 to 2005. On the contrary, men were found comprising a minority of Filipino migrants to join this work sector during 2001 to 2005. The number of men participating in this sector ranged from 11,620 men as lowest in 2003 to 14,849 men as the highest in 2008.

Since 2006 women migrants participation in this work sector dropped dramatically; from 51,980 women in 2005 to 18,593 women in 2006. While men migrants' participation increased from 11,953 men in 2005 to 17,212 men in 2006. Since then, the participation of men and women remained lower as professional or technical workers during 2006 to 2009. The number of men Filipino migrant professional and technical workers reached to highest as 27,899 men in the year 2008.

CONCLUSION

The paper was based on a study of gendered patterns of migration in Philippine during 2001 to 2009. It argues that men and women both participate in the migration outflows from Philippine. The number of women migrants is found almost twice higher than that of men during the period studied. A gendered demand arising from international labor market is also found visible for Filipino migrant women and men. Both the genders migrate to join work in different work sectors. It shows the gender typing of occupations or gender division of labor at international level that reproduce and perpetuate the gender inequality at global level. It is argued that men migrants are segregated in masculine job sectors of administration, production, transport, agriculture related jobs offering status, prestige and authority. On the contrary women are segregated in job sectors considered as feminine, such as services, sales and low level clerical staff offering less status, prestige and authority to them. For example, the service sector includes only 21,643 men as compared to 116,578 women Filipino migrants leaving country in 2009. Women migrants

made the large majority comprising 83.34% of this sector as compared to only 15.658% men in 2009. The service sector that comprises a large number of women migrants included dirty, dangerous and low prestige job that reduces women migrant workers in a vulnerable and insecure position. It is concluded that women predominate the labor migratory outflows from Philippine and a highly gendered pattern of Filipino migration appears describing service sector as feminine and assigning it to majority of Filipino women migrant and identifying production and transport and labor sector as masculine and assigning it to majority of male Filipino migrants.

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