THE DYNAMICS OF ILLEGAL MIGRATION THE PHILIPPINES – SOUTH KOREA CASE

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MA. ANGELINA IGNACIO-ESTEBAN

THESIS

Submitted to the School of Public Policy and Management, KDI in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF PUBLIC POLICY

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ABSTRACT

The case study aimed to explore the factors which push and pull unskilled Filipino migrant workers to resort to illegal migration in the Republic of Korea. The research assumed that the policy of Korea of accepting unskilled foreign workers through the KFSMB Trainee Scheme serves as a "push" factor for workers to choose illegal work. The survey findings however showed that not only does this migration policy affects the propensity of workers to resort to illegal migration, rather, there is an interplay of various push and pull factors, the effects of which depend on the perception of the migrant workers on the costs and benefits he or she could get and at which stage of the migration process he or she is making a decision. To my daughter Sandy, my very special reason for living

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

At this stage of trade liberalization and globalization, we observe the freer flows of goods, capital, technology and labor in the international market. Various countries at whatever stage of development they are in, aim for the reduction of trade barriers and restrictions in order to gain the benefits of a globalizing world economy. However, the movement of people is one area that remains restricted and controlled. The labor-importing countries, which are mostly the economically rich and developed countries are becoming less liberal on the entry and stay of foreign workers, especially the unskilled workers. The primary reason given for controls and limits on labor migration is the perceived effects on the employment and wage conditions of the host countries.

Nevertheless, I believe that international labor migration shall continue to persist along with the increasing trend towards globalization. This is even truer in the case of temporary migration of unskilled labor. And a part of this migration trend is illegal migration, which is one reason why labor-importing countries impose stricter policies on foreign workers.

What makes a person choose between legal and illegal means to be able to work abroad? What makes him prefer to work legally or illegally during his stay in that foreign country? This is the main puzzle I intend to explore and analyze in this research study. Saith argues that "as far as economic migration is concerned, two contending views exist: one would assert that large scale international migration is essentially demand induced, and the other would insist that it arises instead from unbearable supply-side pressures in the sending economy."¹ His argument attempts to explain the incidence of labor migration by classifying it as derived either from the labor importing country or from the labor sending country. The intensity of these migration pressures varies with the existing labor supply-side push forces and the labor demand-side pull forces.

Based on these concepts, I derived my own dichotomy of the push and pull factors that could possibly explain the propensity of the migrant worker to choose or prefer a legal or illegal work status. In addition to the structural factors, the labor supply-side push and demand-side pull factors that can explain labor migration, I included other variables such as the migration policy of the labor sending and receiving countries and the institutions involved in labor migration. All these factors interplay and affect the migrant worker's decision. I assume that his choice to have a legal or illegal work status depends on his perception and assessment of the costs and benefits as brought about by the various factors involved. Any one of these factors could plausibly predominate or all could have similarly serious push and pull effects on the occurrence of illegal migration.

This research is not concerned about measuring the degree by which the push and pull factors bring about illegal migration. Rather, it aims to explore what these factors are which push or pull a worker to prefer to work illegally. My theory is that

¹ Ashwani Saith, "Emigration Pressures and A Structural Change: Case study of the Philippines," <u>International Migration Paper</u> No. 9 (1998) International Labour Organization (ILO).

the labor migration policy of the labor receiving countries influences the propensity of a migrant worker to resort to illegal migration. The type of policy and implementation of the policy can either encourage or discourage him to choose illegal means or status. The Philippines – Korea case is significant because of the use of the trainee scheme as the Korean migration policy on the entry of unskilled foreign workers. The study explores how this migration policy affects the migrant worker's choices and decisions.

Chapter II presents empirical evidences obtained from the survey and these substantiated how the various factors affect the decision of the migrant worker to choose between legal and illegal status. The analysis of the findings has proven that my hypothesis is false, that it is not only the migration policy of the host country which affects the propensity of the worker to resort to illegal migration, rather, there is an interplay of various factors. However, the Korean policy on foreign workers, specifically the Korea Federation of Small and Medium Business (KFSMB) Trainee Scheme under the Alien Industrial Technology Training Program (AITTP) serves more as "push" factor towards choosing an illegal work status. I therefore recommended for the Korean government to seriously consider discontinuing the trainee scheme and instead grant the work permit system to unskilled foreign workers.

1.1 Research Problem

The problem of illegal migration has become a continuing concern for everybody. In addition to the migrant workers themselves and their families who are directly affected by this problem, the international relations of both the labor sending and labor receiving countries are also affected, and migration also affects domestic labor market conditions in the host countries. There are a number of attempts undertaken to study this phenomenon, but since its occurrence is by nature irregular and undocumented, then it is really hard to formulate generalizations regarding its evolvement. Through empirical evidences directly obtained from a sample of migrant workers, the study is another attempt to acquire deeper understanding on the dynamics of illegal migration.

This research aimed to explore what are the factors that affect the propensity of a prospective migrant worker to use illegal channels over the legal means to be able to enter and work in the Republic of Korea. ² Likewise, at the overseas job site, what makes him choose or prefer a legal or illegal work status? Or what factors push or pull him to resort to illegal migration? Furthermore, once these factors are ascertained, could these be remedied and if so, to what extent and how?

My research hypothesis, therefore, is that the labor migration policy of the labor receiving country, which in this study is focused only on the KFSMB Trainee Scheme under the Korean Alien Industrial Technology Training Program (AITTP) affects the propensity of a migrant worker to resort to illegal migration. This type of migration policy and how the trainee scheme is being implemented bring about a "push" effect on the migrant worker to choose illegal means or illegal work status.

² Henceforth referred here as Korea.

1.2 Research Objectives

This research has two types of objectives. One is the immediate goal directly pertaining to the research activity and the other is the development goal that is expected to materialize only in the long-term.

1.2.1 Immediate Objectives:

- 1. To explore the factors which push or pull the migrant worker to resort to illegal migration.
- To validate the research problem through the empirical findings of the survey on Filipino migrant workers in Korea.
- To identify and formulate policy recommendations for consideration of concerned government institutions in the Philippines and Korea to address the problem on illegal migration.

1.2.2 Development Objective

To raise the awareness of all stakeholders of labor migration, especially the government, foreign employers and migrant workers on the push and pull factors that interplay throughout the migration process and motivate them to reform those aspects that contribute to the occurrence of illegal migration.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The assumptions and arguments of the study are based on the definition given by Tapinos on the concept of illegal migration, which he also termed as clandestine migration.³ He says that the " the clandestine nature of such migration is defined by reference to the rules of law, the restrictions on entering and leaving the country and the regulations governing access to the labor market".

Furthermore, Tapinos emphasizes that the "examination of clandestinity should not be focused only on the illegal migrant himself. The analysis of the phenomenon and the formulation of policies to combat it should look at the whole length of the chain of clandestinity, which brings into play a series of agents: the migrant, the intermediary who facilitates his passage or placement, the company for whom the migrant works and the principal contractor".⁴

I perceive that efforts to address the problem of illegal migration are affected by measures and policies that attempt to control inflows and length of stay. The labor receiving country or host country justifies these control measures as a form of protection for the domestic workforce against competition with foreign workers. The measures may be in the form of imposing border controls, limit on number and length of stay of foreign workers; granting of penalties against employers hiring illegal foreign workers and implementation of regularization and amnesty programs.

³ Georges Tapinos, "Clandestine Immigration: Economic and Political Issues" in <u>Trends in</u> <u>International Migration</u>, SOPEMI - OECD (1999), 229.

⁴Tapinos, p. 230.

However, I think the measures to control inflows are not absolute guarantees to regulate illegal migration. Thus as long as there exists economic imbalances among different countries, wage differentials across national borders and information networks and countries continuously open their economies to international trade, labor migration whether legal or illegal, shall continue to persist.

I believe that there are a number of factors that influence the migrant workers' decision to migrate. The effect could either be in the direction of urging, driving or persuading the worker to migrate purposely to work, or the effect could also be that of attracting, inducing or drawing him to work overseas. I assume that the push and pull effects are not uni-directional, but rather, there is an interplay of these migration pressures wherein they work interchangeably depending on the perception of the migrant worker of the costs and benefits he can get and at which stage of the migration process he is making a decision. The migrant worker is faced with only two choices or alternatives: being legal, that is working within the bounds of the prescribed policy or law or being illegal, that is working outside the law. The main concern of this study is exploring the factors that push or pull him to engage in illegal entry or illegal overseas work.

By stage of migration process, I refer to the pre-entry stage or the point where the worker is still at his country of origin. The second stage is after entry, which is the time of residence and employment of the worker at the overseas job site. The last stage is the re-entry back to his home country, which covers the period where he is about to decide to exit or still contemplating to return to his home country. The effects of the push and pull factors vary depending on the stage the migrant worker is making a decision.

The analysis of the interplay of these push and pull factors is centered on the perspective of the migrant worker. Hence, I assume that his decision to choose illegal work relies largely on his perception and understanding of these push and pull factors, as well as the costs and benefits he could get from resorting to it. Moreover, such personal perceptions are likewise formed and anchored on the individual's beliefs, values and principles in life.

I classified the variables according to structural, institutional and systemic factors. The structural factors pertain to the emigration pressures as manifested by labor supply-side push factors and labor demand-side pull factors. Correlated to these are variables such as poverty, income inequality and wage differentials across national borders and between nationals and foreign workers.

The systemic factor refers to the labor migration policy adopted by both the labor sending and labor receiving countries, which in this specific case that of the Philippines and Korea. I mean by migration policy as that which includes the over-all system by which the host government admits migrant workers, the implementing institutions involved and the terms and conditions of work being provided. On the other hand, the migration policy of the labor exporting country specifically refers to the over-all guiding principle on overseas employment and the administration of programs in support of the policies. By institutional factors, I refer to the family, as the basic and primary factor that influences the migrant worker's decision to work abroad; the concerned government agencies directly involved in overseeing international labor migration matters; the intermediaries, which are the recruitment agencies and brokers; employers' organizations; the church and other religious organizations; nongovernmental organizations concerned with helping foreign workers and the social or community-based organizations of the migrant workers' themselves.

1.4 Methodology

The two major techniques used to test the research hypothesis are review and analysis of related research on the topic and the conduct of a case study to solicit empirical evidences that could further substantiate the arguments being proven in this research.

The main methodology used for the case study is a survey of Filipino migrant workers in Korea. The survey findings were complemented by insights, opinions and experiences obtained from interviews with key informants who are familiar with the issues and concerns of the Filipino workers. The actual survey was conducted in October 17 to November 7, 1999. The sample respondents were taken from the group of Filipino workers who attend Sunday Mass Service at the Catholic Church located at Hyehwadong Chongno-gu, Seoul, Korea.

A non-probability sampling method was used in the survey. The process was a combination of availability and purposive sampling. Any workers who were available for interview before and after the church service were surveyed, but some respondents were also purposely identified and chosen according to their current work status, namely as trainees, runaway trainees or illegal entrants. A total of 53 respondents were interviewed using structured questionnaires prepared in the Filipino language. (Appendix B)

The trainees are defined as those who entered Korea through the KFSMB Trainee System. They have a legal work status for a limited period of two years and could be extended for another year subject to compliance of certain requirements. They are bounded by a trainee contract and allowed to work only in the company specified in the contract.

The runaway trainees are defined here as those who entered Korea legally as trainees and left the company where they were legally assigned to work. They are considered holding an illegal work status at the time of the survey. The illegal entrants refer to those who entered Korea through a tourist visa, stayed in the country beyond the duration allowed and are working at the time of the survey. The runaway trainees and illegal entrants are treated as one group, categorized as illegal workers. However, there are cases in the presentation of the survey findings wherein these two types of respondents are treated separately.

One major difficulty encountered in the conduct of the survey is the low accessibility of target respondents. Most of them work six days in a week and Sunday is their only rest day and chance to go around and meet friends, consequently, only a few obliged to be interviewed. This obstacle is especially true for the trainees, which is why only a limited number of respondents (12 workers) were covered in this group.

1.5 Review Of Related Literature

The related literature cited in this section evolves around three important points, namely, migration policy as a controlling mechanism, the role of interest groups and illegal migration as eliciting "benefits" to foreign employers.

1.5.1 Labor Migration Policy

The study done by Seccombe and Lawless deals with how countries are faced with important policy decisions concerning the extent of state intervention on exporting and importing labor. They say "these policies on exporting human resources range on a continuum starting from outright prohibition of labor emigration, through selective control and laissez faire, to positive encouragement. These polices could be categorized as management and structural policies".⁵

Management policies can be defined in relatively narrow terms as those that are primarily concerned with the short-term organization and functioning of the migration process. These include the classic concerns of emigration policy, namely, protecting the legal status, rights and conditions of nationals working and living abroad, together with intervention in the recruitment and selection process to prevent

⁵ I. J. Seccombe and R.I. Lawless, "State Intervention and the International Labor Market: A Review of Labor Emigration Policies in the Arab World", in <u>The Impact of International Migration on Developing</u> <u>Countries</u>, Reginald Appleyard, ed. (OECD Development Center, 1989), 69 – 73.

the abuse of individuals by recruiting agents or to control the withdrawal of specific skills.

In contrast, structural policies are more broadly based and concerned with a range of medium and long-term measures that can be adopted by a labor-supplying country to regulate external migration in line with national development goals. Structural policies therefore impinge rather more closely on the government's wider development strategy. In the long-term, such policies may aim to stabilize the flow of remittances to enable the formulation of long-term resource policies. The attainment of these objectives may involve the negotiation of bilateral or multilateral manpower agreements.

On the side of the labor importing country, policies are generally geared towards responding to labor shortage in order to address structural problems in laborintensive sectors. Thus, the policies could likewise range from selective or restricted policies to adopting the "open door policy" in the entry of foreign workers.

Papademetriou and Hamilton point that practical factors such as administrative procedures, the relationship between administrative and executive branches of government and international issues and constraints will also affect the capacity of a government to develop and implement migration policies.⁶

Based on a study conducted in 1992 by the Development Center Studies of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Fong says "it is difficult for labor receiving countries to develop a long-term strategy on unskilled foreign labor, if the views of influential interest groups are divided".⁷ Different and opposing views and positions of groups such as the labor unions, employers' groups, non-government organizations and even the various agencies in the government may impede the government to formulate consistent policies and undertake effective implementation of those policies.

Abella also shares a similar view and contends that "each sending country faces a dilemma with respect to labor migration, that is, it needs to send workers abroad to meet national economic objectives, such as reduce domestic unemployment, increase national income and savings and improve the balance of payments through remittances".

However, Abella says "the labor-sending country is also concerned with the protection of its workers abroad by setting minimum labor standards and restraining abuses in recruitment. Labor emigration policies are also influenced by interest groups, such as private recruitment agencies, medical clinics giving health tests, training centers, travel companies and money lenders. In addition, for countries that are rapidly industrializing, there may be pressure on the government from the domestic industries to slow the exodus of needed skills".⁸

⁶ Demetrios Papademetriou and Kimberly Hamilton, "Managing Imperfection: Regulating Immigration Flows in OECD Countries", Paper presented at the Seminar on International Migration and Policy Options Towards the 21st Century: Challenges for Asian Countries (Japan, 19-20 January 1995), 209. ⁷ Pang Eng Fong, "Regionalisation and Labor Flows in Pacific Asia" in <u>Development Center Studies</u>, (OECD, 1993), 63.

⁸ Manolo Abella, "Policies and Institutions for the Orderly Movement of Labor Abroad", Paper presented at the Seminar on International Migration and Policy Options Towards the 21st Century: Challenges for Asian Countries (Japan, 19-20 January 1995), 221-230.

Abella then examines the consequences of each model for the amount of emigration that does not occur through official channels and the cost of migration. He finds a positive, albeit weak, correlation between government involvement and the amount of emigration passing through channels organized and supported by the government. The impact of government policy on the cost of emigration remains limited given the numerous factors, which affect it (e.g. wage differentials, information, agency fees, and fraud). Countries such as Korea that established integrated systems of control early on have been more successful in influencing outcomes that those attempted to introduce controls after migrants had established networks and the recruitment industry had become entrenched.

The author raised the need for closer cooperation between sending and receiving countries to bridge the gap between their respective jurisdictions. He recognizes that several efforts have been made in this direction in the Asian region, but further consideration should be given to boosting inter-state collaboration in the organization of the movement of labor within the region.⁹

1.5.2 Illegal Migration

Tapinos offers various approaches in understanding illegal migration. He contends that "illegal migration is a matter for each sovereign state to define. And it is through the rule of law – with its gaps – that the state imposes restrictions on entering and leaving a country, and establishes the legal conditions governing access

⁹ Abella, p. 221.

to the labor market". As he points out "there can be no such thing as illegal migration unless restrictions and a degree of tolerance exist simultaneously".¹⁰

Tapinos further argues that "being illegal is seldom the migrant's deliberate choice. The advantages of illegal migration tend mostly to be on the side of the employer. An employer will benefit from the illegal status of a migrant who is desperate for work and therefore prepared to accept poor pay, usually below local norms. The 'welfare magnet' of illegal migration is much stronger for the employer than for the worker, whose precarious situation and low bargaining power makes him vulnerable to discriminatory practices in the form of longer hours and non-payment of various bonuses, or even wages".¹¹

As pointed out by the other authors, Jahn also shares a similar view about the role of migration policy and interest groups. He says that " illegal migration is made up by a migration legislation that defines who may enter, stay and work legally and who is an illegal. There is a demand for illegal immigration by some vested interest groups. They influence the politico-economic process in such a way that migration laws are not enforced strictly and severely". He recommends "as a short term policy, employer sanctions as the most effective instrument to reduce incentives for illegal work of foreigners. However, illegal employment of natives and foreigners is the consequence of inefficiencies presents the only possible long-term strategy to

¹⁰ Georges Tapinos, "Illegal Immigrants and the Labor Market" in OECD Observer, On-Line.

¹¹ Tapinos, p. 5.

lower the economic incentives for illegal immigration. A good labor market policy is the only valid strategy fighting illegal employment".¹²

¹² Andreas Jahn and Thomas Straubhaar, "A Survey on the Economics of Illegal Migration" (1998) On-Line.

Chapter II

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

2.1 **Profile of Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs)**

Starting from a response to the Middle East countries' need for temporary construction workers, the Philippines developed into one of the labor-sending countries around the world. From a modest level of 37,000 in 1975, the number of Filipino contract workers has risen steadily to 215,000 in 1980, 445,000 in 1990 and 625,000 in 1993. ¹³ The paper written by Go states that the trend on Philippine overseas employment, since the 1980s is towards a shift in the occupational profile from construction and unskilled workers to professional and skilled workers; increasing number of women working overseas and emergence of Asia as an increasingly important destination.

Despite the occurrence of the Asian financial crisis, there is an increasing deployment of overseas Filipino workers. For the period 1995 to 1999, the total deployment has a yearly average of 730, 892 workers. It has been increasing at an annual average of 3.5 percent. From 654,022 workers deployed in 1996, the number reached a high of 836,934 in 1999. The deployment of sea-based workers averaged at 5% growth rate for the five-year period, while a 3.1% average rate of growth was observed among land-based workers. ¹⁴

¹³ Stella P. Go, "Emigration Pressures and the Export of Labor from the Philippines", in <u>Migration and the Labor Market in Asia, Prospects to the Year 2000</u> (OECD, 1996), 160.

¹⁴ Labor Assistance Center NAIA Deployment Reports and Reports form POEA Regional Centers (1999).

Recent statistics also show that as of 1999, Asia topped the list of major regions of destination, followed by the Middle East countries.¹⁵ Most of the OFWs are in their prime years, the men are mostly between 24 - 39 years old, while the women are usually between 20 - 34 years old. ¹⁶ Data on the number of deployed new hires reveal that the proportion of women working overseas has increased from 58.5% in 1995 to 64.8% of total deployment in 1999. In terms of occupation, data on the number of first-time migrant workers showed that between 1995 and 1998, the proportion of service workers and production and related workers still dominated the total deployment. The 1995 statistics on OFWs by highest grade completed revealed the majority is highly educated where 29.7% and 24% completed college and high school education respectively. This is indicative of the increasing incidence of being either underemployed or an educated unemployed, where overseas employment is a better alternative because of the relatively higher income, even if it would mean working as unskilled worker.

The Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade reported that as of March 8, 2000, the estimated number of Filipinos in Korea was 22,909. Of this, 9,820 or 43% were illegally staying in the country.¹⁷

¹⁵ "Current Labor Statistics, First Quarter 2000, Published by the Bureau of Labor and Employment Statistics, Philippines Department of Labor and Employment.

 ¹⁶ Institute for Labor Studies, "Efficacy of Selected Labor Market Reforms in Promoting Globalization with Equity: The Philippine Case", <u>Monograph Series No. 6 (June 1997)</u>, 32.
 ¹⁷ Memorandum Report to the Philippine Department of Labor and Employment Secretary by Labor

Attache Cora Alfonso dated 15 March 2000.

2.2 **Profile of Survey Respondents**

2.2.1 Socio-demographic Characteristics

A total of 53 respondents were interviewed. Workers with illegal status comprise 77% (41) of the total number of respondents, 10 of whom or 19% were formerly working as trainees and referred here as runaway trainees. There were 12 respondents (23%) working as trainees at the time the survey was conducted.

The majority (66% or 35) of the respondents were male. Almost one-fourth is in their middle twenties, while 36% are between 27 to 32 years old. The illegal workers are relatively older than the trainees. (Tables 1 and 2)

Most of the respondents, almost 53% are single and 38% are married. The majority of those still single are supporting only two dependents, which are usually their parents or perhaps a brother or sister. The married respondents are mostly with three dependents, usually the spouse and two children. Out of all the total respondents, 32.1% have two dependents and 24.5% are supporting at least three persons. (Tables 3 and 4)

In terms of the respondents' educational attainment, the results show that majority, 56.6% have either finished college (41.5%) or obtained a few years of college education (15.1%). This characteristic support the general trend observed among all Filipino overseas workers possessing relatively high level of education.

With regard to duration of work experience prior to working at Korea, almost 32.1% or 17 respondents have more than five years of work experience, however, about 28.3% have been able to work for one to two years only and these cases were usually irregular or part-time jobs. Fifteen percent of the respondents have no work experience prior to working at Korea. (Table 5)

2.2.2 Employment Profile

Out of the 41 illegal workers covered in the survey, three were unemployed at the time of the survey, which was in October 1999. Eleven of them (26.8%) have been working in Korea for more than eight years, which is since 1990, while ten (24.4%) have been employed for less than a year. A majority (83.3%) of the trainees have been working in Korea since 1997. (Table 6)

At the time of the survey, all of the 38 employed illegal workers are working in small or medium sized manufacturing enterprises. Almost half (47.4%) of the illegal workers are working as machine operators in various garments factories. Other respondents are employed as production workers in socks, textile or plastics manufacturing firms. (Table 7)

2.3 Factors Leading Workers To Work Abroad

This section discusses the push and pull factors which I identified as leading workers to work abroad. The economic pressures prevailing in the Philippines are contributing factors, while the reasons cited by the respondents why they decided to work abroad reveal wide-ranging information that could explain what factors pushes workers to seek employment overseas. Aside from these "push" factors are "pull factors prevailing in Korea, which entice workers to seek their source of living there. A major factor is getting a higher paying job as well as other reasons such as easy entry and ease in finding work in Korea.

2.3.1 The "Push" to Work Abroad

One of the main assumptions that this study takes is the presence of structural emigration pressures both in the Philippines as a labor sending country and in Korea as a labor receiving country. This section discusses the "push" factors that drive Filipinos to choose to work abroad. A person's choice or decision to work overseas is triggered by factors such as the high unemployment rate, poverty incidence, inflation and even the occurrence of either man-made calamities (e.g. war, crime incidence) or natural calamities (e.g. typhoons, floods, drought, earthquake). Unfortunately, these pressures are present in the Philippines and they have "push" effects on the large number of unemployed Filipinos to seek employment abroad. I believe that the choice on whether to use legal or illegal means to leave the country is also triggered by these economic pressures, but the migration policy of the country of destination has a large bearing as well.

For the period 1996 to 1999, the average unemployment rate in the Philippines was 9.3%, while the underemployment rate was 21.8%.¹⁸ The Asian financial crisis,

¹⁸ "Current Labor Statistics, First Quarter 2000" Published by the Bureau of Labor and Employment Statistics, Philippines Department of Labor and Employment. Unemployment/ underemployment rate is the proportion of the total number of unemployed / underemployed persons to the total number of persons in the labor force. Unemployed are persons in the labor force who has no job/business during

the El Nino phenomenon ¹⁹ and the fierce competition in the international market were among the major factors that caused the slow down of the Philippine economy in 1997 and 1998. The rise in unemployment was mostly felt in the manufacturing sector due to the contraction of investments arising from the devaluation of the local currency and high interest rates.

Between 1985 and 1997, poverty incidence of families and the population was reduced by 28 and 25 percent respectively. Nevertheless, about one-third of the total families and around 37% of total population remained to live below the poverty threshold in 1997. This is equivalent to more than 4.5 million families and 27 million individuals. In 1997, around 20% of the total population was below the food threshold of P 7,710 per annum per capita. 20

The apparent over supply of labor and limited employment opportunities makes job seeking even harder. The problem of mismatch of labor demand and supply adds more pressure to the unemployed, even if they possess adequate educational background and skills. The poverty incidence also illustrates the financial difficulties of most of the Filipinos. Thus, working abroad has been an option to Filipinos who are pushed by economic pressures to find a source of living to sustain their families. The Philippine government thus recognizes labor migration as an alternative employment option to Filipinos. It is committed to manage the overseas

the reference week but are reported actively looking for work. Underemployed are employed persons who desire to have additional hours of work in their present job or in an additional job, or to have a new job with longer working hours.

¹⁹ Long period of severe drought experienced in the Philippines in 1998.

²⁰ "Philippine Poverty Statistics", Published by the Philippines National Statistical Coordination Board, (January 2000), 8. Poverty incidence is the proportion number of families whose income falls below the poverty threshold. Poverty threshold is the minimum income required or the amount needed to satisfy the nutritional requirements and other basic needs.

employment program consistent with national development objectives and with utmost regard to the welfare of Filipino workers.²¹

Philippine Policy On Overseas Employment

The labor migration policy of the Philippines has shifted from outright encouragement and promotion of overseas employment in the 1970s towards a policy of "managing" the outflows of Filipino migrant workers. This policy shift is embodied in the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995 (Republic Act 8042). It explicitly states that " while recognizing the significant contribution of Filipino migrant workers to the national economy through foreign exchange remittances, the State does not promote overseas employment as a means to sustain economic growth and achieve national development. The existence of the overseas employment program rests solely on the assurance that the dignity and fundamental human rights and freedom of the Filipino citizen shall not at any time be compromised or violated. The State, therefore, shall continuously create local employment opportunities and promote equitable distribution of wealth and benefits of development." ²²

Specific policies in support of the above stated general policy on overseas employment are also currently adopted. The Philippine government is implementing the selective deployment policy whereby some country destinations and jobs are discouraged and others are encouraged. The full disclosure policy demanding

²¹ <u>Medium-Term Comprehensive Employment Program 1999-2004</u>, Philippines Department of Labor and Employment, (1999).

transparency on information about overseas market realities, the terms and conditions of work at the job site and cases of fraud, abuse and exploitation is also being adopted. Furthermore, the country-team approach is being practiced by all officers, representatives and personnel of the Philippine government posted abroad, regardless of their mother agencies in the disposal of services for overseas Filipinos.

Reasons for Working Abroad

The reasons for working abroad cited by the respondents and regardless of whether they are legal or illegal workers, generally center on economic motives. The difference lies on the perspectives they have with regard to how working abroad could answer their needs. About one-fourth (24.7%) of the responses cited financial reasons. Others gave a more specific reason such as to be able to get higher income job (19.2%) or to be able to support one's family dependents and send them to school (19.2%). Having limited employment opportunities in the Philippines was also cited (11%) and 8.2% wanted to save for their education or to engage in business. It is interesting to note however, that almost 20% of the responses of illegal workers pertain to the intention of merely seeking adventure, to have a change of environment and experiencing working in a foreign country or to get away from personal problems. (Table 8)

The findings also show that trainees have more urgent reasons for working abroad since they have higher proportion of respondents who were pushed or pulled by factors such as limited employment opportunities, desire to get higher paying jobs

²² Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995, Republic Act No. 8042 and its Implementing Rules and Regulations, A Publication of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration,

or having the intention to support one's family. In contrast, the illegal workers, although they were also mostly motivated by financial reasons and attracted by the opportunity to earn more in Korea, a considerable proportion, almost 20% were driven by non-economic or personal motives to work abroad.

2.3.2 The "Pull" to Work Abroad

The income or wage disparity between countries, especially among developed and developing economies is a major determinant of decisions to work abroad. This is especially true in the case of Filipino migrant workers. Aside from the increasing demand for unskilled work, the comparatively higher income that could be earned in other countries exert "pull" pressures on people to opt for overseas employment. These factors of availability of jobs and higher income are prevalent in the case of Korea. Moreover, the ease and shortness of duration in finding jobs adds to the attractiveness of Korea as a country of destination for Filipino migrant workers.

Whereas before when Korea was among the labor-exporting countries in Asia, in the middle 80s, the trend shifted towards importing foreign labor. Park points out in his paper that "although the government allows only skilled foreign workers to enter the Republic of Korea, the short supply of young people in the labor force combined with high educational attainment which is a major factor contributing to Korea's rapid economic growth, has resulted in pressure to bring in foreign workers

Department of Labor and Employment (1996).

for unskilled jobs".²³ The shortage is felt more in labor-intensive industries such as construction and small and medium manufacturing industries.

A survey conducted in 1993 by the Korea Labor Institute (KLI) investigated the characteristics of foreign workers employed in small manufacturing firms in Korea. Park mentions the results of the survey in his paper and he says, "the low cost of employing foreign workers must have been a major factor in the decision to employ them".²⁴ According to him, "the survey shows that foreign workers were paid wages averaging just a little over half of those of Korean workers. Furthermore, even if the additional costs of employing foreigners are taken into account, the cost advantage is still substantial". He says that "the survey clearly shows that foreign workers are cheap labor: the undocumented workers are accepting wages that would not be considered even by first time entrants to the labor force in Korea".

The results of the KLI survey also showed that Korean workers are avoiding physically demanding work or the so-called 3D jobs, meaning the dirty, dangerous and difficult jobs. The survey also asked why the firms drew on foreigners rather than on domestic supplies of older workers or part-time workers, such as housewives. The results showed that "two-thirds of the responding firms claimed that older workers and housewives did not have the stamina for the intense physical labor which younger foreign workers were able to do". ²⁵

²³ Young-bum Park, "The Republic of Korea: Trends and Recent Developments in International Migration", in <u>International Migration and Regional Economic Integration in Asia</u>, (OECD Proceedings, 1998), 123.

²⁴ Young-bum Park, "Labour Market Developments and Foreign Worker Policy in the Republic of Korea", in <u>Migration and the Labour Market in Asia, Prospects to the Year 2000</u>, (OECD Documents, 1996), 172–173.

Higher Wage As A "Pull" Factor

In terms of wages, a trainee or an illegal worker receives more than what a minimum wage earner gets in the Philippines. For instance, in Metropolitan Manila, the minimum daily wage rate in non-agriculture industries is P 223.50 or around P 5,811.00 in a month. ²⁶ The survey findings show that Filipino workers receive four times more in the case of most of the trainees and eight times more for the illegal workers. ²⁷

Half of the trainees, six respondents get around 600,001 to 700,000 Korean Won every month. All of the trainees are receiving gross monthly salary of less than 800,001 Korean Won. In contrast, about two-thirds of the illegal workers are receiving more than this amount up to as much as 1.5 million Korean Won. The figures only show that the gross monthly salary of most of the illegal workers is higher by more than 50%. Ten of the illegal workers (26.3%) reported that their gross monthly salary is around 800,001 to 900,000 Korean Won, while 14 or almost 37% were getting 900,001 to 1.5 million Korean Won. Both types of workers work for a minimum of 12 hours a day, six days a week. They are given a one-hour lunch break and 30 minutes break time. It is worth noting here that regardless of work status, the monthly salary of the respondents is already fixed based on the set working hours. In most cases, the workers are on a no work, no pay basis. (Table 9)

²⁵ Young-bum Park, (1996), 172 –174.

²⁶ Minimum Wage Rate in the National Capital Region as prescribed by the Philippines Regional Tripartite Wages and Productivity Board, effective October 31,1999.

²⁷ Based on the average dollar exchange rate of 1 = K Won 1,114 = P 40.31 last October 1999.

Other Reasons Why Korea Was Chosen As Country Of Destination

When asked why they chose Korea as the country of destination, the major reason cited 34.4% of the total responses was because it is relatively easy to enter the country and also because of the faster processing of travel documents compared to the other countries they also consider migrating to like Hongkong, Japan, Taiwan or the Middle East. The illegal entrants and runaways cited this as their major reason why they went to Korea to work. And since by the very nature of their status, these findings imply that the usual means of entry is through a tourist visa. Moreover, it also implies that entering the country legally as a trainee could be used as a steppingstone and there are inherent intentions to work illegally. Compared to Hongkong or Taiwan, some respondents said their travel papers to Korea were processed faster. (Table 10)

The second major reason given for choosing Korea, 36.1% of the total responses, was because they were invited or persuaded by relatives or friends who are already working in Korea. Almost 15.0% mentioned that they chose Korea because they heard that the terms and conditions of work are good and that jobs are easier to find. The findings indicate that prospective migrant workers rely on informal channels to obtain information on job demands and the terms of work. (Table 10)

2.4 Decisions About Illegal Work Status

The first part of this section discusses the KFSMB trainee scheme and the experiences of trainees, which illustrate why trainees choose to keep their legal work

status or opt to runaway from their employer and work illegally. The second part deals with factors that have "pull" effects on workers to choose illegal work. The next part presents the experiences of illegal workers, including those of the runaway trainees and their preferences if given the choice to change their illegal work status. Since I assumed in this research that the KFSMB trainee scheme is a significant factor that affects the propensity of workers to resort to illegal work, I solicited from the respondents their perception of this trainee scheme. These are presented in the last part of this section including their suggestions on the policy. The information in this section extensively illustrate the dynamics involved in illegal migration which made me draw the conclusion that there are indeed various factors which interplay in the migrant worker's decision to choose illegal work.

2.4.1 Why Or Why Not Resort to Illegal Entry or Illegal Work Status?

The assumptions raised in this study are anchored on the premise that a migrant worker makes rational choices on whether or not to work abroad and once he has decided to leave, whether or not to choose a legal or illegal work status at his country of destination. One's decision largely depends on his assessment of the costs and benefits he might get from his choice. The crucial question he faces at the preentry stage or on his job site is "why or why not would I resort to illegal entry or resort to illegal work?" My conjecture is that the policy of admitting foreign unskilled workers through the KFSMB trainee scheme exert "push" effects on the migrant worker to resort to illegal work. What aspects then on this policy that makes prospective migrant workers to enter Korea illegally or for trainees to run away and engage in illegal work?

Trainee Scheme

The Foreign Training Cooperation Corps (FTCO) under the Korea Federation of Small and Medium Business (KFSMB) manages the foreign trainee system with the objective of helping small and medium manufacturing firms obtain unskilled workers. Companies qualified to employ foreign workers should (1) belong to small manufacturing business sectors where the labor shortage rate is above 5% (food, tobacco and printing were excluded before 1996); (2) must have been in operation for more than a year; (3) must have between 9 and 301 permanent employees; (4) should be registered with the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy; and (5) should have accommodation facilities. ²⁸ Before, the number of foreign trainees allowed to work in one firm was 10 percent of the workforce, but only up to a maximum of 20 trainees. After the 1997 financial crisis, the number of foreign industrial trainees per firm has been cut by 20%. This means that companies with employment size of 11 to 50 workers are allowed to hire up to a maximum of eight foreign trainees.

Regulations are governed under the terms specified in the (1) Contract for Training Cooperation executed by KFSMB and the manpower supply agency or recruitment agency (based in the labor-sending country) and (2) Contract for Dispatching Trainee executed by the manpower supply agency and the trainee. The latest revision on the terms stipulated in these contracts was effective as of July 1999. The trainees are required to undergo at least 10 days socio-cultural orientation to familiarize themselves with the Korean culture and language.

²⁸ Young-bum Park, "The Republic of Korea: Trends and Recent Developments in International Migration", in <u>International Migration and Regional Economic Integration in Asia</u>, (OECD Proceedings, 1998), 124.

Training Conditions

The training duration is limited to two years, wherein the training contract is valid for only one year, but subject to renewal for another year if the conditions are still favorable for both parties. Under the program "Jobs for Industrial Trainees", those who have worked for one and a half years can take a qualifying exam on Korean language proficiency and job skills capability. Trainees who pass the examination can have a one-year extension of their work contract and their visa status will be changed to E-8 for workers in training from the D-3 visa for trainees.²⁹

The current basic training allowance is 361,600 Korean Won, paid monthly to the trainee's personal bank account in Korea. The standard training hours are based on eight hours per day or 44 hours per week and equivalent to 226 hours per month including paid holidays. On the first three months of training, the trainee undergoes practical training, which is considered, as the entry stage when the trainee learns the basic function and technical knowledge required from his work. At this time, the trainee is paid only 80% of the basic training allowance. Upon completion, the trainee is considered in actual training and he is then paid the complete allowance.

Payment for overtime work and nighttime work is equal to 150% of the rate of the basic training allowance. The same overtime premium is paid for work rendered during official holidays. Sundays are considered paid holidays. The boarding facilities and three daily complete meals are provided free by the training company. The trainee is enrolled in the industrial accident compensation insurance and medical

²⁹ Korea Times, 8 February 2000.

insurance. Starting February 1994, illegal foreign workers who are employed in establishments with five or more workers are also covered under the Industrial Accident Compensation and Insurance Act.

The trainee is deducted 24,000 Won every month as on-site fee and paid to the Entrustment Control Offices (ECO), formerly called On-Site Management Offices. Whereas before it is compulsory, the trainees can now voluntarily allocate from their allowance the amount of 100,000 Won as forced savings, which they could collect after completion of the training contract. ³⁰ This contribution formerly served the purpose of security bond to prevent the trainees from running away.

Placement Fee As A "Push" To Resort To Illegal Entry

In my analysis, the foremost determining factor that "pushes" prospective migrant workers to enter Korea through illegal means is the high placement fee being collected from the prospective migrant worker by the recruitment agency.

Memorandum Circular No. 14 issued last May 10, 1999 by Administrator Reynaldo A. Regalado of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration mandates the amount that land-based recruitment agencies can collect from its hired migrant workers. The rule says that the placement fee should be equivalent to onemonth salary, exclusive of documentation and processing costs. Documentation costs, to be paid by the worker shall include expenses for passport, police clearance, authentication, birth certificate, health insurance, pre-departure orientation seminar,

³⁰ The practice of deducting 100,000 to 150,000 Korean Won from the training allowance as monthly forced savings of trainees was just recently discontinued starting April 2000.

medical examination fee and other optional fees such as trade test ³¹ and inoculation. In case the agency offers to perform documentation services, the worker shall pay only the actual costs to the agency based on existing government fess and covered by official receipts.

The going rate of placement fee in order to be deployed as industrial trainee to Korea in 1999 and 2000, range between P 65,000 to P 85,000 (equivalent to \$ 1,612 to \$ 2,108 at P 40.31 = \$ 1). The training allowance usually paid by manufacturing firms in Korea to trainees range between 335,610 to 400.000 Korean Won (\$ 301 to \$ 359 at KW 1.114 = \$ 1). So assuming that the agency handles the documentation costs, still the placement fee is very expensive. Apparently, the amount paid for placement fee is equivalent to around four to six months worth of monthly allowance of the trainees.

Seven out of the 22 respondents who entered Korea legally as trainees, reported that they paid placement fee ranging from P 60,001 to P 70,000 (\$ 1,488 to \$ 1,984 at P 40.31 = \$ 1). They were deployed to Korea sometime between 1997 and 1999. (Table 11)

A \$ 300 bond per trainee (formerly it was \$500) is paid to KFSMB by the manpower supply agency as "security for performance" of the training contract. The contract of KFSMB with the agency provides that the latter can collect the costs relating to the dispatch of the trainee prior to entry to Korea, which means the

³¹ Trade test is an instrument intended to assess the level of performance of an individual in a certain trade or occupation and which must be passed in order to obtain a certificate attesting to the holder's proficiency in the trade based on the requirements of the skills standards.

deployment fee, but the agency cannot collect from the trainee this "trainee control fee". If the trainee leaves or runs away, the guaranty money shall remain with the KFSMB. For trainees who completed their contract, the guaranty or security money paid for them shall be refunded to the agency when the contract of KFSMB with the agency is terminated.

It could be reasonably presumed that the \$ 300 bond, which the agency pays to KFSMB is being passed on to the trainee, although there is no precise way of verifying this because recruitment agencies usually demand a "package fee" that is supposed to cover everything. The common practice is that the recruitment agency handles all the processing of necessary documents and the worker will just be summoned for contract signing and orientation.

Evidently, the security bond imposed by the KFSMB in their policy for hiring foreign workers is one major cause why the placement fee is very expensive. The agency's recourse to built-in the \$300 bond (P 12,093 at P40.31 = \$ 1) in the placement fee they charge to the workers could be considered justifiable because they would lose money in case the trainee runs away. Yet this practice is also unfair because for those who completed their training contract, this security bond, which in policy KFSMB should refund to the agency is not paid back to the worker.

Two serious implications can be drawn from this. First, all prospective migrant workers who intend to work as trainee in Korea are made to pay for the offense of those who do not abide by the training contract because they are in a way paying for the security bond incorporated in the placement fee. Second, when the trainee runs away he loses a lot of money in terms of the placement fee as well as the forced savings deducted from his salary. The trainee is aware of this, of course but when faced with the decision to go illegal, he weighs how much he would lose and in exchange how much he would gain out of the salary increase in the illegal work he will transfer to.

The survey findings show that the placement fee paid by most of the illegal entrants who were included in the survey is less than the amount given by those who entered legally as trainees. Almost 39% or 12 illegal entrants reported that their placement fee range between P 30,001 to P 50,000 (\$ 744 to \$ 1,240 at P 40.31 = \$ 1), while six of them (19.3%) paid P 50,001 to P 60,000. Only 19.3% or six illegal entrants paid more than P 70,000 as placement fee. (Table 11)

Actually, the money paid by the illegal entrants is not strictly speaking, a placement fee because these people did not pass through the recruitment agencies authorized to deploy trainees to Korea. This is where prospective migrant workers are very vulnerable to abuses because there are people or agencies, which take advantage on those who are willing to pay the price. The "modus operandi" of entry is through a tourist visa and the services being paid are for the issuance of passport, documentation proving one's financial capability to travel as a tourist, and visa fee, among others.

It is interesting to note from the responses that there are five illegal entrants (16.1%) who did not pay any fee to a person or agency, meaning they personally handled the processing of their tourist visa and thus did not incur expenses more than what is normally paid for such kind of entry. (Table 11)

The findings show that illegal entrants incurred relatively less cost compared to the placement fee paid by trainees. Taking this into account and the relatively lower salary paid to trainees wherein their net pay becomes even less because of the other deductions, the prospective migrant worker is impelled to choose to resort to illegal entry.

Problems Encountered by Trainees

The problems most frequently mentioned by the trainees are related to the terms and conditions of work. About 54% the total responses pertain employment related problems such as low wage given to them as training allowance; delayed payment of allowance; too many deductions from allowance; increases in allowance stipulated in the contract are not being implemented; extended working hours with no overtime pay; poor living accommodations; and some are made to do other tasks such as cleaning the factory premises. (Table 12)

Problems specifically relating to how their employer or supervisor treats them were mentioned by 14 trainees or 36% of the total responses. One of these problems pertains to the discrimination against Filipino workers wherein they perceive that they are treated unfairly in terms of setting strict production quota. The workers are being blamed for not being able to meet the required daily production even if the cause of underproduction is due to technical problems in the production equipment. (Table 12)

They also complain of being looked down on, as manifested in the harsh and insulting words they hear from their supervisors or employers. This problem as mentioned several times by both trainees and illegal workers is very serious for them because Filipinos set high value on dignity and such cases of discrimination are difficult for them to accept, especially if they know that they are doing their best to work efficiently. Another problem cited, which is closely related to this is the difficulty in relating to employers due to language problems. (Table 12)

Also related to the treatment which the trainees get from their employers pertains to too many restrictions imposed on them in going out of the factory premises where they are also residing. For instance some employers keep the gates locked, impose curfew hours, restrict trainees from accepting visitors or impose bodyguards whenever they go out of the factory premises. Some respondents said that they feel like prisoners in their workplace. Others also complained that the Entrustment Control Offices, who they expect can respond to their complaints, fail to help them.

Means Of Coping With Problems And Perception On Who Could Help Them

The findings revealed that the most common coping mechanism used by the trainees with regard to the problems they encounter is that of passivity and acquiescence. Twelve trainees or 44.4% of the total responses mentioned that they just practice self-control, be tolerant and resigned to the situation and practice diplomacy to their employer and co-workers. (Table 13)

Despite the frustrations experienced from the representatives of the ECOs or the KFSMB, seven trainees or 26% mentioned that they raise their problems and complaints to these agencies, particularly with regard to violations in the terms of their job contract. Talking it out with co-workers to discuss the problems and find solutions by helping one another was mentioned by three trainees and two said that they raise complaints to their supervisor or employer and try to negotiate with them regarding the terms and conditions of work. (Table 13)

The trainees still rely on the Philippine Embassy and the Philippine Overseas Labor Office (POLO) based in Korea to help them with their problems, as mentioned by four respondents. However, it is interesting to note that the same number of trainees think that only their own self and nobody can help them solve their problems. (Table 14)

Reasons Why Trainees Would Not Transfer To Illegal Work

The reason given by five trainees why they would not transfer to illegal work in case one is offered to them is because they can no longer afford to lose the large amount of forced savings deducted from their monthly salary. However, two respondents expressed that they are in favor of the forced savings because this enables them to save money that they could bring home after the job contract. The other reasons mentioned why they would not go illegal, pertain to the negative attributes of having an illegal status, such as lack of job security, non-assurance of payment of salary, difficulty in finding work due to the economic crisis and inability to go home as they prefer to. (Table 16)

Reasons Why Trainees Ran Away

As expected, the main reason why trainees ran away is because of the very low training allowance, as mentioned by nine trainees or 34.6% of the total responses. Five runaway trainees said that they left because of the poor accommodation and unfavorable meals given to them. The other reasons why they abandoned their legal status are because of too much heavy work, conflict with co-workers, unfair treatment of employers, too many salary deductions, extended working hours without overtime pay and over strict in going out of the factory premises. (Table 15)

2.4.2 Why Then Would Workers Choose Illegal Work?

There are two factors which I think have "pull" effects on the workers to decide to resort to illegal work. First is the big disparity in salary level between trainees and illegal workers and second is the ease of finding a job including the advantage of having the chance to find out beforehand the terms and conditions of the job as well as the attitude of the prospective employer. In contrast with having a trainee status, the worker does not have any choice on the kind of work and employer he will be working for. Although, the terms are stipulated in the 'Contract for Dispatching Trainee' that the worker signs before leaving the Philippines, some trainees complain that the provisions in the contract are not being followed. The survey findings could not substantiate the validity of this claim, but there are a number of complaints filed in the POLO on breach of trainees, coupled with the alleged ineffective implementation of the trainee program push trainees or prospective migrant workers to opt for illegal work status. The survey findings support my contention.

Higher Wage As A "Pull" To Go Illegal

Reports from the POLO office show that trainees under the KFSMB Trainee System, on the average get a monthly salary ranging between 335,610 to 400,000 Korean Won. The reports also indicate that undocumented workers generally get half as more than the trainees' allowance, wherein they are being paid somewhere between 600,000 to 1.2 million Korean Won, depending on the worker's skills and experience.

The survey findings show a similar pattern, although the reported earnings are higher because it accounted for their gross monthly salary, which includes their food allowance and overtime pay. Half of the trainees (6 respondents) reported that they get as much as 600,001 to 700,000 Korean Won while most of the illegal workers (14 respondents or 37%) are paid as high as 900,001 to 1.5 million Korean Won. The other illegal workers (16 or 42.1%) receive a gross monthly salary between 700,001 to 900,000 Korean Won. Apparently, the big difference in salary level is a great influencing factor on the decision to choose illegal work status despite the disadvantages it would entail. (Table 9)

Ease On Finding A Job

I presented in an earlier section that one of the reasons why prospective Filipino migrant workers chose to work in Korea is because they have relatives or friends who invite and persuade them to come with assurance to help them find a job. The survey findings reveal that majority of the illegal entrants (12 or 43%) immediately obtain work within one to two days upon their arrival in Korea. Seven of them or 25% managed to land a job within one week and another seven reported that they were able to work after a month. The findings imply that prospective migrant workers try to ensure that they have clear job prospects before going to Korea considering their illegal entry and the high cost they incur. (Table 17)

Runaway trainees also guarantee that they will have another job to transfer to before leaving. In fact, six out of the ten former trainees have left their employer and transferred to illegal work the following day or two days after. This only shows that, they do not really run away unless they have found and chosen a job that meets their preferences and needs. The other four runaway trainees must have left their employers probably because they could no longer bear the working conditions, but nevertheless, they were able to get another job within a week or a period of one month. (Table 17)

Manner How Illegal Workers Found Their Present Job

Most of the illegal workers, including runaway trainees found their present job through referrals from friends. There were 24 respondents or 63.2% who mentioned that they found out about their job from other Filipino friends, while ten respondents or 26.3% reported that they were referred by their Korean friends or former Korean employer. The other means cited by which they were able to obtain the job are through the Filipino Center operated by the church and through the advertisement of job vacancies in Korean newspapers. (Table 18)

Job Transfers

Due to their unstable work conditions, it is not surprising to find from the survey that majority almost 79% of the illegal workers have transferred to a number of jobs throughout the duration of their stay in the country. (Table 19a) Seven respondents (32%) said that they have transferred from one job to another two or three times since they arrived in Korea. Most of them (10 or 45.4%) said that their number of job transfers range from four up to ten times already. (Table 19b)

Out of the ten trainees who ran away from their employers, nine admitted having transferred from one job to another. Seven of them had at least four to ten different jobs since they left their former legal work status as trainee. (Tables 19a and 19b)

The findings on the frequency of job transfers indicate some degree of mobility for illegal workers. This is primarily due to the fact that they are not bound by a formal work contract with their employers and so they are free to leave whenever they want. However, these findings do not necessarily mean that they are more prone to transfer to different jobs as often as they want. The findings pertaining to the duration by which they have been working on their present job at the time the survey was undertaken reveal that illegal workers may also likely stay in their post for a longer period. Seventeen out of the 38 illegal workers (including runaway trainees) or 45% reported that they have been working in their present job for a period of two to five years. Others have been working for one-half year (29%) or one year (16%). (Table 20)

The major determining factor regarding the decision to stay or transfer from one illegal job to another is how much salary they would get. However, there are other considerations as well, such as the nature of the work, living accommodations and even the attitude of the employer. The findings nevertheless imply that illegal workers are aware of the risks involved in their status and so transferring from one job to another is being avoided as much as possible. To some extent, illegal workers also gain from their multiple jobs because they continuously acquire varied skills and experience.

2.4.3 The Costs of Being An Illegal Worker

The preference to resort to illegal work instead of working within the prescribed policies and laws is based on the worker's perception of costs and benefits regardless of whether these are real or imagined. I raised in the previous section, three determining factors, which have "pull" effects on workers to opt for illegal work, namely, the high salary, the availability of jobs and ease of finding them and the advantage to choose among them. What apparently have "push" effects to leave one's legal work status are problems relating to the KFSMB trainee scheme, particularly the low salary level and poor implementation of the program.

This section discusses the costs of being an illegal worker as related by the survey respondents as well as their preferences on whether to remain illegal or to have a legal work status, if given the choice. It gives an illustration of the dynamics involved in their decision-making, which adds support to my contention that there is interplay of various factors, rather than attributing their propensity to go illegal to the migration policy only.

Problems Encountered by Illegal Workers

Similar to the trainees' responses, the problems most frequently mentioned by illegal workers are with regard to the terms and conditions of work. Twenty-nine illegal workers (including runaway trainees) or almost 33% complained of low wages, delayed or unpaid wages, extended working hours without overtime pay, poor ventilation in the factory premises and poor living accommodations. Problems with regard to their living quarters relate to their being too cramped or crowded, insufficient heating facilities, no warm water available for laundry during the winter season, and to unsanitary toilet facilities. (Table 12)

About 20.2% or 18 illegal workers cited problems specifically relating to how their employer or supervisor treats them. One of these problems pertains to the discrimination against Filipino workers wherein they perceive that they are treated unfairly and looked down on, as manifested in the harsh and insulting words they hear from their supervisors or employers. Other respondents explain that some employers are very difficult to please or relate with and expect too much on output even if there are problems with the production machineries. The respondents recognize that miscommunication due to language problems also contribute to the dilemma they experience with Korean employers. (Table 12)

Another type of problem mentioned by 18 illegal workers or 20.2% concerns relations with fellow workers in the factory, either with Filipino or Korean co-workers. Specifically, this pertains to language problem and the difficulty lies on the production process where Filipinos and Korean workers need to relate to each other. However, in most of the cases, the respondents work in factories where all production workers are Filipinos. Nevertheless, such situations do not spare them of these kinds of problems. Examples of relational problems are jealousy, selfishness and backbiting. Some respondents also complain of co-workers shirking from meeting their quota and others are blamed instead for the poor production. As a result, others are forced to do the extra work and cover up for the shortage in production. (Table 12)

The other problems mentioned (10 illegal workers or 11.2%) are personal, which concerns the worker's emotional, psychological and social situation. Homesickness and loneliness is one major difficulty that the workers struggle with. Some also mentioned the pressure from back home about the regular financial obligations, which have to be paid like the children's education, food and housing expenses, including the loans incurred to pay for the placement or processing fee. (Table 12)

Such personal problems though inevitable, unfortunately result in some cases, in family break-up or immoral practices, which then becomes additional social costs

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of labor migration. There is a so-called name for such immoral practices coined by the Filipinos, which is the "couple-couple" practice. Such relationships exist where couples, both married to others or one is married and another single, enter into a livein arrangement. Respondents report that the nature of illegal work, where one's status is very unstable contribute to this practice, especially for women because they tend to depend on the men to help them find work or shelter in cases where they run away. It is also common to find some single women getting pregnant with married men, which adds more pressure to them since both have obligations to support at home. (Table 12)

Isolated cases categorized as other problems include the fear of being caught and no money to pay for the penalty and plane fare, no free board and lodging, and the difficulty of sending newborn babies or young children back to the Philippines.

Coping Mechanisms Of Illegal Workers

Filipinos are known for their ability to easily adjust to their environment. They ordinarily exhibit the so-called "*pakikisama*" ³² behavior where they place high value on maintaining smooth interpersonal relations with people. The findings show that practicing diplomacy, tolerance and patience with their co-workers and employers are the most common coping mechanism used by the illegal workers in dealing with their problems. More than half, 27 respondents or 55% admitted using those ways of facing problems.

³² The English translation is "getting along with others".

Another way of coping with problems is passive acceptance or resignation to the situation, since they believe that nothing could be done to solve it, or that if one tried, one was more likely to lose the job. Thus, they resort to keeping silence and ignoring the problem, especially the discrimination and low regard for them. (Table 13)

Nonetheless, there are still respondents who mentioned having recourse to finding diplomatic ways to solve their problems. Talking it out with co-workers to discuss the problems and find solutions by helping one another was mentioned by six respondents (12.3%). Another six respondents said that they also raise complaints to their supervisor or employers and try to negotiate with them regarding the terms and conditions of work. (Table 13)

The other means of adapting to problems are transferring to another job, seeking assistance and support from friends and association members, learning the Korean language and engaging in recreational activities like going to the disco, playing sports and drinking alcoholic beverages. It is worth noting that most Filipino workers join region-based organizations where they can relate with people coming from their hometown. This is extremely helpful for some because province mates could be relied upon to help them find work and advise them on coping with life in Korea. (Table 13)

Perceptions Of Illegal Workers On Who Could Help Them

When asked whom they perceive as the one who can effectively respond to the problems of the Filipino workers, 18 respondents or 27% identified Father Glen G. B. Jaron MSP, who is the incumbent church chaplain in charge of the Archdiocesan Pastoral Center For Filipino Migrants based at Hyehwadong Chongno-gu, Seoul, Korea. The Filipino Center is being administered by the Mission Society of the Philippines under the auspices of the Seoul Archdiocese. It operates a voluntary service by the Filipino migrant workers themselves. It is organized according to various committees whose main functions are for church and community outreach services for Filipino migrants. The Center has a Justice and Peace Committee, which mainly attend to the problems of the workers. (Table 14)

One significant characteristic raised by the respondents about the church and the Center why it is effectively helping the workers is its ability, though not absolute, to immediately respond to the problems. The group is not encumbered by complicated procedures or policies, which hamper the resolution of problems. For instance, in cases when the worker is hospitalized, captured by the police, needs rescuing from abusive employers, or being deported, the Center's timely response is very helpful, as admitted by the respondents. The Center maintains an emergency fund for use in such crisis situations. The money is raised by the workers themselves through various fund-raising projects and also comes from some generous benefactors. More importantly, most Filipino workers derive moral and spiritual support from the church and the Center. (Table 14) Aside from the church-based Filipino Center at Hyehwadong, four respondents also identified the Wang-Shimni Methodist Church who helps them with their problems especially assistance during illness and accidents.

Fifteen illegal workers or 22.4 % said that the Philippine Embassy and the POLO based in Korea could respond to the Filipino migrants' problems. But ironically, six respondents also identified these government offices as not effectively responding or helping the migrant workers because of the bureaucratic red tape that delay the needed actions to their problems. (Table 14)

Another group identified by twelve respondents (18%) who can give them assistance are the respective social or civic organizations of workers whose membership are mostly based on the regional or provincial origin of the workers in the Philippines. These workers' associations serve as source of financial, moral and religious support to them. It is also an effective source of information on job demands. The Filipinos are drawn to join these kinds of organizations because they put a high value on community support especially at their condition where they are in a foreign country, far from their family and hometown. (Table 14)

Other entities that illegal workers perceive could help them are other Filipino friends or co-workers, Korean non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Korean human rights lawyers and God. Six respondents think that nobody can help them and they could only count on themselves to solve their problems.

Preferences of Runaway Trainees

Inasmuch as they have experienced being a trainee, the ten runaway trainees were asked if they prefer to remain as illegal workers or would rather choose to restore their former legal work status. Six of them still prefer their illegal work status and four respondents admitted that if possible, they would choose to go back to being a trainee with a legal work status. The reasons given by the runaway trainees are as follows:

Prefers to remain illegal because:

- > He gets a higher salary for the same kind of work rendered, unlike the trainees whose compensation is very low. (3) 33
- He is free to choose the kind of work suitable to his needs and capabilities.
 (1)
- He is free to do whatever he wants, unlike the trainees who are always restricted and guarded when going out. (4)

Prefers to have a legal work status because:

- There is security in being legal unlike having an illegal status is difficult, unstable and always living in fear. However, due to the poor implementation of the trainee system, the workers are compelled to escape the trainee contract. (2)
- Only if the salary of the trainees will become higher or relatively nearer to the rate received by illegal workers. (2)

³³ Represents the number of responses.

Only if the implementation of trainee system will improve and the work contracts are strictly followed. (1)

Preferences of Illegal Entrants

The findings pertaining to the preferences of runaway workers are based on actual experiences since they have been both a legal and illegal worker. The numbers show that majority of the runaway workers prefers to keep their illegal work status. As for the case of the 31 illegal workers who have been such ever since, their preferences are mainly based on perceptions and observations on trainees. Interestingly, the opposite was obtained from them because majority (20 respondents or 64.5%) of the illegal workers prefer to have a legal work status. The reasons given by the illegal workers confirm the tough and risky conditions they are faced with. Their comments prove that they recognize the advantages of having a legal work status and thus they prefer this, if only the conditions and implementation of the government policies are favorable. The reasons given by them are as follows:

Prefers to have a legal work status because:

- There is security in being legal unlike having an illegal status is difficult, unstable and always living in fear. (10)
- Only if the salary of trainees will become higher or relatively nearer to the rate received by illegal workers. (3)
- Only if the implementation of trainee system will improve and work contracts are strictly followed. (3)

- Having a legal status gives him the chance to go home in cases of emergency or to have a vacation and still he could return to Korea. (6)
- Only if the foreign workers will be given a legal contract worker status and not a trainee status. (1)
- There is no accidental or death benefits given for illegal workers. (1)

Prefers to remain illegal because:

- ➢ He gets a higher salary for the same kind of work rendered, unlike the trainees whose compensation is very low. (4)
- He is free to choose the kind of work suitable to his needs and capabilities.
 (3)
- He is free to do whatever he wants, unlike the trainees who are always restricted and guarded when going out. (1)
- \blacktriangleright There are so many deductions in the salary of the trainees. (1)
- There is no difference in being an illegal or legal worker, since there is no protection given by the government even for the trainees who holds a legal work status. (1)
- His employer who sponsored him in going to Korea will protect him if the Korean authorities will catch him. (1)

2.5 Perceptions On The KFSMB Trainee Scheme

At the start of my research, I argued that the trainee scheme adopted by the Korean government in admitting unskilled foreign workers affects the propensity of migrant workers to resort to illegal migration. It brings about "push" effects on them to resort to entry or illegal work. However, my analysis of evidences from existing literature and the findings of the survey nullified my premise. The demand for unskilled workers who are willing and capable to do 3 D jobs, ease of finding these job vacancies thru the informal information networks among the migrant workers and the comparatively high salary that one could receive are enough reasons which far outweigh the consequences of being illegal and thus drive workers to choose it.

The opinions or comments on the trainee scheme given by respondents give more light and further support the conclusion which I have arrived instead, which is that various factors come into play in the decision-making process which the migrant worker undergoes at different stages of his migration cycle. Yet, although I do not completely attribute to the migration policy the propensity of migrant workers to go illegal, I still think that it is a "push" factor and therefore should be discontinued. The survey respondents contributed the following interesting insights on the trainee scheme and offered suggestions about it. These are presented verbatim, to accurately illustrate their varied and in some instances contradicting insights about the trainee scheme.

Opinions of Trainees:

- "It all depends on whether the company is giving good terms and conditions of work. Finding a favorable and good employer depends on luck".
- "There in no other choice for the trainee even if the work is very heavy and company policies are unfair".

- "The trainee has no freedom to choose what type of work he will be employed in, unlike for illegal workers, they have the advantage to know first the terms involved on the prospective job".
- "The trainees are given very low salary compared to the illegal workers and the Korean workers".
- Some of the trainees have no freedom to go around because the employers are very strict about going out, observing curfew time and accepting visitors".
- "It is just similar to the illegal means of entry because the travel and work documents of legal trainees are processed and completed at the relatively same length of time".
- "In the pre-orientation seminar given at POEA, the conditions shown in the video are all positive and good, but in actuality, based on experience the conditions are bad. This is particularly true about the accommodations, salary and working time".
- "Being a trainee with a legal status entitles one to go home in cases of emergency".
- "The forced savings system is a good strategy for them to save and have money to bring home at the end of contract period. Unlike the illegal workers who are financially unstable since they are not compelled to save".
- "The trainees can request and obtain skills and employment certification from their employers and the KFSMB, which can be useful in finding employment when they return to their home country".
- "The KFSMB can help the trainees find work in cases when they are prematurely laid-off from work due to company closure or bankruptcy".

Suggestions of Trainees on the KFSMB Trainee Scheme

- "Do away with the policy on forced savings because there is only minimal amount left in their salary since the compensation is very low in the first place".
- "Both the Korean and Philippine government should ensure that employers strictly comply with the provisions of the work contract".
- "Representatives of the Entrustment Control Offices (ECOs) should conduct regular visits to the companies, to check on the conditions of the trainees".
- "The local recruitment agencies should ensure that the companies they recruit workers for, are good and fair. They should refrain from sending

trainees to companies, which have records of contract violations and those who give low salary rates".

Opinions of Runaway Trainees

- ➤ "Trainees are given very low salary".
- "It depends on chance if the trainee will get a good employer. He has no choice if he ends up with a "bad" employer because he is bounded by a work contract".
- "It is better to have a trainee status because he does not have worries or fears of being caught or terminated from work. But the salary is very low, so he has no other choice except to runaway and get a higher paying job".
- "The trainee system is not effective because the provisions of the contract are not fully complied with by employers".
- "It is better to be an illegal worker because he can choose the kind of work, the employer and check first the accommodations provided, unlike the trainees who are forced to accept the posts they are given".
- "It appears good because the worker has a legal work status, but still, it is unfavorable because of so many cases of contract violations".
- "In some cases, there is connivance between the local recruitment agency and the trainee that after one year, he can runaway and transfer to another job".

Opinions of Illegal Entrants

- "The trainees render too heavy manual work, live in poor and substandard accommodations and yet receive very low salary".
- "The trainee system is not good because the trainees, despite their legal status, they are the ones who are at a disadvantage because they receive very low salary compared to illegal workers. The trainees lose more while the employers and agencies gain from the work arrangement".
- "The trainees are better off because they are stable in work. They are free to go anywhere they want and do not have fear being caught and deported like the illegal workers".
- "Trainees are being cheated in terms of overtime compensation, and they are even forced to work overtime".
- "It is not good because of so many deductions from the salary".

- "The trainees are not adequately informed about the nature of work and terms of the job contract. Unlike in the case of illegal workers, they have the advantage of appraising first, all the different aspects of the work they are considering".
- "It is not good because of lack of transparency on the terms and conditions of work. And even if the conditions of the job is clearly stipulated in the contract, the trainees are in some cases faced with the dilemma that these are not being followed. This problem is neglect on the part of the Philippine government".
- "The trainees are being abused by recruiters who charge very high placement fees".

Suggestions of Illegal Entrants on the KFSMB Trainee Scheme

- "The trainee scheme should be abolished because of rampant contract violations especially in terms of company switching. There are cases when the trainee is assigned to a company different from what is stipulated in the contract".
- "The trainee scheme should be stopped and the Korean government should legalize the status of unskilled workers as foreign contract workers and not as trainees".
- "Ensure that the contract provisions are strictly followed by employers and give the trainees what is due them".

The responses generally center on comments in favor or against the trainee scheme. Both views were raised by all types of respondents, regardless of whether one has or has not actually experienced being a trainee. When considered as a whole, there are significant points I was able to derive from the insights raised by the respondents. First, all of them, the trainees, runway trainees and illegal entrants complained about "not being free" or constrained by restrictions. The experience of some of the trainees seems ironical because they should not really be restricted to do what they want as long as these are after working hours. Limitations such as observing curfew time, restrictions on visitors and imposing bodyguards whenever trainees go out are being forced to keep them from running away, the same way as the intention behind the forced savings policy.

Some trainees as well as a few runaway trainees and illegal entrants are in favor of the forced savings policy because it is an effective way of helping them save money, which in the first place is one of the major reasons why they decided to work abroad. However, this policy also results to financial pressure to the trainees. It appears then that the problem centers on the salary that trainees get which is comparatively much lower than what an illegal worker is paid and yet both of them render the same type of heavy manual work.

Second, the negative aspects raised about the trainee scheme, which all of them have pointed out are those pertaining to its poor implementation. Their grievance revolves around the alleged failure of employers to adhere to the work contracts and the perceived failure to enforce compliance by the concerned offices' such as the KFSMB and ECOs. Interestingly, there were comments raised that if the trainee scheme is being implemented properly then some of them might not resort to illegal work. It seems that workers realize the heavy costs of going illegal, yet they still choose it since it is apparently for them a matter of "choosing the lesser evil". A common Filipino saying that aptly describes this kind of behavior is "*Kapit sa patalim*", which literally means "to hold a dagger". Faced with serious financial difficulties in the Philippines and limited opportunities for a source of living, the Filipino migrant workers are "pushed" to work abroad, legally or illegally, notwithstanding the "price" they have to pay for it. The suggestions raised by the respondents are directed towards the abolition of the trainee scheme or if not, then its proper implementation should be ensured. Government officials and legislators in Korea are aware of this demand especially because the embassy offices of various labor-sending countries continuously lobby for action to respond to the problems and issues regarding the trainee scheme.

Chapter III

Recent Policy Developments And Emerging Policy Issues on Foreign Workers

There are two opposing views on the suitable policy that Korea should adopt on foreign workers. Soonbong Uh explained that the pro argument claims that migrant workers are not competing with domestic workers, rather they are compensating for the needs of small and medium manufacturing firms. The counterargument points that the entry of unskilled workers would delay the industrial restructuring required to keep the Korean economy competitive. ³⁴

Park claims that " in mid-1995, when the Ministry of Labor argued for the need to introduce an employment permit system, there was lack of consensus among the different ministries. The Ministry of Trade, Industry and Resources claims that the foreign trainee system should be maintained in order to prevent the cost of foreign labor from being increased through the introduction of an employment permit system". ³⁵ He further points out that " many Korean policy makers still believe that by not legalizing the import of foreign labor and by accepting them as trainees, Korea will be able to reduce the possible negative economic and social impacts of foreign workers, but still enjoy the benefits of their services".

Nevertheless, the Korean government continues to address these policy issues. Towards the end of year 2000, the government and the ruling Millenium Democratic

³⁴ Soonbong Uh, "Country Paper on Immigration and Labor Market Issues In Korea", (January 1998), 18.

³⁵ Young-bum Park, "The Republic of Korea: Trends and Recent Developments" in <u>International</u> <u>Migration and Regional Economic Integration in Asia</u>, (OECD Proceedings, 1998), 127.

Party (MDP) might introduce a law on the granting of the employment permit system for foreign workers. ³⁶ The proposed law, which is expected to be in effect by the middle of 2001, shall make the foreign workers eligible to enjoy labor rights such as collective bargaining, protection under the Labor Standard Law and other laborrelated laws on par with Korean employees. Foreign workers will be allowed to work initially for one year and the yearly contract can be renewed twice, which guarantees a maximum of three years of legal stay to work on Korean establishments.

The new system will replace the existing industrial trainee system. If passed, a committee on employment of foreign workers will be established at the Prime Ministers' Office and shall be tasked to decide on the size of foreign work force needed by industries. The proponents of the bill agreed that the size should be within 1% of the total employment of Korea and that the number of foreign workers to be allowed to work will be reviewed annually. With regard to illegal workers, the government and party officials are considering to offer a one or two year grace period, before some of them could be allowed to legally work in the country.

It is evident then that the Korean government is seriously considering ways to improve its foreign worker policy to address problems pertaining to abuses on foreign workers and the increasing incidence of runaway trainees and illegal workers in the country.

³⁶ Suk-joo Sohn, "Foreign Worker Employment System To Be Improved", <u>The Korea Times</u>, 25 August 2000.

Chapter IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The survey findings showed interesting manifestations about what is actually happening to Filipino migrant workers in Korea, both to the trainees and to illegal workers. Although the findings are not fully generalizable, due to lack of random sampling and research limitations, the information contributed by the respondents is useful in exploring the dynamics involved in illegal migration. To summarize, the highlights of the research findings are as follows:

- The migrant workers are mostly single with at least two dependents. Majority possess vocational or college education and have worked for two to five years prior to their overseas work.
- The main purpose for working abroad is financial, where the reason is directed towards improving one's living condition. Yet, there are also those who were not economically motivated to work abroad, but instead driven by his interest to seek adventure in a foreign country.
- Korea was chosen as a country of destination primarily because of the easy and faster process of entry, regardless of whether the means utilized was legal or illegal. The presence of friends and relatives, who provide information and assistance in finding jobs was also a contributing factor why the workers chose Korea among the other alternative destinations.

- The training allowance received by trainees is about 50% less than what the illegal workers commonly get. However, foreign workers in general were paid wages averaging just a little over half of those of Korean workers.
- The major problem mentioned by majority of the all the respondents revolves on problems on the terms and conditions of the work. The low salary of trainees is the main reason given by runaway trainees why they deserted their legal work status.
- The most common coping mechanism adopted by all the respondents to solve their problems is that of practicing tolerance, diplomacy, patience and resignation to their difficult situation.
- The church and the migrant workers' organizations are perceived as the ones, which can effectively respond and assist the Filipino migrant workers in Korea.
- The forced savings policy in the trainee scheme is a deterring factor for trainees not to runaway from the job contract. It is favorably looked upon by some trainees as a good way of helping them to save money that they can use for the future.
- A relatively higher salary and freedom to choose the kind of job he wants and being able to do whatever he wants are the major reasons why workers would prefer to keep their illegal work status.
- On the other hand, the security in terms of job tenure and payment of salary of a trainee status is the influencing factor mentioned by illegal workers who would prefer to have a legal work status. This is favored more than being constantly at risks and afraid of being caught, or thrown out of work.
- Interestingly, comments about not having the liberty to move around were raised by both the trainees and the illegal workers, including runaway trainees. Some

trainees say that they are restricted by their employers because of fear that they will run away, while the illegal workers also experience the same limitation and constraints of not being able to freely move around for fear of being caught.

• The trainee scheme is generally looked upon by both the legal and illegal workers as not effective due to the incidence of contract violations.

International migration of unskilled labor shall continue to prosper along with the trend towards trade liberalization and globalization. Asian countries are prominent destinations of Filipino migrant workers. Unless, the Philippines achieves a fast rate of economic growth, overseas employment remains as a viable option for the increasing number of unemployed and underemployed Filipino workers. The same trend can likewise be expected with regard to illegal migration.

The underlying factors that push and pull workers to resort to illegal migration are the structural problems existing in the Philippines and Korea. The poor economic conditions in the Philippines, as manifested by poverty, income inequality and high rate of unemployment give the workers labor-supply-side push factors to seek employment opportunities abroad, despite the costs, especially if illegal means are used. On the one hand, Korea provides a labor demand-side pull factor with their demands for unskilled labor needed by their small and medium manufacturing sector and other sectors. The short supply of young people in Korea's labor force who are not willing to take on the 3 D jobs, combined with the high educational attainment of their workforce have resulted to pressure to resort to unskilled foreign labor. All these imply that labor migration is basically economically motivated. Yet, there exist immediate factors that can give trigger push or pull effects on workers to choose illegal migration. These are the systemic factors in the form of the labor migration policy of both the labor sending and labor receiving countries. The net effect could either be to encourage or discourage workers to choose illegal entry or resort to illegal work. The trainee scheme adopted by the Korean government, where the salary level offered is low is one of the reasons why workers resort to illegal work. The fact that illegal workers are being paid higher than the prescribed allowance for trainees; there is continuous labor demand of small manufacturing firms, the ease of finding these available jobs through informal information networks among migrants as well as having the advantage of first checking out the terms of the prospective job are other factors which exert "pull" effects on workers to choose to illegal work.

With regard to institutional factors, the urgent need to provide for the material needs of the family is the foremost push factor on the migrant worker to opt to work abroad. However, the option to choose illegal means of entry is largely influenced by the migration policy in the Philippines and how good it is being implemented and enforced. One crucial aspect is the very expensive placement fee reportedly charged by licensed recruitment agencies authorized by KFSMB to deploy trainees to Korea. There are also reports that unlicensed brokers or recruiters with contacts in the Philippines and Korea entice prospective migrant workers to go to Korea using a tourist visa. The Philippine government particularly the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) and the POLO are accountable to ensure compliance of authorized recruitment agencies and curb illegal acts of recruitment to protect the Filipino migrant workers. On the other side, the reportedly incidence of

breach of contract and failure of ECOs to respond to the complaints of trainees also influence trainees to leave their legal work status and work illegally in the country.

As for the religious and socio-civic organizations where some Filipino migrant workers affiliate, serving as reliable sources of information on job searching and source of moral or spiritual support, they in some way, although not deliberately "encourage" workers to choose to choose illegal work. The effect is more of partly offsetting the heavy costs of being illegal, such that these "support groups" can be relied on to sustain and help them in their life as illegal workers in Korea.

Nevertheless, the causality of these push and pull factors cannot be absolutely established, more so its degree of influence. This is because such factors interplay with one another depending upon how the migrant worker perceives his gains and losses in choosing to work illegally. What is vital to the migrant worker is for him to understand the dynamics involved to be able to make rational decisions and for the other stakeholders to determine their role to prevent or minimize the incidence of illegal migration.

Chapter V

RECOMMENDATIONS

My primary aim when I chose this topic is to acquire more understanding and deeper insight on why migrant workers choose or do not choose illegal overseas work. I was driven by the desire to explore the dynamics involved on the migrant worker's decision-making believing that there are aspects about it that could be altered or improved in order to lessen the "push" or "pull" to resort to illegal work. I conclude that there is interplay of various factors that influence the propensity of the Filipino migrant workers to resort to illegal migration. Hence the remedy, which I consider may be carried out, could help solve the problem on illegal migration or lessen its occurrence but I also believe that it will not completely guarantee to keep migrant workers from resorting to work illegally. The bottom line is only the person concerned who consciously choose to do the wrong act is accountable for his actions. So even if measures are undertaken to prevent to some extent illegal migration, this phenomenon shall prevail as long as there are needs an individual seeks to fulfill.

Yet with this perspective, I still believe that certain steps are called for. First, I recommend for the trainee scheme to be discontinued and replaced with the work permit system. Fortunately, the Korean government and legislators are seriously considering this through the proposed law on the work permit system that hopefully shall be passed in year 2001.

Second, bilateral cooperation in the area of labor migration between Korea and the Philippines should be strengthened. The Ministry of Labor Affairs (MOLA) of Korea is presently studying the proposed Memorandum of Understanding where a joint labor commission or some kind of bilateral forum for continuing discussions on labor migration matters shall be pursued. ³⁷ This is a welcome development on the part of both the Korean and Philippine government to continuously seek ways to solve issues and problems of Filipino migrant workers in Korea and improve foreign relations between the two countries.

Third, the Philippine government should ensure that the regulations embodied in the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995 are enforced and followed. This law has gaps and limitations that necessitate its review and amendment, which is presently being undertaken by concerned offices. POEA and the POLO based in Korea should intensify its mandate to safeguard prospective Filipino migrant workers from abuse of unscrupulous illegal recruiters who take advantage of the vulnerability and desperation of workers. Likewise, these offices should look at possible ways to minimize bureaucratic red tape so that it could provide timely responses to the problems of Filipino workers in Korea.

Lastly, I recommend further research on illegal migration especially the conduct of case studies similar to this research because this kind of investigation would elicit specific information on the phenomenon.

³⁷ Report on the DOLE-POEA-OWWA South Korea Mission, June 26-30, 2000, (Unpublished).

APPENDIX A

GENDER	ILLEGAL WORKERS		TRAINEES		то	TAL
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
MALE	25	61.0	10	83.3	35	66.0
FEMALE	16	39.0	2	16.7	18	34.0
TOTAL	41	100.0	12	100.0	53	100.0
%	77.3		22.6			100.0

 Table 1

 Number of Respondents By Work Status and Gender

Table 2Number of Respondents By Work Status and Age

AGE		ILLEGAL TRAINEES TOT. WORKERS		TRAINEES		TAL
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
21 – 26	7	17.1	6	50.0	13	24.5
27 - 32	13	31.3	6	50.0	19	35.8
33 - 40	16	39.0	0	0	16	30.2
Above 40	5	12.2	0	0	5	9.4
Total	41	100.0	12	100.0	53	100.0

CIVIL STATUS		EGAL KERS	TRAINEES		TOTAL	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
SINGLE	19	46.3	9	75.0	28	52.8
MARRIED	18	43.9	2	16.7	20	37.7
SEPARATED	2	4.9	1	8.3	3	5.7
WIDOWED	2	4.9	0	0	2	3.8
TOTAL	41	100.0	12	100.0	53	100.0

Table 3Number of Respondents By Work Status and Civil Status

Table 4
Number of Respondents By
Civil Status and Number of Dependents

Number Of Dependents	Single	Married	Separated	Widowed	То	otal
					No.	%
NONE	6	1	0	0	7	13.2
1 - 2	11	9	2	1	23	43.4
3 - 4	8	7	1	1	17	32.1
5 - 7	3	3	0	0	6	11.3
TOTAL	28	20	3	2	53	100.0

Table 5Number of Respondents By Educational AttainmentAnd Duration of Work Experience in the Philippines

Education	No Experie nce	1 - 2 Years	3 – 4 Years	5 Years and above	To	otal
High School Graduate	3	1	4	2	10	18.9
Vocational Course Graduate	2	3	3	5	13	24.5
College Level	2	1	1	4	8	15.1
College Graduate	1	10	5	6	22	41.5
Total	8	15	13	17	53	
%	15.1	28.3	24.5	32.1	10	0.0

Table 6Number of Respondents ByWork Status and Duration of Stay in Korea

Number of Years In Korea	ILLEGAL WORKERS		TRA	TRAINEES		TAL
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 1 Year	10	24.4	2	16.7	12	22.6
1 – 2 years (since 1997)	8	19.5	10	83.3	18	34.0
3 – 4 years (since 1995)	8	19.5	0	0	8	15.1
5 – 7 years (since 1992)	4	9.7	0	0	4	7.5
8 – 9 years (since 1990)	11	26.8	0	0	11	20.7
TOTAL	41	100.0	12	100.0	53	100.0

PRESENT JOB	ILLEGAL WORKERS		TRAINEES		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Machine operator in garments factory	18	47.4	3	16.7	21	42.0
Machine operator in socks factory	6	15.8	3	25.0	9	18.0
Machine operator in textile factory	5	13.2	3	25.0	8	16.0
Machine operator in plastics factory	4	10.5	1	8.3	5	10.0
Machine operator in paper factory	0	0	1	8.3	1	2.0
Production worker in electronics	2	5.3	1	8.3	3	6.0
Furniture Assembly	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.0
Production worker in hairpin factory	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.0
Press machine operator	1	2.6	0	0	1	2.0
TOTAL	38	100.0	12	100.0	50	100.0

Table 7Present Job of Respondents By Work Status

Note: Three (3) respondents with illegal work status were unemployed at the time of the survey.

REASONS	ILLEGAL	ILLEGAL WORKERS TRAINEES		NEES	то	TAL
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Financial reasons	16	28.6	2	11.8	18	24.7
No employment opportunities	5	8.9	3	17.6	8	10.9
To be able to get higher income jobs	10	18.0	4	23.5	14	19.2
To be able to support the family/ dependents and send them to school	8	14.3	6	35.3	14	19.2
To be able to save for education or engage in business	6	10.7	0	0	6	8.2
Personal (Non-Economic) Reasons: For adventure, to experience working abroad, have a change of environment, to be independent, to get away from personal problems	11	19.6	2	11.8	13	17.8
TOTAL	56	100.0	17	100.0	73	100.0

 Table 8

 Reasons for Working Abroad By Work Status of Respondents (Frequency of Responses)

MONTHLY SALARY (KOREAN WON)	ILLEGAL WORKERS		TRA	TRAINEES		ГAL
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
400,000 - 600,000	3	7.9	3	25.0	6	12.0
600,001 - 700,000	5	13.2	6	50.0	11	22.0
700,001 - 800,000	6	15.8	3	25.0	9	18.0
800,001 - 900,000	10	26.3	0	0	10	20.0
900,001 – 1.5 M	14	36.8	0	0	14	28.0
TOTAL	38	100.0	12	100.0	50	100.0

Table 9Gross Monthly Salary in Current OccupationBy Work Status of Respondents (includes overtime pay)

Table 10
Reasons for Choosing Korea as the Country of Destination
By Work Status of Respondents (Frequency of Responses)

REASONS	ILLEGAL V	ILLEGAL WORKERS		NEES	TOTAL	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Fast processing of						
travel documents, easy						
entry	17	36.9	4	26.7	21	34.4
Relatively cheaper/						
lower placement fee	1	2.2	2	13.3	4	6.6
£						
Heard that working						
terms and conditions						
are good and jobs are	4	8.7	5	33.3	9	14.7
easier to find						
Invited/ persuaded by						
relatives or friends	19	41.3	4	26.7	22	36.1
To have a change of						
working environment	1	2.2	0	0	1	1.6
working environment	1	4.4	0	U	1	1.0
No deliberate reason,						
just tried his luck	4	8.7	0	0	4	6.6
ust the my fuck	т	0.7	<u> </u>	•		0.0
TOTAL	46	100.0	15	100.0	61	100.0

AMOUNT PAID						
(PHIL.PESO)	ILLEGAL *		LEGAL **		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
10,000 - 30,000	1	3.2	4	18.2	5	9.4
30,001 - 50,000	12	38.7	2	9.1	14	26.4
50,001 - 60,000	6	19.3	5	22.7	11	20.8
60,001 - 70,000	1	3.2	7	31.8	8	15.1
70,001 - 80,000	4	12.9	3	13.6	7	13.2
More than 80,001	2	6.4	1	4.5	3	5.7
Did not pay processing fee	5	16.1	0	0	5	9.4
TOTAL	31		22		53	
%		100.0		100.0		100.0

Table 11Amount of Placement Fee Paid By Work Status

Those who entered Korea illegally (N = 31)
 Those who entered Korea legally as traineed

Those who entered Korea legally as trainees (N = 22) => Includes the 12 runaway trainees

PROBLEMS	ILLEGAL	WORKERS	TRAI	NEES	ТО	TAL
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Problems with the terms and conditions of the job	29	32.6	21	53.8	50	39.0
Problems with employer/ supervisor	18	20.2	14	35.9	32	25.0
Problems with Filipino or Korean fellow workers in the factory	18	20.2	1	2.6	19	14.8
Personal problems	10	11.2	1	2.6	11	8.6
Too much heavy manual work	6	6.7	0	0	6	4.7
Other problems (fear of being caught with no money to pay for penalty or air fare, not free to go anywhere he wants)	5	5.6	NA	NA	5	4.0
Problems with Korean based agencies (KFSMB/ ECOs)	NA	NA	2	5.1	2	1.6
NONE	3	3.4	0	0	3	2.3
TOTAL	89	100.0	39	100.0	128	100.0

Table 12 Problems Encountered By Work Status of Respondents (Frequency of Responses)

Table 13
Means of Solving or Coping With Problems
By Work Status of Respondents (Frequency of Responses)

	ILLEGAL	WORKERS	TRA	NEES	ТО	TAL
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Practicing diplomacy, tolerance and patience with co-workers and employers;						
passive acceptance and resignation to the situation	27	55.1	12	44.4	39	51.3
Talk it out with co-workers to discuss problems and find solutions, help each other in work	6	12.3	3	11.1	9	11.8
Raise complaints to employer/ supervisor, negotiate with them	6	12.3	2	7.4	8	10.5
Raise complaints to on-site agency (ECO) or KFSMB	NA	NA	7	25.9	7	9.2
Seek assistance/ support (financial or moral) support from friends, association members	3	6.1	1	3.7	4	5.3
Learn Korean language	1	2.0	1	3.7	2	2.6
Leave the job, transfer to another job	5	10.2	NA	NA	5	6.6
Engage in recreational activities (disco, drinking, sports)	1	2.0	1	3.7	2	2.6
TOTAL	49	100.0	27	100.0	76	100.0

NA – Not Applicable

Table 14
Perception On Who Could Help Them With Their Problems
By Work Status of Respondents (Frequency of Responses)

	ILLEGAL WORKERS		TRAINEES		TOTAL	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Filipino Church Chaplain, Filipino						
Center Advisers/ Volunteers	18	26.9	1	6.2	19	22.9
Region based association or worker's organization	12	17.9	2	12.5	14	16.9
Other Filipino friends, co-workers	10	14.9	2	12.5	12	14.5
Philippine Embassy in Korea, Philippine Overseas Labor Office in Korea (POLO)	15	22.4	4	25.0	19	23.0
Korean NGOs/ Korean Human Rights Lawyers	4	6.0	0	0	4	4.8
Recruitment Agency (Philippine based or On-site Agency)	NA	NA	2	12.5	2	2.4
God	2	3.0	1	6.2	3	3.6
Nobody, only myself	6	8.9	4	25.0	10	12.0
TOTAL	67	100.0	16	100.0	83	100.0

Table 15Reasons Why Runaway Workers AbandonedTheir Trainee Status (Frequency of Responses)

REASONS	NUMBER	PERCENT
Low salary	9	34.6
Poor accommodation and the meals are not good	5	19.2
Too much heavy work	2	7.8
Conflict between co-workers	2	7.8
Discrimination or unfair treatment of employer	2	7.8
The prescribed salary rate in the contract is not followed	1	3.8
Over strict in production	1	3.8
Too many salary deductions	1	3.8
Over strict in going out of the factory premises	1	3.8
Extended working hours without overtime pay	1	3.8
Unpaid or delayed salary	1	3.8
TOTAL	26	100.0

Total Number of Runaway Workers: 10

Table 16Reasons Why Trainees Would Not TransferTo Illegal Work Status (Frequency of Responses)

REASONS	NUMBER	PERCENT
Cannot afford to lose the forced savings because it is already big	5	38.5
Likes the forced savings policy because it ensures him of having money he can bring home	2	15.4
Would not be able to go home in cases of emergency if his status is illegal	2	15.4
Currently has the freedom to go out without any fear of being caught or deported	1	7.7
An illegal work status is very unstable because anytime he can be laid off from work	1	7.7
It is difficult to find work because of the economic crisis	1	7.7
Some illegal workers are not paid. As trainee he is sure that he will be paid even if the salary is low.	1	7.7
TOTAL	13	100.0

Total Number of Legal Trainees: 12

Table 17Duration When Illegal Workers Obtained Their FirstJob Upon Arrival in Korea Or Upon Leaving Trainee Status

NUMBER OF DAYS/ MONTHS	ILLEGAL ENTRANTS	RUNAWAY TRAINEES	ILLEGAL ENTRANIS	RUNAWAY TRAINEES Doncont
	Number	Number	Percent	Percent
Immediately (within 1 - 2 days)	12	6	42.8	60.0
3-7 days (1 week)	7	1	25.0	10.0
15 days – 1 month	7	2	25.0	20.0
More than 1 month – 3 months	2	1	7.1	10.0
TOTAL	28	10	100.0	100.0

Table 18Means By Which Illegal Workers Found Their Present Job

	NUMBER	PERCENT
Referred by Filipino friends or relatives	24	63.2
Referred by Korean friends or former Korean Employer	10	26.3
Job information referred thru the Filipino Center	3	7.9
Thru advertisement of job vacancies in Korean newspapers	1	2.6
TOTAL	38	100.0

Table 19aWhether Or Not The Respondent Has Transferred To Several Different Jobs

	ILLEGAL WORKERS	RUNAWAY TRAINEES	ILLEGAL WORKERS	RUNAWAY TRAINEES
	Number	Number	Percent	Percent
YES	22	9	78.6	90.0
NO	6	1	21.4	10.0
TOTAL	28	10	100.0	100.0

Table 19bNumber Of Different Jobs Held

FREQUENCY OF JOB TRANSFERS	ILLEGAL WORKERS	RUNAWAY TRAINEES	ILLEGAL WORKERS	RUNAWAY TRAINEES
	Number	Number	Percent	Percent
2 – 3 times	7	2	31.8	22.2
4 –10 times	10	7	45.4	77.8
More than 11 times	5	0	22.7	0
TOTAL	22	9	100.0	100.0

Table 20Duration Of Employment In Present Job of Illegal Workers *

DURATION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Less than 1 month	4	10.5
1 – 6 months	11	29.0
7 – 1 year	6	15.8
2 - 5 years	17	44.7
TOTAL	38	100.0

* Runaway Workers included

APPENDIX B

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE – A – Legal Trainees

Edad	_	Sex	_			
Civil Status Widow(er)	-	Married	Separated			
Number of D	ependents					
Highest Educ	ational Attainn	nent				
Elemen High S	ntary Level (G ntary Graduate chool Level (1 chool Gradua	e (Grade 6) $1^{st} - 3^{rd}$ Year)	Vocational Course College Level (1 st – 3 rd Year) College Graduate (4 th year)			
	0 0	-	o sa Pilipinas bago ka pumunta dito sa o dati?			
2. Bakit ka	nag abroad? _					
3. Bakit Kor	rea ang napili 1	mo at hindi sa ibar	ng lugar?			
4. Kailan ka	4. Kailan ka dumating dito sa Korea? (buwan at taon)					
	Magkano ang binayad mo na placement fee?(pesos)					
6. Saan ka l	5. Saan ka kumuha ng pambayad mo ng placement fee?					
7. Anong tr	abaho mo nga	ayon?				
8. Anong u	 Anong uri ng kompanya or factory ang pinagtatrabahuhan mo? 					
9. Kailan ka	9. Kailan ka nagsimulang magtrabaho dito bilang trainee?					
10. May iba	ka pa bang job	o contract na pinir	mahan pagdating mo sa Korea?			
11. Kung me	ron, ito ba any	pareho ng pinirm	ahan mo sa Agency sa Pilipinas?			
	ba ang mga k violations?	ondisyon sa contra	act mo? Kung hindi, anu-ano			
			uweldo o trainee allowance, kasama na ang (won)			
14. Anong d	lollar exchan	ge rate ang gina	gamit na batayan para sa iyong suweldo?			

- 15. Anu-ano ang mga kabawasan o deductions sa iyong suweldo o trainee allowance?
- 16. Magkano ang karaniwang gastos mo sa isang buwan (living expenses) ____(won)
- 17. Magkano ang kadalasan mong naipapadala na remittance sa isang buwan para sa iyong pamilya? _____(won)
- 18. Anu-ano ang mga problema na nararanasan mo sa iyong trabaho bilang trainee? (kasama na dito ang problema sa amo, lugar na pinagtatrabahuhan, personal o problema sa kasama) Paano mo nilulutas ang mga problemang ito?
- 19. Sino sa palagay mo ang mas epektibong makatutulong o makatutugon sa mga problema mo at ng iba pang Filipino workers dito sa Korea at bakit?
- 20. Kung sakaling may makita ka o i-alok sa iyong trabaho, pero illegal ito, tatanggapin mo ba?

___Oo ___Hindi

Bakit o bakit hindi?

21. Ano ang opinyon o masasabi mo tungkol sa trainee system ng Korea?

22. Sa iyong palagay, ikaw ba ay may nakuha o natututnan na bago o mas mabuting skill sa iyong trabaho dito, na mapapakinabangan mo sa iyong pagbalik sa Pilipinas?

_____Meron _____Wala

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE – A – (English Translation)

RESPONDENT'S PROFILE

Name of Organization:	
Age	Sex
Civil Status Single	Married Separated/ Single Parent
Number of Dependents	
Highest Educational Attainmen	ıt
Elementary Level (Grac Elementary Graduate (C High School Level (1 st High School Graduate (Grade 6)College Level $(1^{st} - 3^{rd} Year)$ $-3^{rd} Year)$ College Graduate $(4^{th} year)$
Number of months/ years y Korea	ou have been working in the Philippines before going to
Why did you choose to work	overseas?
Why did you choose to work	here in Korea?
When did you arrive here in k	Corea? (month and year)
How much did you pay as pla	cement fee:(pesos)
How did you raise the money	for your placement fee?
Present Employment Pr	ofile
Type of Work:	
Type of Company:	
When have you started working	ng as trainee in the present company?
Average Gross Monthly 7 premium):(won)	Frainee Allowance (including overtime pay and night
Net Monthly Allowance receiv	ved:(won)
What is the dollar exchange ra	te being used for computing your salary:
What are the deduction	s from your monthly salary (kind and amount):

How much is your average monthly remittance: _____(won)

What problems do you encounter at work (include problems with employer, working conditions, personal/social problems)?

If in case you find or are offered a work but with an illegal status, will you accept it?

____Yes ____No

Why or why not?

What is your opinion on the AITTP-KFSMB trainee scheme?

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE – B – Runaway Trainees

Edad	Sex
Civil Status Single	Married Separated Widow(er)
Number of Dependents	
Highest Educational Attainmen	t
Elementary Level (Grad Elementary Graduate (C High School Level (1 st – High School Graduate (Grade 6)College Level $(1^{st} - 3^{rd} Year)$ $- 3^{rd} Year)$ College Graduate $(4^{th} year)$
0 0	k experience mo sa Pilipinas bago ka pumunta dito sa Anong trabaho mo dati?
2. Bakit ka nag abroad?	
3. Bakit Korea ang napili mo	at hindi sa ibang lugar?
4. Kailan ka dumating dito sa	a Korea? (buwan at taon)
5. Magkano ang binayad mo	na placement fee?(pesos)
6. Saan ka kumuha ng pamba	ayad mo ng placement fee?
Employment Profile (Mg trainee)	a tanong tungkol sa dating trabaho bilang legal na
7. Kailan ka nagsimula at (month and year)	hangang kailan ka nagtrabaho bilang legal na trainee?
8. Anong trabaho mo noong	trainee ka pa?
9. Anong uri ng kompanya o	r factory ang pinasukan mo noon?
10. May iba ka pa bang job co	ontract na pinirmahan pagdating mo sa Korea?
11. Kung meron, ito ba any pa	reho ng pinirmahan mo sa Agency sa Pilipinas?
12. Nasunod ba ang mga kono	disyon sa contract mo?
Kung hindi, anu-ano ang n	nga violations?
0.00	s buwanang suweldo o trainee allowance, kasama na ang ium pay, noong ikaw ay trainee?(won)
14 Anone dellar exchance	note and since with the hoters of and as income source like

14. Anong dollar exchange rate ang ginagamit na batayan para sa iyong suweldo bilang trainee?

- 15. Anu-ano ang mga kabawasan o deductions sa iyong suweldo o trainee allowance?
- 16. Magkano ang karaniwang gastos mo sa isang buwan (living expenses) ____(won)
- 17. Magkano ang kadalasan mong naipapadala na remittance sa isang buwan para sa iyong pamilya, noong ikaw ay trainee? _____(won)
- 18. Anu-ano ang mga problema na naranasan mo sa iyong trabaho noon bilang trainee? (kasama na dito ang problema sa amo, lugar na pinagtatrabahuhan, personal o problema sa kasama)
- 19. Bakit ka napa-pasok sa illegal na trabaho? Bakit ka umalis sa pagiging legal trainee?

Employment Profile (Mga tanong sa kasalukuyang trabaho bilang illegal worker)

- 20. Gaano katagal simula nang umalis ka bilang trainee hanggang nakahanap ka ng una mong trabaho bilang illegal worker?_____
- 21. Ikaw ba ay nagkaroon pa ng ibang illegal na trabaho bago sa kasalukuyan mong trabaho?
- ____Oo Kung Oo, ilan _____ Hindi
- 22. Kailan ka nagsimulang magtrabaho dito sa kompanyang ito?_____
- 23. Paano mo nakita ang trabahong ito?
- 24. Anong trabaho mo ngayon? _____
- 25. Anong uri ng kompanya or factory ang pinapasukan mo ngayon?_____
- 26. Magkano ang iyong gross buwanang suweldo kasama na ang overtime pay at night premium pay? _____(won)
- 27. Magkano ang karaniwang gastos mo sa isang buwan (living expenses) (won)
- 28. Magkano ang kadalasan mong naipapadala na remittance sa isang buwan para sa iyong pamilya? _____(won)

- 29. Anu-ano ang mga problema na nararanasan mo sa iyong trabaho? (kasama na dito ang problema sa amo, lugar na pinagtatrabahuhan, personal o problema sa kasama) Paano mo nilulutas ang mga problemang ito?
- 30. Sino sa palagay mo ang epektibong makatutulong o makatutugon sa mga problema mo at ng iba pang Filipino workers dito sa Korea at bakit?

31. Mas pipiliin mo pa bang manatiling illegal worker? ____Oo _____Hindi

Kung Oo, bakit at hangang kailan mo balak magtrabaho dito sa Korea?

Kung hindi, bakit at gusto mo bang bumalik sa pagiging legal na trainee?

32. Bakit hindi ka kumuha ang amnesty o no fine policy na ibinigay noon ng Korean government para sa mga illegal na workers?

33. Ano ang opinyon o masasabi mo tungkol sa trainee system ng Korea?

34. Sa iyong palagay, ikaw ba ay may nakuha o natututnan na bago o mas mabuting skill sa iyong trabaho dito, na mapapakinabangan mo sa iyong pagbalik sa Pilipinas?

_____Meron _____Wala

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE – B – (English Translation)

RESPONDENT'S PROFILE

Name of Orga	nization:		
Age	-	Sex	
Civil Status	Single	Married	Separated/ Single Parent
Number of De	ependents		
Highest Educa	tional Attainmen	t	
Elemen High Sc	tary Level (Grad tary Graduate (C chool Level (1 st - chool Graduate (Grade 6) - 3 rd Year)	Vocational Course College Level (1 st – 3 rd Year) College Graduate (4 th year)
Number of n Korea		ou have been v	working in the Philippines before going to
Why did you	choose to work	overseas?	
Why did you	choose to work	here in Korea?	
When did you	arrive here in K	forea? (month ar	nd year)
How much die	d you pay as pla	cement fee:	(pesos)
How did you	raise the money f	for your placeme	ent fee?
Employmen	nt Profile (Info	ormation on J	past legal trainee status)
When were yo	ou a legal trainee	e? (month and ye	ear)
Type of Work	K:		
Type of Com	pany:		
Average Gro	-	Trainee Allowa	ance (including overtime pay and night

Net Monthly Salary received: ____(won)

What was the dollar exchange rate used for computing your salary?_____

What were the deductions from your monthly salary (kind and amount):

How much was your average monthly remittance when you were still a trainee: _____(won)

What problems did you encounter at work when you were still a trainee (include problems with employer, working conditions, personal/social problems)?

When did you stop working as legal trainee? (month and year)_____

Why did you transfer to illegal work?

Employment Profile (Information on Present work as illegal worker)

Did you have other illegal work before this present job? If yes, how many?

When did you start working in this company? (month and year)

How did you find your present job?

Type of Work: _____

Type of Company:

Average Gross Monthly Salary (including overtime pay and night premium): _____(won)

Net Monthly Salary received: ____(won)

What is the dollar exchange rate being used for computing your salary?

What are the deductions from your monthly salary (kind and amount):

How much is your average monthly remittance at present _____(won)

What problems do you encounter at work (include problems with employer, working conditions, personal/social problems)?

Would you prefer to remain an illegal worker? If yes, why and for how long do you intend to stay in Korea?

If no, why and would you like to go back to your former legal status as trainee?

Why did you not avail of the amnesty or no fine policy program granted by the Korean government to all illegal foreign workers?

What is your opinion on the AITTP-KFSMB trainee scheme?

Edad		Sex		-		
	Single		- Sep	parated	Widow(er)	
	U		_ 1			
Number of D	ependents					
Elemer Elemer Elemer High S	ational Attainment ntary Level (Grac ntary Graduate (C chool Level (1 st chool Graduate (le 1-5) Grade 6) – 3 rd Year)	Colle	ational Course ege Level (1 st – ege Graduate (4	3 rd Year) th year)	
	tagal na ang wor An					
2. Bakit ka	nag abroad?					
3. Bakit Ko	rea ang napili mo	o at hindi sa iba	ng lugar?			
4. Kailan ka	dumating dito sa	a Korea? (buwa	n at taon)			
5. Magkano	ang binayad mo	o na placement	fee?	(pesos)		
6. Saan ka k	kumuha ng pamb	ayad mo ng pla	acement fee?_			
7. Mayroon	ka bang trabaho	ngayon?	_Meron	(Proceed to	Question No. 8)	
Wa	ala (Proce	ed To Question N	lo. 19 <i>-</i> 22)			
Kung wa	la, gaano katagal	l ka nang walan	g trabaho?			
Bakit ka	walang trabaho	ngayon?				
Employment Profile (Mga tanong sa kasalukuyang trabaho bilang illegal worker)						
8. Noong trabaho?	-	dito sa Korea	a, gaano ka	ıtagal bago k	a nakakita ng	
9. Ikaw ba ay nagkaroon pa ng ibang illegal na trabaho bago sa kasalukuyan mong trabaho?						
0	Oo Kung Oo, ilan Hindi					
10. Kailan ka nagsimulang magtrabaho dito sa kompanyang ito?						
11. Paano mo nakita ang trabahong ito?						
12. Anong trabaho mo ngayon?						
13. Anong uri ng kompanya or factory ang pinapasukan mo ngayon?						
14. Magkano ang iyong gross buwanang suweldo kasama na ang overtime pay at night premium pay?(won)						
-	o ang karan)(won)	niwang gast	os mo s	sa isang b	ouwan (living	

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE – C – Illegal Entrants

- 16. Magkano ang kadalasan mong naipapadala na remittance sa isang buwan para sa iyong pamilya? _____(won)
- 17. Anu-ano ang mga problema na nararanasan mo sa iyong trabaho? (kasama na dito ang problema sa amo, lugar na pinagtatrabahuhan, personal o problema sa kasama) At paano mo nillutas ang mga problemang ito?
- 18. Sino sa palagay mo ang epektibong makatutulong o makatutugon sa mga problema mo at ng iba pang Filipino workers dito sa Korea at bakit?

19. Mas pipiliin mo pa bang manatiling illegal worker? ____Oo _____Hindi

Kung Oo, bakit at hangang kailan mo balak magtrabaho dito sa Korea?

Kung hindi, bakit at gusto mo bang bumalik sa pagiging legal na trainee?

20. Bakit hindi ka kumuha ng amnesty o no fine policy na ibinigay noon ng Korean government para sa mga illegal workers?

21. Ano ang opinyon o masasabi mo tungkol sa trainee system ng Korea?

22. Sa iyong palagay, ikaw ba ay may nakuha o natutunan na bago o mas mabuting skill sa iyong trabaho dito, na mapapakinabangan mo sa iyong pagbalik sa Pilipinas?

_____Meron _____Wala

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE – C – (English Translation)

RESPONDENT'S PROFILE

Name of Org	anization:				
Age	_	Sex			
Civil Status	Single	Married	Separ	rated/ Single]	Parent
Number of D	ependents				
Highest Educa	ational Attainmen	t			
Elemen	ntary Level (Grad ntary Graduate (C chool Level (1 st - chool Graduate (Grade 6) - 3 rd Year)	Vocatio College College	e Level (1 st –	
Number of n Korea	• •	ou have been w	orking in the	Philippines	before going to
When did you	arrive in Korea	? (month and yea	ar)		
How much di	d you pay as pla	cement fee:	(pesos)		
How did you	raise the money	for your placem	ent fee?		
Are you curre	ently employed? _	Yes	No		
Employme	nt Profile (Inf	ormation on I	Present wor	k as illegal	worker)
How many m	onths were you u	inemployed befo	re you got you	ır first job?	
How many jobs did you have prior to working in this present company?					
How did you find your present work?					
Type of Work	K:				
Type of Com	pany:				
Average Gr (wor	•	Salary (includii	ng overtime	pay and n	night premium):
Net Monthly	Salary received:	(won)			
What is the do	ollar exchange rat	te being used for	computing yo	ur salary?	

What are the deductions from your monthly salary (kind and amount):

How much is your average monthly remittance at present _____(won)

What problems do you encounter at work (include problems with employer, working conditions, personal/social problems)?

Would you prefer to remain an illegal worker? If yes, why and for how long do you intend to stay in Korea?

If no, why and would you like to go back to your former legal status as trainee?

Why did you not avail of the amnesty or no fine policy program granted by the Korean government to all illegal foreign workers?

What is your opinion on the AITTP-KFSMB trainee scheme?

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