

**Western Colonization and Its Impact on Female Migrant Workers:
The Study of Labor Management of Domestic Migrant Workers from
Indonesia and the Philippines**

by

Marhaennia English

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Research Question

Indonesia and the Philippines are two countries of origin for labor migration. These countries share similar historical roots; however, female Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) are often more successful¹ than Indonesian female migrant workers (PMI). This research paper will explore and compare how the legacies of colonization affect migrant workers from Indonesia and the Philippines. I will explore cultural colonialism by the Spanish and the Americans in the Philippines in comparison with the Dutch in Indonesia. The majority of female migrant workers are employed in the service industry; thus, this paper will focus on female domestic workers.

Furthermore, this paper will also explore the degree to which Dutch, Spanish, and American colonialism influenced gender relations in Indonesia and the Philippines. I will analyze how perceptions of women have continuing influences upon the social status and progress of female domestic workers. Lastly, this paper will compare how the legacies of colonization affect labor management for female domestic migrant workers by examining policies which focus on women's empowerment and agency prior to leaving the sending country for their overseas placement. Another critical aspect of the research focuses on the efficacy of the workers' legal protections both in the receiving and sending countries.

Introduction

The 16th century marked the beginning of European exploration throughout the world including parts of Asia. European colonization in the Southeast Asian region was concentrated in an area once called the East Indies. The Dutch East Indies refers to the largest Archipelago

¹ Economic success is measured by the remittances, household consumption, and GNI; remittance and financial sector; remittance and countryside development; and remittance and policy advocacy at the home countries. Social and cultural success is measured using the WEF's Gender Gap Index report and UNDP's Gender Inequality Index.

known as Nusantara (today Indonesia). In the early 1600s, the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) became the dominant European power in Indonesia for the next 350 years; in August 17, 1945 Indonesia declared its independence following the end of the World War II.

The Spanish East Indies refers to the Archipelago of the Philippines. The Spanish empire arrived in 1521 and established its first permanent settlement in Cebu and remained for the next 333 years. Following the defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War in 1898, the Philippines declared its independence from the Spanish in June 12, 1898. However, the Philippines was then occupied by the United States for the next 48 years until it was granted its sovereignty through the Treaty of Manila on July 4, 1946.

In the Philippines, the Spanish Empire consolidated its power through forced acculturation; for example, Roman Catholicism and Spanish language were forced upon the native-born people. The Spanish Empire also implemented *encomienda* (feudal-like labor) system. Resource extraction is one similarity that both the Dutch and the Spanish Empires shared in common during their colonization period. The Philippines' culture is influenced by the Spanish and the American occupation. The legacy of Spanish influence is manifested in Catholicism, language, food, and way of life. However, the United States' brief period of occupation influenced the Philippines mainly through American education, cultures, and ideals.

During the Dutch colonial period, many underclass and uneducated Indonesian women worked as domestic workers for the Dutch masters. Only Indonesians of high social status obtained the privilege of going to the Dutch school and learning the language. Regular people remained in the socioeconomic underclass. The English language is an elective language to learn. Consequently, this legacy makes Indonesian migrant workers less competitive in addition to reinforcing the negative stereotype of domestic workers in Indonesia to date. Unfortunately,

domestic workers are often looked down upon and underappreciated regarding their contribution to Indonesia's economy.

Another key point to consider is the roles of women during the European colonial periods. For example, during the Spanish colonial time, the roles of women in the Philippines were no different than for women of Indonesia – primarily housekeeping and childrearing. But the women's roles in the Philippines increased during the American occupation; one reason was because education was broadly introduced. In addition, a sense of American individualism became part of many Filipinos' identity when it comes to personal development and equal opportunity despite obstacles or constraints presented by gender and social economic status. Women can attain education and contribute through economic participation in the public sphere.

The impact of American education for many decades during occupation after the Spanish-American war benefited the Filipinos compared to other Asian populations when it comes to English language literacy and fluency. The English language is the Philippines' second most spoken language following Tagalog. In addition, Filipinos were more readily influenced by American individualism, which emphasizes personal development, equality of opportunity, and a social structure that is devoid of a caste system.² The legacy of American education and an emphasis on individualism have instilled a strong appreciation and desire for access to education as a tool for personal development in the Filipino identity.

Henceforth, Overseas Filipino Workers are known for their English fluency and education background, which are both legacies of the U.S. colonization.³ Personal development

² Hoover, H. (1922). *American individualism*. United States: Doubleday, Page.

³ Lan, Pei-Chia. (2003). "'They Have More Money but I Speak Better English!' Transnational Encounters between Filipina Domestic Workers and Taiwanese Employers." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 10: 133-161 PDF file. Retrieved from <https://scholars.lib.ntu.edu.tw/bitstream/123456789/55177/1/09.pdf>. P. 138

is a significant part of American idealism; the Filipinos acquired similar attitudes towards personal development throughout the U.S. time in the Philippines.

The Philippines is ranked the 9th, and Indonesia is ranked the 11th in terms of labor migration. There are about 10 million Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) globally and more than one million Filipinos work abroad yearly.⁴ The remittances sent by OFWs accounted for about US\$31.15 million in 2016.⁵ Over nine million Indonesian migrant workers (PMIs) abroad, represents almost seven percent of Indonesia's total labor force. Collectively, PMIs contribute about US\$8.9 billion in remittances in 2016.⁶ Today, Indonesia and the Philippines are two emerging economies. Without a doubt, labor migration is one of the engines to economic growth; furthermore, remittances improve the life of the family left behind.

Migrant workers are generally considered economic heroes; however, unlike the Overseas Filipina Workers (OFWs), Indonesian female migrant workers (PMI, Pekerja Migran Indonesia) are often time looked down in the society; thus, the majority of the female PMIs do not receive adequate tools or resources focusing on economic empowerment much less legal protection. Compared to Indonesia, the Philippines has one of the lowest rates of gender disparity according to the WEF Global Gender Gap Report and the UNDP Gender Inequality Index (GII). The Philippines has one of the lowest rates of gender disparity.

The Gender Inequality Index (GII) measures gender inequalities in three aspects of human development, namely: reproductive health, women's empowerment, and economic

⁴ Labour migration in the Philippines (ILO in the Philippines). (n.d.). Retrieved October 1, 2020, from <https://www.ilo.org/manila/areasofwork/labour-migration/lang--en/index.htm>

⁵ How Does the OFW Impact Philippines? (2020, April 09). Retrieved November 5, 2020, from <https://www.comparereemit.com/money-transfer-guide/contribution-of-the-ofw-to-the-philippines-economy/>

⁶ World Bank Group & Australian Government. (2017). *Indonesia's Global Workers: Juggling Opportunities & Risks* PDF file. Retrieved from <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/357131511778676366/Indonesias-Global-Workers-Juggling-Opportunities-Risks.pdf>

participation. The GII ranges between zero and one (0-1); higher values indicate higher inequalities between men and women. Additionally, the Global Gender Gap Index Report measures women's disadvantage compared to men encompassing health, education, economy, and politics. The Global Gender Gap Report score ranges between zero and one (0-1); one being the highest score on closing the gap of gender disparity and zero being the lowest.

According to the *2020 Global Gender Gap Index* report, the Philippines was ranked the 8th in 2018 with 0.799 score and 16th with 0.781 score. In 2018, the Philippines' economic participation and opportunity was ranked 14th with a 0.801 score on economic participation and opportunity; the 1st with 1.000 score on educational attainment; the 42nd with 0.979 score on health and survival; and the 13th with 0.416 score on political empowerment. In comparison, in 2020, the Philippines' economic participation was ranked the 14 with 0.792 score; the 37th with 0.999 score on educational attainment; the 41st with 0.979 score on health and survival; and the 29th with 0.353 score on political empowerment.

For example, based upon the 2018 and 2020 Global Gender Gap report, the Philippines have maintained strong indices in three aspects – economic participation, educational attainment, and health and survival. However, there was quite a steep decline in the area of political empowerment from 0.416 (2018) to 0.353 (2020). The Philippines still has a wider gender gap in in terms of political empowerment, thereby translating into a lower female representation in the Cabinet under the leadership of President Rodrigo Duterte.

On the contrary, Indonesia was ranked 85 (0.691) in 2018 and 2020 (0.700) on the Global Gender Gap Index report. Indonesia's economic participation was ranked 68 (0.685) in 2018 and 96 (0.629) in 2020. On educational attainment, Indonesia was ranked 107 (0.967) in 2018 and 105 (0.970) in 2020. On health and survival, Indonesia was ranked 79 (0.974) in 2018 and 2020

(0.974). Furthermore, on political empowerment, Indonesia was ranked 60 (0.193) and 82 (0.172) in 2020. Indonesia's 2018 and 2020 result shows that Indonesia improved in the category of educational attainment subindex but all other subindices declined; as a result, Indonesia's ranking in both years remained the same.

Without a doubt, the roles of government and civil-society advocacy groups in the arena of labor migration are very important. The Philippines is a good global role model for labor migration. The government creates institutions and policies and incorporates civil-society advocacy aimed to ensure the empowerment and safety of the OFWs at home and abroad. It comes as no surprise that OFWs contributes quite significantly to the country's GDP. Conversely, Indonesia's migrant labor management has long been known to be far from adequate. A negative perception of employment as domestic workers, corrupt institutions, and weak law enforcement often time result in the country's inadequacy to empower and protect Indonesian migrant workers at home and abroad.

Literature Review

My research examines the benefits of American education and idealism to the Philippines' human resources. The primary source I will be using is an ethnographic studies book by the Thomasites, collection of photographs related to the U.S. imperialism in the Philippines. Thomasites were a group of 600 American teachers in the Philippines with a purpose to educate the Filipinos. The Thomasites served the Philippines' educational system from 1901 to 1920.⁷ The Thomasites taught the Filipinos various subjects, namely: English language, agriculture, mathematics, trading, housekeeping, and other general courses.

⁷ Simpson, Andrew. (2007). *Language and National Identity in Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

In addition, another primary source includes the Congressional Record of the United States Congress in 1968 which acknowledged the roles of the Thomasites in the Philippines' educational system. In the Record, it is stated that the Thomasites teachers established a system of primary and secondary education, bringing the ideal of democracy and public education to prepare for a self-governed Philippines.⁸ Furthermore, I also used historical newspapers from 1900-1910 as my primary source for the Philippines.

For the exploration of Indonesia, I will be using manuscript archives compiled by the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI) in collaboration with the National Archives of the Netherlands (Nationaal Archief) for historical context of the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia. In addition, I also included: *Archieven Van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) en de Locale Instellingen Te Batavia (Jakarta)* manuscript to establish how the VOC implemented its rulings in Indonesia, and how Dutch rule influenced Indonesia's economy, sociocultural context, and religion both during colonization as well as the present time.

For secondary sources for the Philippines, I utilized *A Woman's Impression of the Philippines*, *American Individualism*, and *The Story of the Philippines: The U.S. and its Territories 1870-1925*. These books serve as important source material to support my argument regarding the impact of American education and the concurrent acculturation regarding American individualism, specifically regarding personal development and a belief in education as a pathway to empowerment. This is of particular importance as native-born Indonesians were, arguably, discouraged from being empowered. The Dutch colonial power enforced the Cultivation System in in the Indonesian Archipelago. Moreover, to limit human development and

⁸ Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the ... Congress. (1969). United States: U.S. Government Printing Office.

empowerment, only Indonesian aristocrats were permitted to gain access to the Dutch education system.

For secondary sources on Indonesia, I utilized *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* and *Wives, Slaves, and Concubines: A History of the Female Underclass in Dutch Asia*. These sources provide evidence to support my argument about the lasting impact of Dutch colonialization and the disempowerment of Indonesian underclass women. Women from the lower economic status were often employed as *baboe* (maid) and concubines, forms of employment degrading for many Indonesian women. In fact, more than three centuries of disempowerment by the Dutch continues to impact how the underclass women are perceived in modern Indonesia. Most importantly, these underclass women comprise the majority of Indonesia's female migrant workers, in particular, the domestic migrant workers.

I will explore data and documentation for migrant workers from both countries' institutions in charge of 'managing' their overseas workers. For the Philippines, I will incorporate data gathered by the Philippines' government agencies in charge of the Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs), namely: the Philippines Overseas Employment Agency (POEA), Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA), and the Philippines Central Bank. For Indonesia, I will explore data from BP2MI, a government agency that is in charge of Indonesian migrant workers (PMI, Pekerja Migran Indonesia), Bappenas, and Indonesia Central Bank.

I will also explore data from international organizations including: the United Nations (UN), International Organization for Migration (IOM), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), International Labor Organization (ILO), World Economic Forum (WEF), United Nations Women (UN Women), World Bank publications, as well as census data from government and non-governmental institutions in the

Philippines and Indonesia to establish credible data related to women and female migrant workers from both countries. Lastly, I will incorporate peer reviewed scholarly articles and books that focus on the Philippines and Indonesia.

Methodology

I will be using, mainly, a qualitative approach as my research methodology. In analyzing the qualitative sources, I will be closely examining the data to identify the main themes and patterns. I will also be interpreting the historical meaning of words or phrases and what they mean then and today (such as *baboe*). The goal of my qualitative approach is to understand the interaction between colonialism and gender relations; and how gender relations influence female migrant workers from Indonesia and the Philippines and their advocacy at home and abroad. I selected Indonesia and the Philippines as the case studies of this research paper, because Indonesia and the Philippines are two emerging economies and the two largest countries of origin for migrant workers.

Working abroad is a means to move away from poverty. Remittances from the migrant workers contribute to economic growth and development in the home countries. I discovered that Filipino migrant workers are more successful when compared to Indonesian migrant workers. Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) speak more fluent English; and they are afforded better legal protection from the government in both the sending and receiving countries. In contrast, Indonesian migrant workers are more often poorly treated at both home and abroad. Indonesian migrant workers also do not receive adequate legal services or social welfare protection when they encounter abuse and mistreatment during employment. In addition, Indonesian migrant workers' fluency in English language is very limited which makes them more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse when working in countries where English fluency is needed.

I then analyzed the degree to which differing social and cultural colonial influences differentiates the Philippines from Indonesia today. Both Indonesia and the Philippines were colonized by the European colonial powers – the Dutch and the Spanish – for over 300 years. However, only the Philippines occupied by the American following the Spanish defeat in the Spanish-American War in. I would argue that American occupation in the Philippines and deep bilateral relations post-occupation shapes the majority of the Filipinos' positive attitude towards education, personal freedom, and empowerment.

For the literature review, I will include an analysis of manuscripts, historical newspapers, and survey of published works by other authors. I will also include data and statistics provided by different governmental and non-governmental organizations. I will incorporate statistics about the migrant workers, such as: the number of overseas migrant workers abroad, the statistics of migrant workers and their countries of employment, and the remittances sent to home countries by the migrant workers. I will also compare gender disparities in Indonesia and the Philippines utilizing the published works by WEF (Global Gender Gap Report) and UNDP (Gender Inequality Index, GII).

In addition, I will be analyzing, summarizing, and interpreting my primary and secondary sources. The goal of this research is to have a more complex understanding of female overseas migrant workers, which places them in both an historical and sociocultural context. I will be examining how colonialism affected gender relations and women's empowerment in the Philippines and Indonesia. I will also be examining and interpreting the manuscripts focusing on the Thomasites and the Dutch VOC. The Thomasites-related manuscripts help me to establish more in-depth insights on how American education and idealism shape the Philippines' identity. Furthermore, the Thomasites-related manuscripts provides evidence to support my claim that

social and cultural interaction, through the educational system, helped to socialize the values of personal development.

For Indonesia, I will be examining and interpreting the Dutch VOC-related manuscripts and other primary sources to establish the connection between colonialism and women's relative lack of agency and disempowerment in Indonesia. I will establish the social and cultural connection between *baboe* and modern domestic workers in Indonesia. *Baboe* is the Dutch term for Indonesian underclass female domestic workers who were employed by the colonial powers. The negative connotation of being a domestic worker (*baboe*) has carried over to contemporary Indonesia; for a long time, domestic migrant workers are poorly treated and managed by the Indonesian government.

Brief History of Western Colonization in the Philippines and Indonesia.

The Age of Discovery is a time period from the beginning of the 15th century to 18th century where European powers sailed the ocean seeking for economic expansions. Portugal and Spain were the two strongest maritime powers during the discovery period. Ferdinand Magellan (1519-1522) is a Portuguese nobleman and navigator who circumnavigated the world's ocean on his expedition, for the Spanish Crown, in search for exotic spices, namely cloves, nutmeg, mace, cinnamon, and pepper. The *Armada de Molucca*, comprised of five ships and about 200 men, departed in 1519 from Sevilla, Spain, seeking control over the Spice Islands in East Indies.

Ferdinand Magellan and his *Armada de Molucca* fleet arrived in the Philippines Archipelago. Magellan reached Samar Island on March, 16, 1521.⁹ Ferdinand Magellan's first settlement was the beginning of Spanish colonial period in the Archipelago. The Philippines was

⁹ Butterworth, H. (1899). *The Story of Magellan and the Discovery of the Philippines (1st ed.)*. New York: D. Appleton and Company. doi: <https://archive.org/details/storyofmagelland00butt>. P. 174.

named after the Spanish throne, King Philip II of Spain, when it became a colony of the Spanish Crown. The 300 years of Spanish rule in the Philippines ended following the Spanish defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898.



Figure 1: Ferdinand Magellan's Circumnavigation Route

Source 1: Wikimedia Commons

On November 8, 1521, *Victoria* and *Trinidad* of *Armada de Molucca* arrived in the strings of islets – Ternate, Tidore, Motir, Makian – in Moluccas Island (now part of Indonesia).¹⁰ The volcanic soil in this string of islets made the island a perfect environment for spice plants native to Spice Islands. Nutmeg and clove became the most expensive commodity in the global spice trade. Spices were essential sources of financial means to advance European empires and civilizations. The Portuguese monopolized the Spice Islands until the Dutch East Indies took over the monopoly.

¹⁰ Butterworth, H. (1899). *The Story of Magellan and the Discovery of the Philippines (1st ed.)*. New York: D. Appleton and Company. doi: <https://archive.org/details/storyofmagelland00butt>. P. 175

Bergreen, L. (2003). *Over the Edge of the World: Magellan's Terrifying Circumnavigation of the Globe*. New York, NY: William Morrow, an imprint of HarperCollins. doi: <https://archive.org/details/overedgeofworl00berg/mode/2up>. P. 339-340

The Dutch Colonization in Indonesia (1595 – 1945)

The Dutch arrived in Indonesian Archipelago in the late 1500s; however, the economic colonization did not start until the beginning of the 1600s. Cornelis de Houtman, a Dutch explorer, pioneered a new route to East Indies. De Houtman landed on Moluccas Island in 1596 and settled in Ambon. Despite financial support from the Spanish, the Portuguese were losing its ground in the Spice Islands; the *VOC* took possession of the islands in 1605.¹¹

In a mission to take over the global spice trade monopoly from the Portuguese, the *VOC* also assisted local sultanates throughout the Archipelago to stop the Portuguese's invasion. The Dutch 1605 victory in the Spice Islands was monumental not only for the obvious economic reasons; rather, it also signified the rise of the Dutch Republic that was at war against both Spain and Portugal. The Dutch Revolt was both a religious and political conflict that occurred in the 16th and 17th century where the Calvinist Protestants gained a victory over the Holy Roman Empire.¹² Subsequently, the *Dutch United East India Company* ruled by building more settlements throughout the Indonesian Archipelago.

The *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC)* was a Dutch Crown-sponsored trading company established in 1602. It sought to monopolize the global spice trade. Following de Houtman's settlement in Indonesia's eastern region, the *VOC* arrived in Indonesia's western islands in 1603 as a trading partner with the local sultanate of the Kingdom of Denmark, West Java. The *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC* or Dutch United East India Company), under the leadership of Governor-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen, conquered the port of Sunda

¹¹ Muller, K. (1990). *Spice Islands the Moluccas*. Berkeley, CA: Periplus Ed. Doi: <https://archive.org/details/spiceislandsmolu00mull/mode/2up>

¹² Cano, G. (2013). LeRoy's "The Americans in the Philippines" and the History of Spanish Rule in the Philippines. *Philippine Studies: Historical & Ethnographic Viewpoints*, 61(1), 3-44. Retrieved February 6, 2021, from <http://taurus.hood.edu:2088/stable/42634748>. P. 5

Stensland, M. (2012). *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*. Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press. P. 16

Kelapa in 1619.¹³ The port was officially renamed the port of Batavia in Jaccatra (Jakarta) and concurrently established the *VOC* Asian Headquarter.



Figure 2: Batavia in Sunda Kelapa Port, Jaccatra 1619

Source 2: *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (Indonesia National Archives)*

Batavia in Jaccatra was a very important port and administrative center for the Dutch United East India Company from 1619 to 1811. Batavia was the only harbor of arrival and departure for ships to and from Europe.¹⁴ The *VOC* established public administration, as well as public and religious orders following its victory over the local sultanate. The College of Aldermen (1620-1809) oversaw law and order, land surveys, property administration, matrimonial affairs, and the care of orphans and the poor.¹⁵ The Batavian Church Council administered four churches and supervised private and public behavior with strict norms.¹⁶ The church also conducted some local activities in proselytization, but religious conversion was never the *VOC*'s main objective.

¹³ Batavia City and Its Environs. (n.d.). Retrieved January 10, 2021, from <https://sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/hartakarunmaincategory/4/>

¹⁴ Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia. (2007). *The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Local Institution in Batavia (Jakarta)* PDF file. Retrieved from <https://sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/media/userdefined/pdf/BRILLVOCInventaris.pdf>. P. 25

¹⁵ IV.1 Urban Boards, Public and Religious Order. (n.d.). Retrieved February 20, 2021, from <https://sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/hartakarun/category/23/>

¹⁶ Ibid

The *VOC* conducted its business affairs by exploitation and subjugation of natural and human resources. The Batavian economy was divided by two categories: (1) the city was the center for trading, handicrafts, and markets; (2) the rural area was for agriculture and rural industry.¹⁷ The *VOC*'s economic activities were heavily depending on the subjugation of the local people through forced labor and slavery. In the 17th century, the Dutch United East India Company was the largest and most successful international trading and shipping company for the next two centuries. However, consequent to the outbreak of the fourth Anglo-Dutch War in 1780 and rampant internal corruption practices, the *VOC* lost many of its shareholders; in 1786, the *VOC* petitioned for the Dutch government support. In December 31, 1800, the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC)* was dissolved.¹⁸ Following the dissolution of the *VOC*, the Dutch government that nationalized all of the *VOC*'s assets including its colonial territories like Indonesia. The decolonization of Indonesia continued.

The Dutch exploited Indonesia's natural and human resources for its economic advancement. The *Culture/Cultivation System* (1840-1870) was implemented, mainly in Java Island, to generate more profit by exploiting the local people. The system forced the farmers to cultivate cash crops in their farms as a form for paying tax to the Dutch government. The cash crops, the spices monopoly, and forced labor brought substantial profit for the Dutch. The exploitation was made possible with the assistance of Javanese power holders, private Europeans, and Chinese businesses.

¹⁷ IV.4 People, Social Life and Rituals. (n.d.). Retrieved February 20, 2021, from <https://sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/hartakarun/category/25/>

¹⁸ Arsip Nasional Republic Indonesia. (2007). *The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Local Institution in Batavia (Jakarta)* PDF file. Retrieved from <https://sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/media/userdefined/pdf/BRILLVOCInventaris.pdf>. P. 18-25

In 1900s, the Dutch started to implement its *Ethical Policy* which was aimed to pacify and develop the indigenous population.¹⁹ The goals of the Ethical Policy were as follows: (1) to protect native industries and improve agricultural production; and (2) to increase the number of Western-educated Indonesians employees in the Westernized sectors of Indonesian life, especially the government sectors.²⁰ Western education for Indonesians of affluent families, among other social unrest, gradually galvanized the awakening of the Indonesian nationalism movement fighting for independence from the Dutch colonial power. Throughout the Archipelago, political organizations were established; Budi Utomo was Indonesia's first native-born political organization established in 1908. Western education instilled Western ideas of self-determination, freedom, and democracy in the mind of Indonesians who were longing for self-rule.

The goal of independence came to realization during a 3.5-year period of the Japanese Empire's occupation in Indonesia during the World War II from 1942-1945. Japan and the Axis Powers were defeated by the Allied Powers. Taking advantage of Japan's defeat, Soekarno-Hatta, Indonesia's founding fathers, proclaimed Indonesia's independence in August 17, 1945 in Jakarta. The Dutch monarchy refused to concede. Finally, with pressures from other international state actors following the decolonization of Asia post the WWII, the Dutch recognized Indonesia's independence in 1949.

¹⁹ Locher-Scholten, E. (1994). Dutch Expansion in the Indonesian Archipelago around 1900 and the Imperialism Debate. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 25(1), 91-111. Retrieved March 5, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20071619>. P. 91

²⁰ Henderson, J. W. (1970). *Area Handbook for Indonesia*. United States: U.S. Government Printing Office. P. 42-43

Spanish Colonization in the Philippines (1521-1898)

The Philippines became the colony of the Spanish Crown after Ferdinand Magellan arrived and settled in 1521; however, Magellan was killed during a war between local tribes. Magellan's legacy in the Philippines was succeeded by Miguel López de Legazpi who settled his permanent settlement in Cebu in 1565. Legazpi's settlement marked the official colonization of the Philippines by the Spaniards.

Initiated by Miguel López de Legazpi, the *Encomienda* (feudal-like) system was implemented to rule over the native-born population. The *encomienda* system regulated 300 to 1,000 Filipinos to work for and pay taxes to *encomenderos*, who were the Spaniards.²¹ The *encomienda* system was, often time, imposed unjustly and coercively. King Philip's prohibited the *encomienda* system, but the subjugation of the local people continued.²² Thus, the Filipinos galvanized resentment towards the colonial power which turned into a continuous revolt throughout the colonial period.

The Franciscans, the Jesuits, the Dominicans, and the Recollects are examples of some of the various Catholic orders. The friars (missionaries) of these orders joined the expedition to spread the religion through conversion and education. By 1586, over 250,000 Filipinos adopted Catholicism.²³ The Spanish Crown consolidated its power through forced acculturation. Due to over three centuries of religious acculturation, the Philippines retains a Catholic population majority.

²¹ Jernegan, P. F. (1905). *A Short History of the Philippines: For Use in Philippine Schools*. United States: D. Appleton. P. 80

²² Ibid. P. 84

²³ Ibid. P. 85

Since the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in 1521, the majority of Filipinos were educated by the friars (missionaries) in churches and/or convents. The education was administered to convert more people into Catholicism by focusing more on Christian doctrine and less on reading and writing.²⁴ The friars taught the Filipinos to make bricks, to build houses, to build roads, to craft, to farm, and more. The friars educated the local people on various life skills needed in a civilized society. Furthermore, the friars changed the old Filipino alphabet to the Roman alphabet.²⁵ The friars also wrote books in Spanish with local dialects about Catholicism. In 1863, the Spanish established a public school system and university for the Filipinos.

The Philippines remained a Spanish colony until 1898. As the Filipinos became more educated by Western missionaries, they were motivated by the idea of Enlightenment. A series of revolts and movements for reform galvanized the Filipino youth to fight for independence. Unfortunately, the efforts were not successful. Only after Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898 did Spanish supremacy over the Archipelago end. Unfortunately, however, the end of the Spanish conquest meant the beginning of the American occupation.

The American Colonization in the Philippines (1898-1946)

The United States of America became the Philippines' new colonial power after Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898. The Treaty of Paris between the United States of America and Spain was signed on December 10, 1899. As a result of this treaty, the Spanish

²⁴ Schwartz, K. (1971). Filipino Education and Spanish Colonialism: Toward an Autonomous Perspective. *Comparative Education Review*, 15(2), 202-218. Retrieved February 7, 2021, from <http://taurus.hood.edu:2088/stable/1186730>. P. 20

²⁵ Jernegan, P. F. (1905). *A Short History of the Philippines: For Use in Philippine Schools*. United States: D. Appleton. P. 90

Crown restored Cuba to its full sovereignty and ceded all Spanish colonies to the U.S.²⁶

Henceforth, the Philippines became the colony of the United States for the next 48 years.

Subsequent to Treaty of Peace in Paris, President William McKinley issued the *Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation* on December 21, 1898, which outlined the U.S. policy for the U.S. Army in countering the Filipino insurgency seeking for independence.²⁷ The *Benevolent Assimilation Policy* aimed to win the hearts of the population by focusing on civil improvements, namely in the areas of transportation, education, infrastructure, and public health.²⁸ The U.S. colonial policy for the Philippines focused on “transplanting the ideas and improvements of one civilization to another.”²⁹ The Philippine Commission was granted power to oversee the U.S. *Benevolent Assimilation Policy* towards the Philippines.

In 1942, following the Pearl Harbor attack, Japan invaded the Philippines. The invasion of Bataan was brutal and deadly; an estimated 75,000 American and Filipino soldiers were forced to march for sixty-five miles.³⁰ The soldiers died due to illness, malnourishment, forced labor, and attack on their unmarked ships that transported them to labor camps. What happened in Bataan was one of the worst crimes committed by the Japanese in the Pacific theater of the World War II.

²⁶ Treaty of Peace Between the United States and Spain; December 10, 1898. (n.d.). Retrieved February 4, 2021, from https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/sp1898.asp

²⁷ The Philippine Revolution: The Motion Picture Camera Goes to War: Articles and Essays: search: The Spanish-American War in Motion Pictures: Digital Collections: Library of Congress. (n.d.). Retrieved February 6, 2021, from <https://www.loc.gov/collections/spanish-american-war-in-motion-pictures/articles-and-essays/the-motion-picture-camera-goes-to-war/the-philippine-revolution/?fa=original-format:film,video>

²⁸ Bruno, T. (2011). The Violent End of Insurgency on Samar 1901–1902. *Army History*, (79), 30-46. Retrieved February 6, 2021, from <http://taurus.hood.edu:2088/stable/26296824>. P. 32

²⁹ *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: Global Perspectives*. (2003). USA: Duke University Press. P. 11

³⁰ Murphy, K. (2011). "To Sympathize and Exploit": Filipinos, Americans, and the Bataan Death March. *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, 18(3/4), 295-319. Retrieved February 7, 2021, from <http://taurus.hood.edu:2088/stable/23613155>. P. 296

On August 12, 1943, President Franklin Roosevelt addressed the people of the Philippines, pledging U.S. support to the Philippines and its people their freedom and independence. President Roosevelt also promised in his address “to grant the people of the Philippines of their full independence and full support to rebuild the nation from the ravage of the war”.³¹ The Bataan tragedy ended in the beginning of 1945 followed by the victory of the Allied Powers in the WWII after the U.S. nuclear bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. After the end of the World War II, the U.S. and the Philippines signed the Treaty of Manila on July 4, 1946. The U.S. granted the Philippines its independence. The Philippines remains one of the U.S.’s strong allies, especially in the Pacific region of the Asian continent.

The Impacts of Colonization in the Philippines

Like other Southeast Asian countries, the Philippines, an Archipelagic nation in Southeast Asia with over 7,000 islands, is a very hospitable and welcoming country. Its historical background is most significant compared to other countries in Asia. The Philippines’ cultural heritage is a combination of the indigenous, Malay, Middle-Eastern, Indian, Chinese, Spanish European, Latin America and the United States of America. The intertwined cultural heritages shaped the country’s identity tremendously which makes the Philippines and its people unique and enriched in many aspects of life. The people of the Philippines are often referred as Filipinos.

³¹ Sound Recording 27500681; Sound Recordings Collection, 1920-1987; Franklin D. Roosevelt Audio Recordings, 1920-4/13/1945; Washington, DC – Address to Philippine People, 8/12/1943; National Archives, Washington, DC.

Religion

Influenced by the Spanish, the predominant religion in the Philippines is Roman Catholicism; over 86 percent of Filipinos identify themselves as Christians – 81 percent of the population adhere to Roman Catholicism, and five percent are Protestant.³² Luzon and Visayas were the first two regions where Christianization was highly successful during the colonial period. However, Christianization was not very successful in Mindanao Island, the southern part of the Philippines. The Muslim population remains the majority in Mindanao Island.

Mindanao Island remains the Philippines' only autonomous regions then and now; the Moro people were not successfully Christianized by the Spanish. Thus, the local government in Mindanao was granted an exclusive power to govern its people domestically according to *the 2012 Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro*.³³ The agreement was created between the Philippines government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) to reduce internal conflict between the central government and the Muslim population on the island.

Catholicism was a big part of the Spanish colonization; the Spanish Crown and the Holy Roman Catholic church were one entity as a colonial power. Catholicism was introduced through a forced induction, involving torture and killing of many native Filipinos. The Spanish employed a couple of methods for converting the local people to Christianity, namely: (1) mass baptism and (2) the *Reduccion* policies, similar to the ones implemented in the American colonies. The policies aimed to forcefully relocate small and scattered settlements into a larger one for the purposes of mass baptism, administration, and tax collection. The *Reduccion* policies also

³² Oxford Business Group. (2010). *The report: the Philippines 2010*. London, UK. P. 9.

³³ Government of the Philippines. (2012). *The 2012 Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro* PDF file. Retrieved from: <https://rc-services-assets.s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2012%20Framework%20Agreement%20on%20the%20Bangsamoro.pdf>

provided a better arrangement for the Spanish friars to teach the tenets of Catholicism after the mass baptism; (3) dismantling the local peoples' animistic belief; and (4) imposing new moralities, such as: prohibition of slavery, polygamy, and alcohol assumption, many of which were related to their animistic belief practices.³⁴ Catholicism remains the most significant legacy of the Spanish Empire in the Philippines to date. Some local traditions syncretized with Catholicism to ease the Christianization process. Subsequently, the Philippines has the largest number of Roman Catholics across the continent of Asia.

During the Spanish colonial period, the monarchy and the church were two incorporated entities; however, it was not entirely the case during the U.S. colonization. The United States Constitution states explicitly that state and church are two separate entities. However, in practice, American Protestantism in the 19th century identified its traditions as part of the American traditions. American Protestant missionaries and the U.S. government shared a common goal when it came to advancing American control over distant lands. The missionaries served as unofficial agents of American imperialism.³⁵ Religious organizations of various Protestant denominations arrived in the Archipelago following the beginning of U.S. control of the Philippines from Spain in 1898.

The first official Protestant missionaries – chaplains and YMCA officials – boarded the U.S. Army ship that sailed to the Philippines. In 1899, the first Methodist minister, Jay C. Goodrich of the American Bible Society followed.³⁶ Other denominations also came to the

³⁴ Russell, S. (n.d.). Christianity in the Philippines. Retrieved February 1, 2021, from <http://www.seasite.niu.edu/crossroads/russell/christianity.htm>

³⁵ Clymer, K. (1980). Religion and American Imperialism: Methodist Missionaries in the Philippine Islands, 1899-1913. *Pacific Historical Review*, 49(1), 29-50. doi:10.2307/3639303. P. 30

³⁶ Arcilla, J. (1988). Protestant Missionaries in the Philippines. *Philippine Studies*, 36(1), 105-112. Retrieved February 9, 2021, from <http://taurus.hood.edu:2088/stable/42633067>. P. 105-106

Philippines to preach the gospel of Protestantism in the land of the Roman Catholics in the Pacific. The American Protestant churches believed that the U.S. government and the churches had the obligation to carry out the *White Man's Burden* tasks and introduced Western civilization of the Anglo-Saxon type in the Philippines.³⁷

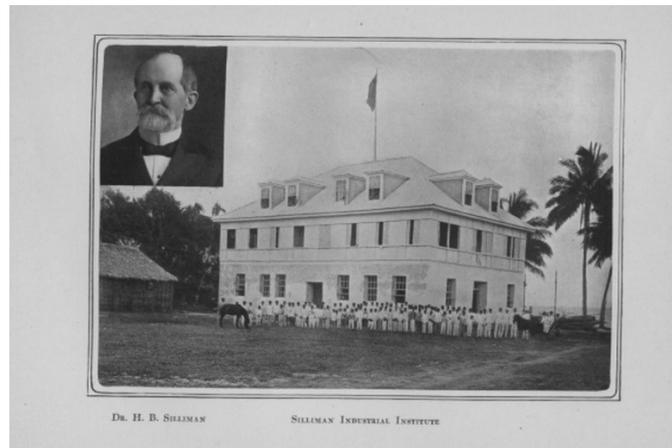


Figure 3: Silliman Industrial Institute 1900-1909

Source 3: Jstor

Silliman University, in Dumaguete on Negros Island, was an example of American missionary's settlement in the Philippines. Silliman University was established by a Presbyterian philanthropist as a liberal arts college in August of 1900.³⁸ Silliman University also offered a bachelor of Christian education degrees. American Protestant missionaries also established cooperation with the U.S. government in the Philippines, mainly serving as teachers in the primary and secondary public school system.

³⁷ Clymer, K. (1980). Religion and American Imperialism: Methodist Missionaries in the Philippine Islands, 1899-1913. *Pacific Historical Review*, 49(1), 29-50. doi:10.2307/3639303. P. 35

³⁸ (1900/1909). Dr. H. B. Silliman; Silliman Industrial Institute. [portraits, photos]. Retrieved from https://taurus.hood.edu:2452/asset/CORNELL_ECHOLS_1039407481

Education and Language

Education during the Spanish colonial rule was very controlled and religious in nature. The Spanish public school was created in 1863 by the Spanish minister of war and colonies (Ultramar) decree.³⁹ Primary schools for boys and girls were built in every society with a religious doctrine as the focus of the teaching.⁴⁰ Spanish language was the only language used in school and any institutions directed by the colonial power. The Jesuits, one of the orders in Catholicism, was appointed in 1852 by a royal decree to oversee the educational system, including the higher education focused in the classics and sciences, incorporating religious doctrine within the education. Public education was tuition free only for children from the poorest households. The church controlled the educational curriculum to ensure the embodiment of Catholicism in the social fabric of the Filipinos.

In contrast, American education policy in the Philippines was rigorous and more secular. During the period of U.S. rule, the Philippine Commission was the institution enacted in 1901 to oversee the implementation of the *Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation*. In January 21, 1901, the Philippines Commission Act No. 74 established a public school system and English language as the medium of instruction.⁴¹ In June 18, 1908, the Commission and the Philippine Assembly enacted Act No. 1870 to establish University of the Philippines.⁴²

Primary and secondary public schools were free for all Filipinos; the public-school teachers were chaplains and non-commissioned officers. However, due to a shortage of teachers,

³⁹ Barrows, D. P. (1914). *A History of the Philippines*. New York: World Book. Doi: <https://archive.org/details/ahistoryphilipp00barrgoog/page/n7/mode/2up>. P. 274

⁴⁰ Ibid. P. 275

⁴¹ History. (n.d.). Retrieved February 9, 2021, from <https://www.deped.gov.ph/about-deped/history/>

⁴² Act No. 1870: GOVPH. (1908, June 18). Retrieved February 9, 2021, from <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1908/06/18/act-no-1870/>

the Commission authorized the Secretary of Public Instruction to bring 508 American teachers from the U.S., sailed with the United States Ship Thomas.⁴³ The Thomasites taught not only basic education in English language; but they also taught about the American ideals of democracy, self-determination, and individualism.



Figure 4: Thomasites Memorial in Manila.

Source 4: Wikimedia Commons

According to Governor-General Wright (1904-1906), the English language is the language of the sovereign power, business language, and language of free institutions and governments. The public school system taught over half a million children how to write, read, and recite English.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Wright stated the Commission established not only the primary education system, but also industrial education aimed to educate people who were interested in becoming farmers, mechanics, skilled labors, and more.⁴⁵

⁴³ History. (n.d.). Retrieved February 9, 2021, from <https://www.deped.gov.ph/about-deped/history/>

Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the ... Congress. (1968). United States: U.S. Government Printing Office. P. 21327

⁴⁴ *Journal of the Philippine Commission*. (1908). Manila, Bureau of Printing. doi: <https://archive.org/details/aag2698.0001.001.umich.edu/page/20/mode/2up?q=education>.

⁴⁵ *Journal of the Philippine Commission*. (1908). Manila, Bureau of Printing. doi: <https://archive.org/details/aag2698.0001.001.umich.edu/page/20/mode/2up?q=education>. P. 20-21

The U.S. educational policy, with English language as the language of instruction, aimed not only to educate the population, but also because the U.S believed that public education is the ladder to social mobility and a means of inculcating the values, attitudes, and sentiments conducive to modernity and democratic behavior.⁴⁶ A good public school system was deemed the proper medium to introduce the core values of democracy, along with honesty, industry, thrift, sportsmanship, and patriotism.⁴⁷ The American public school system received a largely positive response from the local population. During the final session of the Philippine Legislature, November 14, 1935, Governor-General Frank Murphy presented his report. As of 1935, two-thirds of Filipino children of primary school age (7 to 10 years old) were enrolled in public school.⁴⁸

Total public-school enrollment continued to grow to 610,500 students in 1910, to 934,500 students in 1920, and to 1,204, 500 in March of 1935.⁴⁹ The number of public schools in the Archipelago was 7,680 schools. The number of teachers and administrators was 27,120 individuals. The English language became the language spoken by people of all backgrounds.⁵⁰ The literacy rate rose from five to eight percent in the Spanish period to eight percent in 1903, to 49% in 1918, and to 65% in 1935.⁵¹ Governor-General Murphy stated, “No people ever accepted

⁴⁶ Abueva, J. (1976). Filipino Democracy and the American Legacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 428, 114-133. Retrieved April 12, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1041878>. P. 119

⁴⁷ Ibid. P. 119

⁴⁸ United States Congressional Serial Set. (1927). United States: U.S. Government Printing Office. P. 10

⁴⁹ Abueva, J. (1976). Filipino Democracy and the American Legacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 428, 114-133. Retrieved April 12, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1041878>. P. 119

⁵⁰ United States Congressional Serial Set. (1927). United States: U.S. Government Printing Office. P. 10

⁵¹ Abueva, J. (1976). Filipino Democracy and the American Legacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 428, 114-133. Retrieved April 12, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1041878>. P. 119

the blessings of education with more enthusiasm than the Filipinos.”⁵² The Filipino students were also sent to study abroad in American universities. Upon their return, these American educated students were employed to become teachers and/or government employees.

Colonization also impacted language diversity in the Philippines. Filipino ethnolinguistic groups vary according to geographical areas; however, the two major official languages are Tagalog and English. Tagalog, or known as Filipino, “belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian group of language, but it is heavily influenced by Spanish [language]”.⁵³ The Tagalog language includes many words from Spanish which preserves the legacy of Spanish colonial period in the country. Interestingly, although the Spaniards ruled the Philippines much longer than the Americans; the Spanish language remains only in the Filipino’s surnames and street names. The use of English language is widespread and advanced, thanks to the American public school system. English language gives Filipinos a competitive advantage among other non-English speaking countries in the region. A combination of Tagalog and English are forming, commonly known as “Taglish”. In the Asia and Pacific region, the Philippines is amongst few countries where English language serves as a major language.

Women

In the precolonial period, the Philippines was not one entity. The 7,000 islands were inhabited by various tribes with a different way of life. Women in the pre-colonial period had more freedom and power. Kinship played an important role in the development of authority and social hierarchy on the islands of the Philippines Archipelago; kinship was traced bilaterally

⁵² United States Congressional Serial Set. (1927). United States: U.S. Government Printing Office. P. 10

⁵³ Oxford Business Group. (2010). *The Report: the Philippines 2010*. London, UK. P. 10.

through both male and female lines.⁵⁴ Leadership was determined mainly by one's ability to entice followers who cooperated in rituals, agricultural, commercial, and military matters instead of solely based on ancestral kinship lines and gender.⁵⁵

In the pre-colonial indigenous society, women's contribution is equally significant to men. A woman's status was not an ascribed one. Women were able to occupy respected and powerful roles in their society, namely chief of the tribe (*barangay*) and priest (*babaylan*).⁵⁶ A *babaylan* is a woman (or a man dressed as a woman) with a power to mediate between the two worlds, the world of the spirit and the human. A *babaylan's* leadership roles were multi-faceted: warrior, healer, and priest.⁵⁷ A *babaylan* is similar to a shaman in Latin American indigenous culture.

Female *babaylan* in the Philippines indigenous culture revealed a more equitable gender and social hierarchy gap, linking them to a precolonial matriarchy.⁵⁸ The pre-colonial class system had built-in opportunities for social mobility.⁵⁹ Women had rights to property, children, inheritance, marriage and divorce, and an independent income.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, Spanish

⁵⁴ Nadeau, K. (2002). Peasant Resistance and Religious Protests in Early Philippine Society: Turning Friars against the Grain. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 41(1), 75-85. Retrieved February 22, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1387712>. P. 77

⁵⁵ Ibid. P. 77

⁵⁶ Feliciano, M. (1994). Law, Gender, and the Family in the Philippines. *Law & Society Review*, 28(3), 547-560. doi:10.2307/3054074. P. 548

Macdonald, C. (2004). Folk Catholicism and Pre-Spanish Religions in the Philippines. *Philippine Studies*, 52(1), 78-93. Retrieved February 22, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42633685>. P. 84

Luis H. Francia. (2014). José Rizal: A Man for All Generations. *The Antioch Review*, 72(1), 44-60. doi:10.7723/antiochreview.72.1.0044. P. 56

⁵⁷ Alvero, R. (2016, March 07). Did You Know? Pre-Colonial Philippines' Longstanding Tradition of Women Leadership and Mysticism. Retrieved February 9, 2021, from <https://filipinawomensnetwork.org/epahayagan/did-you-know-pre-colonial-philippines-longstanding-tradition-of-women-leadership-and-mysticism>

⁵⁸ Luis H. Francia. (2014). José Rizal: A Man for All Generations. *The Antioch Review*, 72(1), 44-60. doi:10.7723/antiochreview.72.1.0044. P. 56

⁵⁹ Nadeau, K. (2002). Peasant Resistance and Religious Protests in Early Philippine Society: Turning Friars against the Grain. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 41(1), 75-85. Retrieved February 22, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1387712>. P. 79

⁶⁰ Feliciano, M. (1994). Law, Gender, and the Family in the Philippines. *Law & Society Review*, 28(3), 547-560. doi:10.2307/3054074. P. 548

conquest transformed the social, cultural, political, and economics aspects of the native-born peoples of the islands. Most importantly, the roles of women in the colonial period were drastically reduced.

Since the 16th century, the Spanish Crown imposed changes on gender relations in the Philippines, mainly by restricting and eliminating freedom for women and positioning men higher in the gender hierarchy. Women's roles became ascribed by the dominant gender, the men. Historically, Catholicism deems women as subordinate to men. Leadership in Catholicism is always reserved for men. The way of life of many tribal communities in the Philippines, where women were able to lead, did not fit the church's criteria of a patriarchal society.

Before the public school system was established in 1863, women obtained their education in monasteries where the Spanish introduced Christian norms and marriage. *Babaylan* were replaced with Catholic priests because women should not be the leader; and the practice of monogamy and bible verses emphasized on women's submission were enforced. The Filipino women were perceived as unfit according to Christian morals; thus, an establishment such as the Colegio de Santa Potenciana of the Jesuit, was instrumental to the indigenous feminine education and salvation.⁶¹ Patriarchy is deeply embedded in Catholicism.

When the Spanish public school system was established, girls did attend school but with a strong emphasis on preparing the girls for womanhood and/or religious life. Like with boys, girls were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic; but girls were obligated to take classes that prepared them for home life, such as deportment and needlework.⁶² Preparing the girls for

⁶¹ Camacho, M. (2007). Woman's Worth: The Concept of Virtue in the Education of Women in Spanish Colonial Philippines. *Philippine Studies*, 55(1), 53-87. Retrieved February 10, 2021, from <http://taurus.hood.edu:2088/stable/42633899>. P. 55

⁶² Feliciano, M. (1994). Law, Gender, and the Family in the Philippines. *Law & Society Review*, 28(3), 547-560. doi:10.2307/3054074. P. 549

womanhood was vital because Spanish Catholicism feminine ideals focused on aspects of *recato* (decency and reserve), *honestidad* (modesty), and *honra* (integrity).⁶³ Women's power during the Spanish colonial period was only viewed in their ability to guard themselves from shame, rather than enticing and empowering power like *babaylan*.

The Spanish colonial period also diminished Filipino women's ability to maintain empowerment and agency within marriage. For example, the *Codigo Civil de 1889* and the *Marriage Law of 1870* were the Spanish family laws enacted based on the Roman doctrines of *patria potestas* and *paterfamilias* which granted men absolute power over women.⁶⁴ In addition, divorce was (and remains today) not legal; the Philippines and the Vatican are the only two countries in the world that prohibit divorce.⁶⁵ The cycles of women of the Philippines were two-folds: being in the woman only convents (*colegios de senioritas*) and being women and mothers.⁶⁶ Women were expected to abide because they carried the burden of family honor. The roles of women were reduced to housekeeping and childrearing.

The roles of women in the Philippines during the American rule were shaped by the education provided by the colonial government -with the assistance of the American Protestant missionaries. Following the implementation of the *Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation* policy, boys and girls of all socio-economic background attended the American school system. The Protestant missionaries, including the Bible Women, helped to instill the idea of modern women

⁶³ Camacho, M. (2007). Woman's Worth: The Concept of Virtue in the Education of Women in Spanish Colonial Philippines. *Philippine Studies*, 55(1), 53-87. Retrieved February 10, 2021, from <http://taurus.hood.edu:2088/stable/42633899>. P. 60

⁶⁴ Feliciano, M. (1994). Law, Gender, and the Family in the Philippines. *Law & Society Review*, 28(3), 547-560. doi:10.2307/3054074. P. 549

⁶⁵ Abalos, J. (2017). Divorce and separation in the Philippines: Trends and correlates. *Demographic Research*, 36, 1515-1548. Retrieved February 22, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26332173>

⁶⁶ Mendoza-Guazon, M P, (1951). *The Development and Progress of the Philippine Women / by Maria Paz Mendoza-Guazon*. Collection of The United States and Its Territories, 1870-1925: The Age of Imperialism. Retrieved from <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/philamer/AGQ0460.0001.001?view=toc>. P. 59

onto the Filipinas. Women and girls attended schools organized by the Bible Women not only to become evangelists or religious leaders, but also to seek non-religious education to become teachers.⁶⁷ Women in modern Protestantism are permitted to occupy position with higher power, in contrast to women in Catholicism who can only occupy positions subordinate to men. In Protestantism, women are permitted to be religious leader; whereas in Catholicism, religious leaders are reserved for men only. In addition, more women were educated during the American colonial period. The labor participation of Filipino women increased; women worked in government and private sectors.

Democracy – the American Legacy

The other impactful legacy of the American in the Philippines aside from education and English language is the implementation of democratic values. Since the victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898, the U.S. has taken into consideration that its new territory in the Pacific, will govern itself. In 1935, the Commonwealth of the Philippines was created as the administrative body that governed the Philippines and by the Filipinos as a transition government until its full independence.

The Philippine Bill of 1902, the Philippine Autonomy Act of 1916, and the Philippine Independence Act (Tydings-McDuffie Act) of 1934 established a structure for the political participation of Filipinos in all branches of government within a process of decolonization that culminated in the Philippines' independence in 1946.⁶⁸ The Independence Act of 1934, in

⁶⁷ Prieto, L. (2014). Bibles, Baseball and Butterfly Sleeves: Filipina Women and American Protestant Missions, 1900–1930. In Choi H. & Jolly M. (Eds.), *Divine Domesticities: Christian Paradoxes in Asia and the Pacific* (pp. 367-396). ANU Press. Retrieved April 9, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt13wvck.19>

⁶⁸ Abueva, J. (1976). Filipino Democracy and the American Legacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 428, 114-133. Retrieved April 12, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1041878>. P. 118-119

particular, was enacted to provide for the complete independence of the Philippines Islands; to provide for the adoption of a constitution and a form of government for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes.⁶⁹ The U.S. was determined to make the Philippines a democratic republic in the American image.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, despite some constraints and challenges, the democratic values introduced and socialized by the Americans did have a profound impact on the life of the Filipinos and the Philippines' institutions in direct contrast to Dutch rule in Indonesia.

The Impacts of Colonization in Indonesia

The Dutch were the longest colonial power in the Archipelago's history. The Netherlands Indies (East Indies) was under the rule of the Dutch for 350 years. However, contrary to the Philippines that was acculturated by both Spanish and American culture, Indonesia's multicultural groups of people were able to maintain and exercise their native culture and tradition. The Dutch, especially in the first 100 years of the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie's rule*, focused heavily on economic exploitation to advance their economic progress. For a very small European country, colonizing a resourceful area like Indonesia helped the *VOC* becoming one of the most successful global trading companies in history.

Social and Economics

The Dutch's very first policy was the Cultivation System (*Cultuurstelsel*, 1830-1848). The Cultivation System (*Cultuurstelsel*) refers to a forcedly imposed cash crops cultivation

⁶⁹ THE PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE ACT (TYDINGS-MCDUFFIE ACT). (n.d.). Retrieved April 9, 2021, from <https://web.archive.org/web/20110611111931/http://www.chanrobles.com/tydingsmcduffieact.htm>

⁷⁰ Abueva, J. (1976). Filipino Democracy and the American Legacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 428, 114-133. Retrieved April 12, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1041878>. P. 115

practice Under this system the people of Java worked, by force and/or for free, to cultivate variety of cash crops, such as sugar, indigo, pepper and more. It was implemented to generate massive revenue and profit. The Cultivation System in Java Island was an agglomeration economy system; the cities and clusters were established in close proximity of the manufacturing hubs in order to boost productivity.⁷¹ Melissa Dell and Benjamin Olken of Harvard University and MIT identified the Dutch's agglomeration business practice in Java Island, using household census data between 2001 to 2011 and the 1980 population census. The research identifies that areas close to sugar factories are areas that are more developed.⁷²

The unequal wealth distribution, economic, infrastructure, and human development during the colonial period continues to impact contemporary Indonesia. The area closer to sugar factories depict the island of Java, the most developed island in the Archipelago; while the outer areas of the historical sugar factories depict the islands outside Java Island. The upper-class Indonesians have been vital to the success of the Dutch Cultivation System (*Cultuurstelsel*) because they acted as intermediaries between the colonial ruler and the local peasants. The success of the *Cultuurstelsel* depended significantly on the ability of Indonesian intermediaries in carrying out the orders efficiently.⁷³ The relationship between the Dutch and ruling class Indonesians was material rewards-based patrimonial relationship, in exchanged for loyalty.⁷⁴ Patrimonialism continued in post-independence Indonesia; Indonesia's longest authoritarian

⁷¹ Dell, M., & Olken, B. A. (2017). *The Development Effects of the Extractive Colonial Economy: The Dutch Cultivation System in Java* PDF file. Retrieved from <https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/dell/files/170414draft.pdf>

⁷² Ibid

Duranton, G., & Kerr, W. R. (2015). *Working Paper 16-037: The Logic of Agglomeration* PDF file. Retrieved from https://www.hbs.edu/ris/Publication%20Files/16-037_eb512e96-28d6-4c02-a7a9-39b52db95b00.pdf

⁷³ Ibid. P. 14

⁷⁴ Uppsala Universitet. (2018, September). *The Extractive Institution as Legacy of Dutch Colonization in Indonesia: A Historical Case Study* PDF file. Retrieved from <http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1285721/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

leader, Soeharto, was a neo-patrimonial ruler. The term neopatrimonialism refers to both the appearance of patrimonialism in the modern world and a form of combination between patrimonial rule and modern bureaucracy.⁷⁵

In conjunction with the Cultivation System, Java-centrism is another impactful Dutch colonial policy in Indonesia. Java Island was the Dutch's center of power in the Archipelago and the rest of Asia. The Dutch focused its interests mainly on Java Island and its people while neglecting other islands in the Archipelago. The twin legacies of the Dutch's extractive colonial practices and the Java-centric focus have resulted in socio-economic inequality, ethnic friction, and separatist movements in the country. The consequences of the Java-centric policy remain visible in Indonesia since Indonesia's independence. For example, President Soeharto, Indonesia's former dictator, implemented the same exact policy during the 33 years of his presidency. Despite Indonesia's emerging economy in the region and the world, many provinces in the Indonesian islands remain poorer and under-developed in comparison to Java Island.

Consequently, despite Indonesia's economic progress, economic inequality – income/wealth, education, health, and nutrition – remains a persistent issue in Indonesia. Indonesia is the sixth country of greatest wealth inequality in the world; Indonesia's four richest men have more wealth than 100 million people.⁷⁶ Indonesia's megacity, the Jakarta Metro area, is Indonesia's most urbanized city with about 11 million people in 2021. Jakarta Metro area's poverty rate in September 2019 was recorded at 3.42%.⁷⁷ Increased urbanization to the nation's

⁷⁵ Uppsala Universitet. (2018, September). The Extractive Institution as Legacy of Dutch Colonization in Indonesia: A Historical Case Study PDF file. Retrieved from <http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1285721/FULLTEXT01.pdf>. P. 18

⁷⁶ Inequality in Indonesia: Millions kept in poverty. (2018, April 17). Retrieved March 8, 2021, from <https://www.oxfam.org/en/inequality-indonesia-millions-kept-poverty>

⁷⁷ Jakarta poverty rate drops to 3.42 percent. (2020, February 7). Retrieved March 8, 2021, from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/02/07/jakarta-poverty-rate-drops-342-percent.html>

capital is the result of the colonial Java-centric policy in Java Island where Jakarta is situated. People within the Java Island and the outer islands have long been migrating to Jakarta for better economic opportunity, resulting in a wide range of urban problems. Traffic congestions, slum areas, floods, pollution, and sea level rise are major issues affecting urban Jakarta.

Socially, the Dutch and Soeharto's Java-centric policy also exacerbated social inequality between different ethnic groups in Indonesia. Javanese is Indonesia's largest ethnic group and most dominant in terms of politics and government. Out of more than 300 different ethnic groups, the Javanese makes up over 40% of Indonesia's total population, followed by Sundanese of 15% and other minority ethnic groups. Since the colonial period, the Dutch prioritized the island of Java and its people. The Javanese aristocrats and the Chinese ethnic group were the two groups granted special roles by the *VOC*. The Javanese upper-class people served as an intermediary between the Europeans and the Javanese peasants; while the Chinese ethnic group served as a business and entrepreneurial group of people.

The former President Soeharto implemented the exact same Java-centric policy where the Javanese and the Chinese people were granted preferential treatments in the society. The people of Javanese origin hold influential positions in almost all level of government; whereas, the people of Chinese descendants hold access to Indonesia's economy.⁷⁸ The May 1998 Riots were evidence of an accumulation of resentments over a long-standing social exclusion and economic inequality in the country. President Soeharto resigned following the May 1998 Riots; however, the sentiments did not necessarily disappear.⁷⁹ The poverty rate increased to 9.78% in March

⁷⁸ Britton, J. (2018, May 19). 20 Years Later, Victims of Indonesia's May 1998 Riots Are Still Waiting for Justice. Retrieved March 8, 2021, from <https://thediplomat.com/2018/05/20-years-later-victims-of-indonesias-may-1998-riots-are-still-waiting-for-justice/>

⁷⁹ Tadjoeuddin, M. (2019). Inequality and Exclusion in Indonesia: Political Economic Developments in the Post-Soeharto Era. *Journal of Southeast Asian Economies*, 36(3), 284-303. doi:10.2307/26842377

2020 from 9.22% in September 2019; 26.42 million people live below poverty line.⁸⁰ Indonesia's growing social and economic inequality is a threat to the country's national security due to a corroded social cohesion.

Religion & Language

Contrary to the Spanish colonization in the Philippines that focused equally on economic exploitation and cultural assimilation; the Dutch colonization focused on trading and implemented a non-assimilation policy.⁸¹ Animism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Catholicism, and Islam have been established prior to the Dutch's settlement in Indonesia. There was no forced and coerced Calvinist Protestantism conversion of the indigenous people of Java. The Dutch allowed the non-European population to practice their own culture, language, religion, and tradition, in exchange for economic compliance.⁸² Protestantism was spread as the Dutch's colonial territory expanded outside the island of Java. Religious assimilation took place in Minahasa of Sulawesi Island, Ambon of Moluccas Island, and Western New Guinea of New Guinea Island. Sects of Protestantism, specifically Calvinism and Lutheranism, – became the predominant religion of these regions.⁸³ Today, the majority of Indonesians adhere to Islam; while the majority of Indonesians in the eastern provinces adhere to Protestantism.

⁸⁰ Akhlas, A. W. (2020, July 15). Poverty rate rises in March as pandemic hits vulnerable communities. Retrieved March 8, 2021, from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/07/15/poverty-rate-rises-in-march-as-pandemic-hits-vulnerable-communities.html>

⁸¹ Oostindie, G., & Paasman, B. (1998). Dutch Attitudes towards Colonial Empires, Indigenous Cultures, and Slaves. *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31(3), 349-355. Retrieved March 9, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30053668>. P. 498

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Vandenbosch, A. (1943). The Effect of Dutch Rule on the Civilization of the East Indies. *American Journal of Sociology*, 48(4), 498-502. Retrieved March 9, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2770017>



Figure 5: Indonesia's Religious Map

Source 5: Wikimedia Commons

In the Malay Archipelago (Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, and New Guinea), Malay was the lingua franca in the Archipelago. The widespread use of Malay language in the region actually benefitted the Dutch who preferred indirect rule in the East Indies⁸⁴ Malay was the language of communication and trading. The Dutch did not try to force its language on the Indonesians; instead, the Dutch studied various native languages and preserved them.⁸⁵ However, the two groups of people who had opportunities to learn the Dutch language were the upper-class and the ones maintained direct relations with the Dutch, leaving the people of lower socio-economic and/or the peasants remain shielded from any Dutch language exposure.

Education

Over all, the Dutch (VOC and the Crown) colonial power never focused on educating its colonial subjects, especially of the lower socio-economic class. The non-assimilation policy was the very basic foundation of other policies in Indonesia. The Dutch language school was

⁸⁴ Vandenbosch, A. (1943). The Effect of Dutch Rule on the Civilization of the East Indies. *American Journal of Sociology*, 48(4), 498-502. Retrieved March 9, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2770017>. P. 499

⁸⁵ Ibid. P. 500

provided only for children of the Dutch employees and native Christians.⁸⁶ Only a handful of non-Christian Indonesians were permitted to receive some Western education. Furthermore, the Children of affluent families went to the first-class school (*Eerste Klasse School*); the first-class school was taught in Dutch language.

On the contrary, children of lower-class families went to the second-class school (*Tweede Klasse School*); the language taught in the second-class school was Malay language.⁸⁷ The children of lower-class families also attained their education in Islamic boarding schools. In 1899, Conrad T. (Coen) van Deventer, a lawyer and statesman, wrote an article, “*Eereschuld-article*” in which he argued that the Dutch East Indies had the moral obligation to give back to its colonial territory after years of human and economic exploitation.⁸⁸ Conrad T. (Coen) van Deventer’s Ethical Policy (*Etische Politiek*) aimed to provide for the welfare of the native (Javanese) people through education, irrigation, and emigration.⁸⁹

The Ethical Policy was formally introduced before the Dutch parliament during the Staten General session, on September 17, 1901, by Queen Wilhelmina formally; the policy was carried out with the Decentralization Law of 1904.⁹⁰ The Ethical Policy and the Decentralization Law marked the end of the liberal colonial period, including the *Cultuurstelsel* and the concubinage practice. The Ethical Policy impacted access to education for Indonesian upper-

⁸⁶ Penders, C. (July 1968). *Colonial Education Policy and Practice in Indonesia: 1900-1942* PDF file. Retrieved from <https://opensearch-repository.anu.edu.au>. P. 6

⁸⁷ Ibid. P. 28

⁸⁸ Van Deventer-Maas Stichting. (n.d.). Retrieved March 9, 2021, from <http://vandeventermaas.or.id/history/>

⁸⁹ Ibid

Sumarno, Aji, B., Hermawan, E. S. (2019, November). Ethical Politics and Educated Elites in Indonesia National Movement PDF file. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2991/icss-19.2019.170>. P. 370

⁹⁰ Ibid. P. 370

class women too. Between 1920-1930, the literacy rate among Indonesian women increased more rapidly compared to men; the literacy rate increased from nine percent to 13 percent.⁹¹ Nonetheless, despite an increase in literacy rate, the majority of native Indonesians were still illiterate.

Furthermore, the Ethical Policy's education system still divided based on race and socio-economic class. The public schools were divided into two kinds: the school for the Europeans and schools for the native-born population. For the Europeans, the education comprised of seven years of elementary school (*Europesche Lager School, ELS*) and five years of middle and high school (*Hoogere Burger School, HBS*). For the locals, the education was comprised of seven years of elementary (*Hollandche Inlandche School, HIS*), three years of middle school (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs, MULO*), and three years of high school (*Algemeene Middlebare School, AMS*). Following the high school graduation, both European and local students had two options, namely: (1) to seek employment in private, government, and/or military institutions; (2) to continue to higher education in Dutch universities in Indonesia and/or in the Netherlands.⁹²

Unlike in the Philippines where English was the language of instruction and schooling for all Filipinos, the Dutch language was not the language of instruction and schooling for all Indonesians. The Dutch segregated Indonesians who were permitted to learn Dutch language based on their ethnicity, social, and economic standing in the society. The average Indonesians did not have access to Dutch language. This dynamic extends to the contemporary Indonesia; English language is not the language of schooling. English language is a compulsory subject

⁹¹ Locher-Scholter, E. (2000). *Women and the Colonial State: Essay on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942* PDF file. Retrieved from <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/35087/340261.pdf?sequence=1>. P. 19

⁹² Pendidikan Masa Kolonial Belanda. (n.d.). Retrieved March 9, 2021, from <http://museumpendidikannasional.upi.edu/pendidikan-masa-kolonial-belanda/>

only since the past decade; even so, English language is made compulsory only at the beginning of middle school.

That said, the Dutch education system demonstrated a couple of qualities that remain impactful in Indonesian society and educational system and curriculum. First, racial and socio-economic divisions amongst students of European and non-European have impacted present-day racial and socio-economic disparities and inequalities. Indonesian students of the affluent families were given preferential treatment compared to those from peasant backgrounds. Second, the majority of teachers in the Dutch school system were brought from the Netherlands and other European countries. The teachers from Indonesia were mainly recruited and trained during the school system expansion. Third, due to socio-economic segregation in the Dutch school, Islamic boarding schools remain a very important medium in Indonesia's educational system today. Lastly, and most importantly, English language access and fluency remain exclusive to those who have more access to wealth, leaving the average and the impoverished Indonesians to struggle with access to and learning of the language.

Women

Prior the opening of the Suez Canal in the late 1800s, the Dutch colonizers who settled in East Indies (now Indonesia) were predominantly men and very few Dutch girls who were orphans or members of extremely poor families.⁹³ Thus, many of the Javanese women of the commoners were taken to be the house servant-sex slaves. In 1860, the British abolished the practice of slavery; therefore, the master and sex slave relationship changed. The Javanese women became the concubines to the Dutch colonizers. The Javanese concubines, mistresses,

⁹³ Taylor, J. G. (2009). *The Social World of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia* (2nd ed.). Madison, WI, USA: University of Wisconsin Press. P. 13

and/or house servants were commonly named *nyai*. The Javanese women selected to be the concubines (*nyai*) for their Dutch masters had to adopt a costume change; the *nyai* commonly wore a white top and slippers, which symbolized their new status in relation to the colonial power.⁹⁴ For two centuries, the Dutch men only had sexual encounter with Indonesian *nyai* or concubines until the practice was abolished the early of the 20th century.



Figure 6: A Dutch man with Indonesian Concubine

Source 6: Wikimedia Commons

Another colonial practice impacting Indonesian women in the society is the labeling of female domestic servants as *baboe* or *babu*. Domestic service had been part of Indonesian tradition. Indonesian rulers and wealthy families employed domestic servants to do domestic work around the house. During the colonial period, the Dutch adopted the lifestyle; the *baboe* became indispensable to Dutch households. The term *baboe* (maid/servant) has developed into a

⁹⁴ GoGwilt, C. (2007). The Vanishing Genre of the Nyai Narrative: Reading Genealogies of English and Indonesian Modernism. *Comparative Literature Studies*, 44(4), 409-433. Retrieved April 12, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/25659613. P. 411

negative connotation because the majority of Indonesia's domestic workers came from the lower-income and low educational background. As an occupation, being a *baboe* means a person who is obligated to be subservient, which for that is often looked down in the society in spite of their indispensability.

The Indonesian women of low socio-economic status have been placed at the bottom of the social hierarchy in Indonesia during the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial eras. They were maids or *baboes* of Indonesian aristocrats and the Dutch colonial households. Sadly, in contemporary Indonesia, women of the low socio-economic status are often employed in occupations such as domestic workers and caregivers. While there is nothing to be ashamed about in being a maid or *baboe*; however, the terms maid or *baboe* are demeaning and dehumanizing. The terms maid or *baboe* implies a continuity of this rigid social stratification between the haves and the have nots. Labeling people based on their occupation perpetrates the kind of ill treatment and exploitation these women will endure.

Indonesia is the 10th largest economy by purchasing power parity. Over the years, Indonesia has made significant progresses in poverty reduction, cutting poverty level by half since 1999, to 9.78% in 2020.⁹⁵ However, there are still over 25 million people live below poverty line. Indonesian poor, including women, who cannot find jobs at home, try to find employment abroad as domestic migrant workers.

⁹⁵ Overview. (n.d.). Retrieved April 28, 2021, from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/indonesia/overview>

Feminization of Migration

An economic migrant is an individual who emigrates from one place to another seeking a better economic opportunity. North America and Northern, Southern, and Western Europe are two main destination regions for migrant workers (48.5%), followed by the Middle East and Eastern Europe, respectively. According to ILO, the two main regional destinations of migrant workers – North America, Europe, and Middle East – in 2015 consisted of 52.9% female migrant workers and 45.1% of males.⁹⁶ The increase in the number of female migrant workers is caused by couple of reasons, namely economics, gender-specific job employment, women’s empowerment, and/or a combination of all the three.

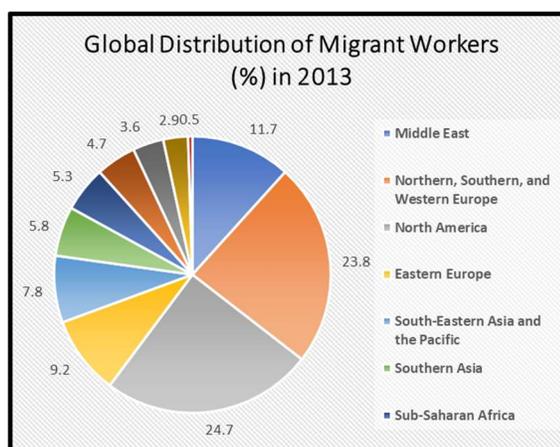


Figure 7: Global Distribution of Migrant Workers 2015

Source 7: ILO

Feminization of migration refers to the study of migration and gender back dating back to the 1980s when the first female director of the UN Population Division 2012, Hasnia Zlotnik, acknowledged that women were not presented statistically and demographically in the ILO’s migration data, as the ILO was “concerned mainly with the problem of male labor migrants in

⁹⁶ International Labour Organization. (2015). *ILO Global Estimates on Migrant Workers* [PDF file]. Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_436343.pdf. P. xii

Europe.”⁹⁷ The feminization of migration takes place due to diversification of labor in which gender-specific jobs becomes more available and in demand, especially jobs in service sectors such as domestic workers and nurses.⁹⁸

For example, in post-independence Singapore, neoliberalism was implemented successfully. The rapid industrialization of Singapore increased workers’ migration into the country. Singapore became a major trade center that serves the world markets and major multinational companies. In pursuing neoliberal globalization post-independence, Singapore encourages women to enter the workplace to meet the labor shortage. Singaporean women play important roles in the country’s economic growth and development. Female labor force participation rate in Singapore tripled between 1960 to 2010. The increase in participation of Singaporean women in the labor force changed the dynamic of the family structure.

Consequent to the integration of Singaporean women into the formal economy, the flow of low-skilled migrant workers to Singapore also increased. Singaporean households rely heavily on female migrant workers from neighboring countries – the Philippines, Indonesia, and Bangladesh – to be their domestic servants to look after their children and elderly parents. About one out of every five households in Singapore employs migrant workers for domestic servitude. Female workers emigrate globally even more today, including female migrant workers from the Philippines and Indonesia. Both countries are in the top ten sending countries for female migrant workers, in particular domestic workers.

⁹⁷ Donato, Katharine M. and Donna Gabaccia. 2015. *Gender and International Migration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. P. 3

⁹⁸ Piper, N. (2008). Feminisation of Migration and the Social Dimensions of Development: the Asian case. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(7), 1287–1303. <https://taurus.hood.edu:2510/10.1080/01436590802386427>

Push and Pull Factors of Indonesia and the Philippines Labor Migration

The push factors for labor migration are mostly socio-economic, poverty and unemployment. On the other hand, the pull factors can be for family relations, freedom, and new opportunities. Prior to the Covid-19 Pandemic, the economy in the Philippines and Indonesia has grown in the past decade. Indonesia is the 5th largest economy in the Asian continent with the average GDP growth rate of 5.0% since 2002. According to the World Bank, 9.2% of the population lived below the national poverty line in 2019; the share of Indonesians living below the national poverty line has more than halved since 1993. In 2019, Indonesia's unemployment rate was at 3.62%, a decline from 4.4% in 2018.⁹⁹ On the other hand, the Philippines' average GDP growth rate since 1982 is at 3.5%. According to the World Bank, 16.7% of the population lived below the national poverty line in 2018, a decline from 23.5% in 2015. The unemployment rate in 2019 was 2.24%, a decline from 3.6% in 2014.¹⁰⁰

Indonesia and the Philippines are two emerging economies. Poverty reduction in both countries is relatively successful. However, despite job creation and wage increases, many Indonesians and Filipinos migrate abroad for employment; underemployment is also a contributing factor to labor migration from Indonesia and the Philippines. In Indonesia, about 60% of the current workers are low-skilled workers who have not completed high-school; thus, they cannot compete for the limited number of high-productivity jobs.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ The World Bank. (2020, April). *Poverty & Equity Brief East Asia & Pacific: Indonesia* PDF file. Retrieved from https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/poverty/33EF03BB-9722-4AE2-ABC7-AA2972D68AFE/Global_POVEQ_IDN.pdf

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

¹⁰¹ Ibid. P. III

In similar fashion, the Philippines' poverty is primarily associated with the low quality of employment rather than the lack of employment itself. The unemployed and underemployed Filipinos, therefore, migrate abroad for full employment opportunity. According to Philippines Statistics Authority (PSA), the Philippines' unemployment rate was 5.7% in 2017 and 5.3% in 2018; and the Philippines' underemployment rate was 16.4 % in 2017 and 16.1 %. The Filipino workers in the elementary occupation remained the largest group comprising 26.9% in 2018.¹⁰²

Feminization of poverty also serves as a push factor of female labor migration, in particular the migration of breadwinning mothers as domestic and care workers, from Indonesia and the Philippines. The accelerated economic globalization in the 1990s resulted in an increase in gender-segmented global labor market, namely the domestic and care workers. The success of the OFWs abroad encouraged the Philippines government to facilitate more of its population becoming economic migrants. Similarly, Indonesian female breadwinners also try their luck when seeking full employment as domestic and care workers abroad to improve their family's economic standing. The pull factors that drive women to work abroad are new opportunities. By working abroad, these migrant workers can achieve better economic opportunities such as: better pay and an improved employment opportunity.

International Treaty on Migrant Workers

The Philippines and Indonesia are States Parties to the following international human rights treaties relevant to the protection of domestic workers: (1) International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (CPMW); (2) International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR); (3) International Covenant on

¹⁰² 2018 Annual Labor and Employment Status. (2018, December 28). Retrieved March 22, 2021, from <https://psa.gov.ph/content/2018-annual-labor-and-employment-status>

Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR); (4) Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); (5) International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD); (6) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).¹⁰³

The UN 1990 ICPMW is a treaty outlining universal rights in the area of labor migration with an emphasis on the principle of non-discrimination; it also establishes fundamental human rights to all migrant workers. The responsibility for the protection of migrant worker rights is the responsibility of both the sending and receiving countries. The UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families has been signed by 12 countries and ratified by 56 State Parties.

Furthermore, the International Labour Organization (ILO) was the first UN body to promulgate treaties to protect migrant workers, the C097 – Migration for Employment Convention 1949 (No. 97) and the C143 – Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provision) Convention 1975 (No. 143). The Philippines is a State Party to the C097 of 1949 Convention; however, Indonesia is not a State Party.¹⁰⁴ The ILO 1949 Convention requires the State Parties to facilitate international migration by establishing and maintaining free assistance and information services for migrants. The Convention also includes provisions on appropriate medical service for migrant workers and remittances.

¹⁰³ UN Treaty Body Database. (n.d.). Retrieved April 9, 2021, from https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=80&Lang=EN

¹⁰⁴ C143 - Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143). (n.d.). Retrieved March 24, 2021, from http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:55:0::55:P55_TYPE.P55_LANG.P55_DOCUMENT.P55_NODE:SUP,en,C143./Document

C097 - Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97). (n.d.). Retrieved March 24, 2021, from http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=normlexpub:12100:0::no:12100:p12100_instrument_id:312242:no

The C143 Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) 1975 Convention was signed by 143 States and ratified by only 25 State Parties. . The Philippines signed and ratified; whereas Indonesia did not. The C143 Convention is more comprehensive because it includes provisions pertaining to the basic human rights of international migrant workers. The ILO 1975 also includes measures to combat illegal migration and extends its scope to the protection of legal migrant workers to receive equal treatment and opportunity as the national workers.

The 1975 Convention also calls upon the ratifying countries to facilitate reunification of families of migrant workers residing in their territories. The C181 Private Employment Agencies Convention, 1997 (No. 181), prohibits charging migrant workers placement fees. Neither Indonesia nor the Philippines have ratified the convention. Thus, any migrant workers can potentially be charged a relatively high recruitment fee. Both the Philippines and Indonesia have not ratified C181 of 1975.

Moreover, the C-189 – Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189) is the convention for domestic workers promulgated at the General Conference of the International Labour Organization in Geneva, Switzerland, on June 1st, 2011. The Convention is part of the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and the ILO Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization.¹⁰⁵ The C-189 Domestic Workers Convention 2011 came into force in 2013. The Philippines is the country at the forefront of the C-189 negotiation; it is one of the 31 State Parties to have ratified the Convention. On the contrary, Indonesia is not a State Party to this Convention.

¹⁰⁵ C189 - Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189). (n.d.). Retrieved March 24, 2021, from https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C189

To date, the Philippines is the only country in the Asia Pacific region that has ratified the C-189 Convention. The Convention was created to provide protection to women and girls of disadvantaged communities who are particularly vulnerable to discrimination, exploitation, and human rights abuses. The Convention is the only global norm-setting mechanism that acknowledges the value of domestic work and recommends employment norms, such as: a standard employment contract, wage, and regular days off.¹⁰⁶

Domestic Migrant Workers

According to Article 1 of the Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189), domestic workers are the people who perform in or for a household or households and the people who engage in domestic work within an employment relationship.¹⁰⁷ Domestic workers and caregivers are elementary occupations. The elementary occupations consist of simple and routine tasks which mainly require the use of hand-held tools and often some physical effort.¹⁰⁸ According to the ILO Structure of the International Standard Classification of Occupation (ISCO-08), elementary occupations consists of: (1) cleaners and helpers; (2) agricultural, forestry, and fishery laborers; (3) mining, construction, manufacturing, and transport laborers; (4) food preparation assistants; (5) street and related sales and service workers; (6) refuse workers and other elementary workers (p.82).¹⁰⁹ Domestic workers and caregivers are

¹⁰⁶ Chee, L. (2020, November 05). Filipino Envoy Puts the Philippines' '3rd Foreign Policy Pillar' On the Line. Retrieved April 8, 2021, from <https://thediplomat.com/2020/11/filipino-envoy-puts-the-philippines-3rd-foreign-policy-pillar-on-the-line/>

¹⁰⁷ C189 - Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189). (n.d.). Retrieved March 24, 2021, from https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C189

¹⁰⁸ Major Group 9: Elementary Occupations. (n.d.). Retrieved March 26, 2021, from <https://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/isco88/9.htm>

¹⁰⁹ International Labour Office Geneva. (2012). *International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-08)* PDF file. Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_172572.pdf

elementary occupations because they perform various tasks around the house from cleaning, babysitting, cooking, and more.

In 2010, there was at least 52.6 million men and women who were employed as domestic workers globally. Women domestic workers accounted for 83% of all domestic workers.¹¹⁰ Domestic work is a significant source of employment for many women from the developing countries. The Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia are major sending countries of female migrant workers. Indonesian female domestic workers predominantly seek employment in Malaysia and Saudi Arabia.

Figure 3.1 Distribution of domestic workers by sex and region, 2010

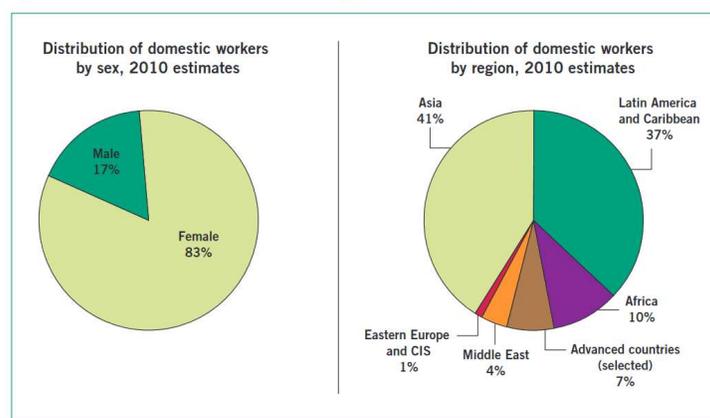


Figure 8: Distribution of Domestic Workers by Sex & Region, 2010

Source 8: ILO 2013

Domestic workers are very valuable assets to both the home and host countries. Domestic workers are important parts of the families; they perform essential services that allow households to function smoothly and keep things copacetic. They contribute to socio-economic advancement of the people dear to them, and their remittances boost economic growth through personal and

¹¹⁰ International Labour Organization. (2013). *Domestic Workers Across the World: Global and Regional Statistics and the Extent of Legal Protection* PDF file. Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_173363.pdf

household expenditure. Unfortunately, domestic workers are often treated as invisible only because of the majority of domestic workers represent marginalized groups of people.

Female Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW)

The Overseas Filipino Worker (OFW) is the term used to refer to Filipino migrant workers abroad. OFWs are Filipino citizens who work abroad in temporary-based employment. The majority of Filipinos have migrated and/or have relatives abroad. Migrating abroad is a common practice for the people in the Philippines; it is partly rooted in its colonial times – including the Spanish and the American periods of colonization and occupation. Other waves of labor migrations have been: professional and highly skilled workers to North America in the 1960s; construction and service workers to the Middle East in the 1970s; and construction and domestic workers to East Asia and the Pacific in the 1980s and 1990s.

Although women in the Philippines are for the most part more literate and educated than men, the gender gap in the labor force participation rate from 2006 to 2012 ranges between 28% to 30% (Philippine Commission on Women 2014).¹¹¹ Child bearing, unpaid household work, lower wages, job insecurity, lack of protection, and poor working conditions and treatment are common struggles that many Filipinas have to face. Higher economic growth and development, as well as an aging population globally, have increased the demand of female migrant workers to fill the gap of employment. The available jobs are often gender-specific, especially in the service sectors – including domestic helpers and caregivers.

¹¹¹ Philippine Commission on Women (PCW). (2014, March). *Women's Empowerment, Development and Gender Equality Plan 2013-2016* [PDF file]. Retrieved from https://www.pcw.gov.ph/sites/default/files/documents/resources/womens_edge_plan.pdf

The OFWs occupy a variety of job levels, from the elementary to managerial level. According to the Philippines Statistic Authority (PSA) 2018 survey, the number of OFWs abroad was estimated at 2.3 million. The female OFWs made up 55.8% of the total OFWs in 2018. Out of 37.1% female OFWs who worked in elementary occupations, 20% of the workers worked as domestic workers and/or caregivers.¹¹² In addition, according to the 2019 PSA report, 39.6% worked in elementary jobs; one out of five OFWs worked in Saudi Arabia.¹¹³ The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) is the largest destination country for the OFWs (25.4%), predominantly working in the service industry including domestic workers. Other destinations of the OFWs are: The United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Qatar.

Remittances

Remittances refer to inflows of migrants' and short-term contract employees' income transfer. According to Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas, OFW remittances in 2006 hit US\$12.8 billion, exceeding the forecast by US\$0.5 billion; it grew by 19.4% from 2005, and it was the highest record the country had.¹¹⁴ In 2009, remittances from the OFWs reached US\$22 billion just in the first eight months in 2019; it grew by 3.6% from 2018.¹¹⁵ It shows a steady rise in the amount of US remittances inflow from OFWs to the home country from 2014 of US\$28.70 billion to US\$33.83 in 2018.¹¹⁶ About 79% of the total remittances came from highly developed

¹¹² Total Number of OFWs Estimated at 2.3 million (Results from the 2018 Survey on Overseas Filipinos). (2019, April 30). Retrieved February 2, 2021, from <https://psa.gov.ph/content/total-number-ofws-estimated-23-million-results-2018-survey-overseas-filipinos>

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Media Release: OFW Remittances Hit US\$12.8 Billion in 2006, Exceeding the Forecast by US\$0.5 Billion. (2007, February 15). Retrieved March 1, 2020, from <http://www.bsp.gov.ph/publications/media.asp?id=1508&yr=2007>

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Contribution of the OFW to the Philippine Economy. (2019, November 27). Retrieved March 2, 2020, from <https://www.compareremit.com/money-transfer-guide/contribution-of-the-ofw-to-the-philippines-economy/>

countries such as: the U.S., Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Canada, Italy, UK, Japan, UAE, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan.

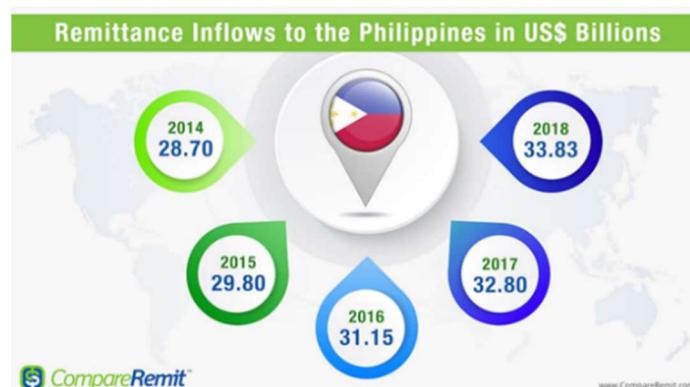


Figure 9: Remittance Inflow to the Philippines

Source 9: CompareRemit

Although women make up over half of the OFWs; a gap in earnings between male OFWs and female OFWs influences the amount and frequency of remittances sent by both sexes. On average, men's earnings overseas are 1.5 times higher than the women's; on average, men remit over 60% of their earnings while women remit about 45%. Remittances sent by women comprise 66% of household income whereas remittances sent by men comprise more than 78%.¹¹⁷ Gender earning disparities are caused by variables such as: age, education, time spent abroad, employment prior to migration, overseas occupation, and country destinations.

Nonetheless, despite the gap in earnings, in 2017, the remittances' growth exceeded four percent and accounted for over 10% of the country's GDP.¹¹⁸ The PSA discovered that in 2018 the service industry accounted for 56.22% to the country's GDP, with 35.15% percent coming from personal and household consumptions (17.70%), financial intermediation (6.73%), and real

¹¹⁷ Semyonov, M. (2005). Labor Migration, Remittances and Household Income: A Comparison between Filipino and Filipina Overseas Workers. *The International Migration Review*, 39(1), 45-68. Retrieved February 29, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/27645476

¹¹⁸ Media Release: Personal Remittances Reach US\$22 Billion in the First Eight Months of 2019. (2019, October 15). Retrieved March 1, 2020, from <http://www.bsp.gov.ph/publications/media.asp?id=5180>

estates (10.72%).¹¹⁹ The remittances empower not only the female migrant workers, but also the family they left behind. Remittances from the OFWs allow the recipient families to spend on personal and household consumption expenditures. The remittances are also directed towards r education, personal savings, and investment in physical capital, such as real estate.

According to the *Emerging Trends in Real Estate: The Global Outlook for 2014* report by PwC and Urban Land Institute, Metro Manila is ranked the fourth in the Asia Pacific region for real estate investment as a result of a fast-growing economy.¹²⁰ The real estate market for low- and mid-end residential housing is growing, which constitutes a large market for the Overseas Filipino Workers. Residential home sales in regions near Metro Manila, such as Cavite, Batangas, and Laguna Provinces increased sales by 20% in the first semester of 2020.¹²¹ New low to medium-end residential complex units is the main market for the OFWs who are seeking real estate investment opportunities.

Domestic Worker's Mistreatment

The challenges that female domestic workers can potentially face are varied; they are prone to exploitation, including human trafficking, forced labor, sexual abuse, and killing. In many cases, a labor agency, an employer or both also manipulated migrant domestic workers.

¹¹⁹ PSA. (2019, January 25). *Philippine National Account 2015-2018 (Q4)* PDF file. Retrieved from <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1YkyApIK5IaUvGx0Rm0DGYuPAAtABI2pCf/view>

¹²⁰ PwC and Urban Legend Institute. 2014. *The Emerging Trends in Real Estates: The Global Outlook for 2014* PDF file. Retrieved from <https://www.pwc.com/gx/en/asset-management/emerging-trends-in-real-estate-global-2014/assets/pwc-emerging-trends-in-real-estate-the-global-outlook-for-2014.pdf>. P. 16

¹²¹ Dumlao-Abadilla, D. (2020, June 24). CLI's H1 housing sales up 20% despite lockdown constraints. Retrieved February 11, 2021, from <https://business.inquirer.net/300763/clis-h1-housing-sales-up-20-despite-lockdown-constraints>

The Philippines' housing market is now two-tiered. (2020, March 26). Retrieved February 11, 2021, from <https://www.globalpropertyguide.com/Asia/Philippines/Price-History>

Foreign domestic workers work long hours, have no weekly rest day, are paid low wages, and are restricted from leaving the workplace.

For example, a case involving the killing of a domestic worker took place in 2014 in Kuwait. Joanna Demafelis of the Philippines was a domestic worker in Kuwait. She was brutally murdered; her body was found stuffed in a freezer in an abandoned apartment a year after she had gone missing. Demafelis bore the signs of torture and strangulation. President Rodrigo Duterte temporarily banned the deployment of the OFWs to Kuwait following the investigation. The perpetrators, a husband and wife, were found guilty by the Syrian District Criminal Court and sentenced for 15 years.¹²²

Naturally, the abuses against domestic migrant workers take place in secluded location, primarily the homes of the employers. The above examples underline the on-going challenges prevalent to domestic workers. The exploitation and abuses suffered by domestic workers are also perpetrated by labor agents. Unfortunately, despite strengthened laws and regulations, abuses and discriminations remain prevalent.

Management and Regulatory Framework

The three main government institutions that have the power to oversee and appoint other institutions in managing labor migration in the Philippines are: Office of the President (OP), Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE), and the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA). Furthermore, in managing the country's migration flows, the Philippines implements the four strategies of: regulation, protection, reintegration, and support for family.

¹²² Female employer of OFW Joanna Demafelis found guilty of murder. (2019, September 9). Retrieved March 23, 2021, from <https://cnnphilippines.com/news/2019/9/9/Joanna-Demafelis-Kuwait-guilty.html>

The government provides a protection system that includes three major elements: (1) the Philippines Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) to regulate recruitment and provide pre-departure orientation; (2) Labor Attaches at the embassies to provide assistance abroad; (3) the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) that operates as welfare centers in major areas where the OFWs work, organize and cover the cost of emergency repatriation, and various assistance to the families left behind.¹²³ The Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) appoints and licenses two main agencies: The Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) and the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA). Whereas, the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) appoints: The Commission of Overseas Filipinos (CFO) and Office of the Undersecretary for Migrant Workers Affairs (OUMWA).

The POEA's core functions are: (1) industry's regulation – licensing, set minimum labor standard, and impose disciplinary actions; (2) employment facilitation from recruitment to departure; (3) protection of the OFWs – education, technical and legal assistance, and repatriation assistance; (4) general administration and support (Philippine Overseas Employment Administration). The Republic Act No. 10801 or known as the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) Act aims to provide protection to labor, local and overseas. The OWWA is responsible to serve and promote rights, interest, and welfare of the OFWs and their families.¹²⁴

¹²³ Martin, P., Abella, M., & Midgley, E. (2004). Best Practices to Manage Migration: The Philippines. *The International Migration Review*, 38(4), 1544-1560. Retrieved March 2, 2021, from www.jstor.org/stable/27645456

¹²⁴ Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA). (2016). *Resolution 015 of 2016: Implementing Rules and Regulations of Republic Act No. 10802, Otherwise Known as the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration Act* [PDF file]. Retrieved from [https://www.owwa.gov.ph/sites/default/files/files/IRR%20of%20RA%2010801%20\(OWWA%20ACT\).pdf](https://www.owwa.gov.ph/sites/default/files/files/IRR%20of%20RA%2010801%20(OWWA%20ACT).pdf)

Battistella, G. (2012). Multi-level Policy Approach in the Governance of Labour Migration: Considerations from the Philippine Experience. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 40(4), 419-446. Retrieved March 30, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43500551>

For domestic work occupation, the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) provides compulsory pre-departure education programs consist of a country specific pre-departure orientation seminar (PDOS) and a comprehensive pre-departure education program (CPDEP). The country orientation educates the OFWs about employment contracts, country of destination, stages of the OFW's life abroad, health and safety, financial literacy, travel tips, airport procedure, and government program and services. In addition, specifically for domestic workers, they have to attend language training, culture familiarization, and stress management.¹²⁵

Another institution that is mandated to provide training to the migrant workers is TESDA, Technical Education and Skills Development Authority. The TESDA was established through the enactment of Republic Act No. 7796 of 1994 by President Fidel Ramos. The TESDA is the outcome of a merger between the Department Labor and Employment (DOLE) and Department of Education, Culture, and Sports (DECS). For first-time domestic worker candidates, the TESDA provides a compulsory certification, the Domestic Work NC II Certification Course approved by the TESDA. The candidates will have to pass the assessment in order to obtain the Overseas Employment Certificate (OEC).¹²⁶

The Department of Labor and Employment also provides welfare service for the migrant workers during and after deployment; DOLE also provides welfare to the migrant workers' dependents. During deployment, the welfare and training are delivered by POLO, Philippine Overseas Labor Offices. Various on-site training includes workers training, case management, custodial services, repatriation assistance, and other welfare assistance. As for any eligible

¹²⁵ Home - Programs & Services - Education & Training. (n.d.). Retrieved April 8, 2021, from <https://owwa.gov.ph/index.php/programs-services/education-training>

¹²⁶ TESDA Domestic Work NC II Certification and Other Courses. (n.d.). Retrieved April 8, 2021, from <https://www.helperchoice.com/c/tesda-training-domestic-helpers>

dependents of the migrant worker, the DOLE provides a program called a Scholarship for Dependents. The scholarship is for students who pursue undergraduate degrees.¹²⁷

Moreover, for eligible dependents of migrant workers whose salary is not more than US\$600, an educational assistance of 20,000 Pesos per school year is available the government also provides scholarship to the dependents of migrant workers who were an active OFW during the time of death, including convicted OFWs facing death penalty in host country. The scholarship is only provided to the oldest child in the family. The scholarship provides financial allowance from elementary, high school, and college.¹²⁸

The legal framework on labor migration are as follows: (1) the Labor Code of the Philippines was in 1974 established the Overseas Employment Development Board (OEDB) with the goals to promote a systematic program for overseas employment of Filipino workers; (2) the Magna Carta of Women (Republic Act No. 9710); a comprehensive human rights law for women created in 1990s in response to a political upheaval between the Philippines and Singapore over an OFW death penalty case; (3) RA 10022, Amendment to RA 8042, Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipino Act (UNFPA).¹²⁹

The Republic Act No. 8042, Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipino Act of 1995 is an Act to institute the policies of overseas employment and establish a higher standard of protection and promotion of the welfare of migrant workers, their families, and overseas Filipinos in

¹²⁷ Home - Programs & Services - Education & Training. (n.d.). Retrieved April 8, 2021, from <https://owwa.gov.ph/index.php/programs-services/education-training>

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ruiz, G. Neil. (2018). *Managing Migration: Lessons from the Philippines* [PDF file]. Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/767631468145773727/pdf/451310BR10Box31n0MD1Brief601PUBLIC1.pdf>. P. 1-2

distress, and for other purposes.¹³⁰ The RA No. 8042 was enacted following the execution of Flor Ramos Contemplacion, a domestic worker in Singapore, who was hung to death in March 17, 1995.

The Philippines' bilateral cooperation with destination countries differs based on the nature of the agreement, namely: The Bilateral Labour Agreements (BLAs) and Memoranda of Understanding (MOU). The BLAs are binding and cover all conditions of admission and employment of foreign workers; the BLAs focus on the facilitation of employment of the Overseas Filipino Workers. The MOU, instead, is not binding and have limited specific objectives; the MOU focuses on the welfare and labor cooperation in general.¹³¹ The Philippines government advocates for its migrant workers; there have been 21 Bilateral Labor Agreements with only one BLA was signed before the year 2000.

To continuously improve the efficiency and efficacy of its migrant labor management, the Philippines government has taken several measures to encourage documentation of its OFWs. To reduce backlog and hassle during recruitment, OFW candidates are only required to contact the recruitment agencies that will handle all the required administrative and financial processes. The government exempts the recruitment fee for low-skilled workers, including its domestic migrant workers.¹³² Furthermore, the government also implemented an integrated digital database system called E-Link that connects all relevant government agencies for contract

¹³⁰ REPUBLIC ACT NO. 8042 Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995. (n.d.). Retrieved March 27, 2021, from [https://www.poea.gov.ph/laws&rules/files/Migrant Workers Act of 1995 \(RA 8042\).html](https://www.poea.gov.ph/laws&rules/files/Migrant%20Workers%20Act%20of%201995%20(RA%208042).html)

¹³¹ Battistella, G. (2012). Multi-level Policy Approach in the Governance of Labour Migration: Considerations from the Philippine Experience. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 40(4), 419-446. Retrieved March 30, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43500551>. P. 430

¹³² The World Bank Office Jakarta and the Australian Government. (2017, November). *Indonesia's Global Workers: Juggling Opportunity & Risks* PDF file. Retrieved from <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/946351511861382947/pdf/121691-Indonesias-Global-Workers-Juggling-Opportunities-Risks.pdf>. P. 44

processing, credential processing and authentication, and passport applications.¹³³ The OFW candidate can now register online with the E-Link database system.

Indonesian Female Migrant Worker (PMI)

The Indonesian migrant workers, known as Pekerja Migran Indonesia (PMI), are Indonesian citizens who are currently and will be employed outside the Indonesian territory. According to the 2016 statistics, over nine million Indonesians, documented and undocumented, worked abroad; it was equivalent to seven percent of Indonesia's total labor force.¹³⁴ The number of Indonesian migrant workers continues to increase over the past 10 years. Indonesia's female migrant workers make up about 49% of the total migrant workers, 30% documented workers and 19% (4.3 million) undocumented workers.¹³⁵ Similar to the Philippines, the main jobs of female PMIs are maid/babysitter of 32%, caregiver for elderly of 6.0%, and hospitality staffs of 4.0%. The main destination countries for PMIs are mainly regional, such as Malaysia (55%), Saudi Arabia (13%), Taiwan (10%), Hong Kong (6%), and Singapore (5%).¹³⁶

Indonesian migrant workers mostly come from the rural parts of the country. The lack of employment, underemployment, and female breadwinning situation encourages labor migration. The two main islands serve as Indonesia's migrant workers are Java and Nusa Tenggara Islands. Two-thirds of PMIs come from areas where the poverty rates are higher than the national

¹³³ Ibid. P. 44

¹³⁴ The World Bank Office Jakarta and the Australian Government. (2017, November). *Indonesia's Global Workers: Juggling Opportunity & Risks* PDF file. Retrieved from <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/946351511861382947/pdf/121691-Indonesias-Global-Workers-Juggling-Opportunities-Risks.pdf>. P. 11

¹³⁵ Ibid. P. 11

¹³⁶ The World Bank Office Jakarta and the Australian Government. (2017, November). *Indonesia's Global Workers: Juggling Opportunity & Risks* PDF file. Retrieved from <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/946351511861382947/pdf/121691-Indonesias-Global-Workers-Juggling-Opportunities-Risks.pdf>. P. 11

average, especially Nusa Tenggara Island, Indonesia's eastern and impoverished provinces.¹³⁷ Nusa Tenggara provinces send out many migrant workers of impoverished economic background because, historically, Indonesia's eastern islands were kept under-developed since the colonial period and post-independence period. In addition, former President Soeharto's Java-centric policy for 33 years exacerbated the economic and human resources under-development in the eastern region, like Nusa Tenggara Island. Consequently, many people of Nusa Tenggara seek elementary occupation employment, both legally and illegally, abroad.

Although Java Island is more developed, however, due to unequal wealth distribution and high urbanization, some areas in Java Islands are impoverished. Moreover, Java Island is the most populated island in Indonesia; however, there is never enough jobs to employ all the available labor force. More than three-quarter (78%) of PMIs graduated from middle-school or below, with half of these having only completed elementary school. A more educated PMI generally come from Indonesia's urban areas; but they only make up six percent of the total PMIs.¹³⁸ Low educational attainment in poor areas resulted in an abundant number of low-skilled workers. Higher unemployment and underemployment due to lack of good domestic job opportunities, coupled with better employment opportunities abroad, drive Indonesia's labor migration.

Remittances

In 2016, Pekerja Migran Indonesia (PMI) sent over \$8.9 billion (IDR118 trillion) remittances, equivalent to one percent of Indonesia's GDP in 2016. The documented PMIs

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ The World Bank Office Jakarta and the Australian Government. (2017, November). *Indonesia's Global Workers: Juggling Opportunity & Risks* PDF file. Retrieved from <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/946351511861382947/pdf/121691-Indonesias-Global-Workers-Juggling-Opportunities-Risks.pdf>. P. 22

contributed about 56% of all remittances. Indonesian migrant workers' 2016 remittances contribute to the country's economy similar to those of the Philippines. Personal and household expenditures increase, which helps to run the economy. The average value of remittances to Indonesia's GDP is one percent.¹³⁹ The remittances are significantly important for the migrant workers and their family, and to Indonesia as a country, respectively.

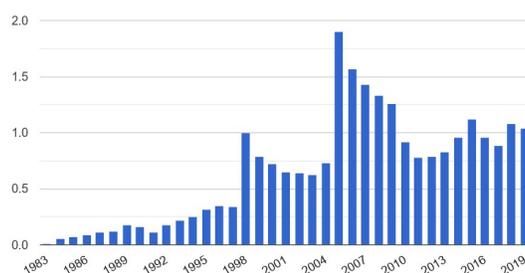


Figure 10: Indonesia's Remittances to GDP 1983-2019

Source 10: *The Global Economy*

The World Bank report suggests that migrant workers were able to earn net average monthly income of IDR3.7 million (\$281) in 2016.¹⁴⁰ In 2020, the average salary a domestic worker makes is about IDR5.5 million (\$410). The salary of a domestic migrant worker is worth four times the domestic salary. A domestic migrant worker's salary is equivalent to the average salary of an employee with an undergraduate background in Indonesia. Working abroad, as a domestic worker, is worth doing for many poor and less educated Indonesian women and men. The majority of migrant workers convey that the remittances sent to their family help to have a better economic standing.

¹³⁹ Indonesia Remittances, percent of GDP - data, chart. (n.d.). Retrieved March 23, 2021, from https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Indonesia/remittances_percent_GDP/

¹⁴⁰ Indonesia Remittances, percent of GDP - data, chart. (n.d.). Retrieved March 23, 2021, from https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Indonesia/remittances_percent_GDP/

Remittances from Indonesian migrant workers contribute to the Indonesian economy and poverty reduction through personal and household expenditures, savings, and investment. The, remittances help reduce child labor participation by 30%.¹⁴¹ Similar to the Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs), Indonesian migrant workers (PMIs) also invest their remittances in property and land. The PMIs would build and/or rebuild a nicer and larger home for their family at home using the remittances. In addition, the money is also utilized for entrepreneurial activity. Being a domestic migrant worker is not without any risks involving exploitation, abuse, and violence. Yet, socio-economic benefits remain the biggest push and pull factor of international labor migrant.

Domestic Worker's Mistreatment

There are about 1.5 million documented and undocumented Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia. According to Migrant Care, an advocacy group for migrant workers, there have been six Indonesian domestic workers executed in Saudi Arabia; often time, the execution was carried out without prior diplomatic notification. According to foreign ministry data, the Saudi Arabia government has sentenced 103 Indonesian migrant workers to death between 2011 and 2018. Five of them have been executed; 85 were freed, and the remainder are still on death row.¹⁴²

One example of domestic migrant worker abuse is the abuse of Khanifah, an Indonesian domestic worker who was inhumanely tortured by her employers for six months. Her left ear

¹⁴¹ The World Bank Office Jakarta and the Australian Government. (2017, November). *Indonesia's Global Workers: Juggling Opportunity & Risks* PDF file. Retrieved from <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/946351511861382947/pdf/121691-Indonesias-Global-Workers-Juggling-Opportunities-Risks.pdf>. P. 24

¹⁴² Yuniarni, S. (2018, October 31). Indonesia Protests Saudi Execution of Migrant Worker Without Prior Notification. Retrieved April 2, 2021, from <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/indonesia-protests-saudi-execution-of-migrant-worker-without-prior-notification/>

lobe became deformed after she was hit by a bamboo pole. She was hit with a stone pestle on her forehead while concurrently being stabbed in the shoulder with a pair of scissors. The abuse caused permanent disfiguration. on Khanifah. The Singaporean employers were found guilty and sentenced to an imprisonment, in addition to paying a compensation of S\$56,500. Khanifah's first employment ended up in misery; she was unable to protect herself because she does not speak English.¹⁴³

Management and Regulatory Framework

Prior to 2009, Indonesia was led by a long-time dictatorship, President Soeharto. His presidency echoed the Dutch colonial policy. President Soeharto centralized his power in the island of Java concurrently exploiting natural and human resources from Indonesia's outer islands. He exercised a repressive regime characterized by exploitation and systemic corruption.¹⁴⁴ Recognizing the value of labor migration, the Indonesian governments prior to 2009 promoted the export of Indonesia's domestic workers. This practice is a continuation of an established practice where the successive colonial and post-colonial governments had long sponsored out-migration from overcrowded Java to relieve unemployment and reduce the risk of social unrest.¹⁴⁵

Former President Soeharto's government began to privatize the recruitment and exportation of domestic worker candidates to private companies, leaving all candidates of

¹⁴³ Lam, L. (2021, February 04). Jail for woman who hammered out maid's teeth in 'worst' recent case of abuse. Retrieved March 23, 2021, from <https://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/singapore/maid-abuse-woman-hammered-maids-teeth-worst-recent-case-11772958>

¹⁴⁴ Aspinall, E. and Fealy, G. (2010). *Soeharto's New Order and Its Legacy: Essay in Honour of Harold Crouch* PDF file. Retrieved from <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/33621/459541.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>. P. 8

¹⁴⁵ Austin, M. (2017). Defending Indonesia's Migrant Domestic Workers. In Berenschot W., Nordholt H., & Bakker L. (Eds.), *Citizenship and Democratization in Southeast Asia* (pp. 265-288). LEIDEN; BOSTON: Brill. Retrieved March 31, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctt1w76ws5.15>. P. 268

domestic workers unprotected. Indonesian government at this time showed some lack of responsibility when it came to the protection of female domestic migrant workers.¹⁴⁶ The Indonesian domestic workers who were abused during deployment ended up seeking guidance and protection from non-profit organizations, such as Solidaritas Perempuan (Women's Solidarity for Human Rights).

Only after the resignation of Indonesia's dictatorship in 1998 could Indonesian migrant workers and the non-profit organizations begin to get traction in their battle for a more comprehensive protection towards the migrant workers. In 2004, the Indonesian Parliament passed Law Number 39/2004 on the Placement and Protection of Migrant Workers. Indonesia also negotiated a Memorandum of Understanding with Malaysia, Indonesia's closest and largest receiving country of Indonesian migrant workers.¹⁴⁷ Indonesia's ministry of Foreign Affairs improved their services to migrant workers overseas; and the Ministry for Women's Empowerment focused on protection rather than prohibition.¹⁴⁸

In contemporary Indonesia, the government and institutions in charge of labor migration consists of: (1) Ministry of Manpower; (2) National Agency for the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Worker (Badan Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia, or BP2MI, or then BNP2TKI) that oversees the placement and protection of the migrant workers; (3) Ministry of Child Development and Women's Empowerment; (4) Healthcare and Social Security Agency (Badan

¹⁴⁶ Aspinall, E. and Fealy, G. (2010). *Soeharto's New Order and Its Legacy: Essay in Honour of Harold Crouch* PDF file. Retrieved from <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/33621/459541.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>. P. 271

¹⁴⁷ Austin, M. (2017). Defending Indonesia's Migrant Domestic Workers. In Berenschot W., Nordholt H., & Bakker L. (Eds.), *Citizenship and Democratization in Southeast Asia* (pp. 265-288). LEIDEN; BOSTON: Brill. Retrieved March 31, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctt1w76ws5.15>. P. 271

¹⁴⁸ Austin, M. (2017). Defending Indonesia's Migrant Domestic Workers. In Berenschot W., Nordholt H., & Bakker L. (Eds.), *Citizenship and Democratization in Southeast Asia* (pp. 265-288). LEIDEN; BOSTON: Brill. Retrieved March 31, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctt1w76ws5.15>. P. 271

Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial Kesehatan, BPJS) that administers the national health insurance to all Indonesians, including the migrant workers; and (5) Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In 2017, Indonesia enacted a new law pertaining the protection of Indonesian migrant workers, known as Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia No. 18 Tahun 2017 (Law No. 18/2017). The new law replaced the old law with a focus on providing protection to its overseas migrant workers (PMIs) from the beginning of recruitment until the migrant workers return home. The National Agency for the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Worker (Badan Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia, or BP2MI) oversees the measures of the Law No. 18/2017; BP2MI directly reports to the President and the Vice President.

The measures included within the Law No. 18/2017 are as follows: (1) social-economic and legal protection to Indonesian migrant worker before, during, and after the recruitment; (2) healthcare and social security (BPJS); (3) integrated (one-stop) service between the provincial and central government; (4) training for PMIs; (5) strengthening of BP2MI's efficiency and efficacy for migrant workers' recruitment; and (6) limit the roles of private sector only to the placement of the workers. The Indonesian central government coordinates with the provincial governments to establish a one-stop service program at the district level in every province since 2015; today, there are 32 districts provide the one-stop service recruitment process. Furthermore, in 2016, Indonesian government (Ministry of Manpower) established the Productive Migrants Villages Program which aims to create a productive community in the place of origin of the migrant workers.¹⁴⁹ The program is a way to empower, protect, and assist any domestic worker candidates. The office of the Ministry of Manpower facilitates the program in 400 villages in

¹⁴⁹ Gov't to Develop Productive Migrant Village. (2019, August 15). Retrieved March 27, 2021, from <https://setkab.go.id/en/govt-to-develop-productive-migrant-village/>

provinces that supply the greatest number of domestic worker candidates. The Ministry office works with the central and provincial governments, village administrators, universities, local NGOs, and other government institutions.

For Indonesian domestic migrant workers, the Indonesian government signed Memorandum of Understandings (MOU) with its four main receiving countries: Malaysia, Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, and Singapore. The MOU between the government of Indonesia and Malaysia was signed on May 13, 2006, pertaining to the recruitment and placement of Indonesian domestic migrant workers.¹⁵⁰ The MOU between BP2MI and Indonesian business chambers in Taiwan in 2013 was negotiated, regarding the integrated online system for the placement and protection of Indonesian migrant workers.¹⁵¹ There is now a MOU between the Indonesian government and the government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia regarding the placement and the protection of Indonesian domestic migrant workers.¹⁵² Lastly, the MOU between BP2MI and Association of Employment Agencies Singapore, pertaining the placement and protection of PMIs.

The government of the four above-mentioned receiving countries are unwilling to sign Government-to-Government (G2G) agreements for migration and recruitment regulation.

¹⁵⁰ BP2MI. (2006). *Protokol Perubahan terhadap Nota Kesepahaman antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dan Pemerintah Malaysia mengenai Perekrutan dan Penempatan Pekerja Domestik Indonesia* PDF file. Retrieved from https://jdih.bp2mi.go.id/uploads/20191209/20191209131556_26652_MOULN_antara_BNP2TKI_dengan_Malaysia_Tentang_Protokol_Perubahan_MOU_2006_Mengenai_Perekrutan_dan_Penempatan_Pekerja_Domestik_Indonesia.pdf

¹⁵¹ BNP2TKI dan Kantor Dagang dan Ekonomi Indonesia di Taipei. (2013). *Nota Kesepahaman antara Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia dengan Kantor Dagang dan Ekonomi Indonesia di Taipei* PDF file. Retrieved from https://jdih.bp2mi.go.id/uploads/20191209/20191209131920_26656_MOULN_antara_BNP2TKI_dengan_Kantor_Dagang_dan_Ekonomi_Indonesia_di_Taipei_tentang_Integrasi_Sistem_Online_dalam_Penempatan_dan_Perlindungan_TKI.pdf

¹⁵² Pemerintah Republik Indonesia. (n.d.). *Persetujuan antara Pemerintah Republik Indonesia dengan Pemerintah Kerajaan Arab Saudi mengenai Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia Sektor Domestik* PDF file. Retrieved from https://jdih.bp2mi.go.id/uploads/20191209/20191209132211_26659_MOULN_antara_Pemerintah_RI_dengan_Pemerintah_Kerajaan_Arab_Saudi_Mengenai_Penempatan_dan_Perlindungan_TKI_Sektor_Domestik.pdf

Instead, these receiving countries government are only willing to sign Memoranda of Understanding (MOU) which are less formal and less binding.

Indonesia's Domestic Migrant Workers vs. the Philippines'

In general, the Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) are deemed to be more qualified compared to the Indonesian migrant workers (PMIs), including the domestic workers and caregiver occupations. The Filipino and Indonesian migrant workers are the two major groups of domestic workers in Southeast Asia, East Asia, and the Middle East. The Filipino domestic workers are favored more than the Indonesians because they are, in general, more qualified and trained.

The domestic migrant workers from the Philippines are more educated compared to the Indonesian domestic workers. According to the World Bank report, more than three-quarters (78%) of current Indonesian migrant workers graduated from middle-school or below. Migrant workers from Indonesia's urban areas tend to have high-school education; however, they only constitute about six percent.¹⁵³ The majority of Indonesian domestic workers come from areas that are more rural and lower in educational attainment. On the contrary, according to the ILO report, Filipino domestic migrant workers tend to be older, better-educated, and have a broader range of professional experiences. A 2001 survey of Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong indicated that 62% Filipino domestic helpers had completed tertiary education; in Singapore, 50% of Filipino domestic workers had at least a high school education and 43% of college

¹⁵³ The World Bank Office Jakarta & the Australian Government. (2017, November). *Indonesia's Global Workers: Juggling Opportunities & Risks* PDF file. Retrieved from <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/946351511861382947/pdf/121691-Indonesias-Global-Workers-Juggling-Opportunities-Risks.pdf>. P. 22

graduated.¹⁵⁴ The level of educational attainment is considered determinants in determining qualities and experiences of domestic migrant workers.

Despite being at the same ranking, the Philippines scores much higher in educational attainment compared to Indonesia. According to the 2020 UNDP Human Development Report, in 2019, Indonesia and the Philippines were ranked 107 out of 189 (high human development) with the same score of 0.718 (1 is the highest in development). The Philippines' mean years of schooling was valued at 9.4, which is relatively higher than Indonesia that was valued at 8.2.

Table B: Philippines' HDI and component indicators for 2019 relative to selected countries and groups

| | HDI value | HDI rank | Life expectancy at birth | Expected years of schooling | Mean years of schooling | GNI per capita (2017 PPP US\$) |
|----------------------------------|-----------|----------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Philippines | 0.718 | 107 | 71.2 | 13.1 | 9.4 | 9,778 |
| Indonesia | 0.718 | 107 | 71.7 | 13.6 | 8.2 | 11,459 |
| Thailand | 0.777 | 79 | 77.2 | 15.0 | 7.9 | 17,781 |
| East Asia and the Pacific | 0.747 | — | 75.4 | 13.6 | 8.1 | 14,710 |
| High HDI | 0.753 | — | 75.3 | 14.0 | 8.4 | 14,255 |

Figure 11: The 2019 HDI Comparison – Indonesia and the Philippines

Source 11: UNDP

In the Philippines, basic education is 12 years (K to 12) from elementary to high school. The Kindergarten Education Act of 2012, or known as the Republic Act No. 10157 mandated kindergarten education to be compulsory for all Filipino children age of five or six. The kindergarten education, therefore, is an integral part of the Philippines' basic education. The Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2014 or Republic Act No. 10533, is the law that strengthens curriculum and increases the number of years for basic education.¹⁵⁵ The primary education (K-

¹⁵⁴ Sayres, N. (n.d.). *An Analysis of the Situation of Filipino Domestic Workers* PDF file. Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/---ilo-manila/documents/publication/wcms_124895.pdf. P. 10

¹⁵⁵ Republic Act No. 10533: GOVPH. (2013, May 15). Retrieved March 28, 2021, from <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2013/05/15/republic-act-no-10533/>

12) in the Philippines is free as stipulated in the 1987 Constitution of the Republic, Article XIV.¹⁵⁶ The government expenditure for education is 13.2% of GDP for 106 million of population.

On the other hand, in Indonesia, the primary education is nine years, from elementary (six years) to middle school (three years). Indonesian children age seven to fifteen years old are mandated to attend the primary education. Moreover, kindergarten education has never been compulsory education since the country's inception in 1945. Indonesians must pay tuition to go to school. Only recently, Indonesia's two-terms president, Joko Widodo, made the most significant educational reform; the public-school tuition from elementary to middle school is free tuition. The government expenditure for education is 3.6% of GDP for 267 million population.¹⁵⁷

Another important factor contributes to the quality differences between the domestic workers from the Philippines and Indonesia is the English language fluency. English language is the Americans legacy to the Philippines. Since *the Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation* was introduced in 1901, English language has become the language of instruction in the Philippines. Today, English language is one of the two official languages of the Philippines. English language is the language of schooling in the Philippines. That said, Filipino domestic workers have more exposure and education in the English language with impact their fluency.

¹⁵⁶ The Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines: GOVPH. (n.d.). Retrieved March 28, 2021, from <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/constitutions/1987-constitution/>

¹⁵⁷ Indonesia Public spending on education as a share of GDP, 1960-2020. (n.d.). Retrieved April 13, 2021, from <https://knoema.com/atlas/Indonesia/topics/Education/Expenditures-on-Education/Public-spending-on-education-as-a-share-of-GDP>

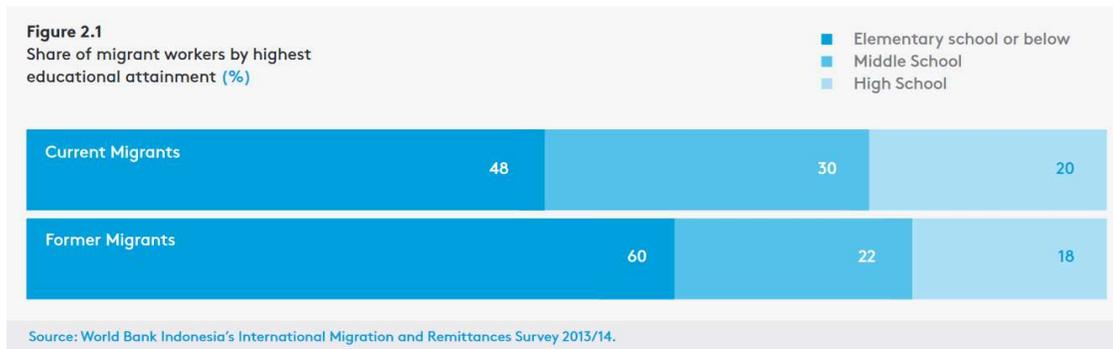


Figure 12: Indonesian Migrant Workers Educational Attainment (%)

Source 12: The World Bank Indonesia Survey 2013/2014

On the contrary, in Indonesia, the Dutch's non-assimilation restricted the native Indonesians to learn Dutch language. Even after the Dutch formally established the *Ethical policy* in 1900s, which promoted a more inclusive educational policy; only Indonesians of the affluent families had access to it. In the contemporary Indonesia, English language education is a compulsory subject starting in middle-school and forward. Consequently, only a handful of Indonesians have intermediate fluency in English language, excluding the majority of Indonesians, especially those of low social economic background like the domestic migrant workers and the prospective of domestic migrant workers.

Furthermore, the stigmatization of domestic worker occupation also influences personal development of the workers. In Indonesia, a domestic worker occupation has always been viewed rather negatively because the women who become domestic workers often come from low economic and social strata. In the pre-colonial Indonesia, female domestic workers worked for Indonesia's aristocrats. During the colonial period, Indonesian domestic workers (*baboe*) worked for the aristocrats and the colonial powers. In today's Indonesia, female domestic workers remain at the bottom of Indonesian social and economic classes. Even the government

has not demonstrated its positive attitude toward domestic worker occupation; Indonesia's policy for its migrant workers tends to be reactive upon incidents of abuses and exploitations.

The case of domestic workers' country origin preference in Malaysia and Hong Kong are good examples to illustrate why the Filipino domestic workers are more preferred to Indonesian domestic workers. Malaysia needs labor migrants to response to labor shortage for the elementary occupations, such as the palm oil plantation, manufacturing, and domestic workers. Malaysia allows between 400,000 to 700,000 migrant workers to work in the country.¹⁵⁸ At a glance, Indonesian domestic workers seem to be the ideal option for many Malaysian households due to the culture similarities; Indonesians and Malaysians share similar language Malay root and Islam as the predominant religion. However, the similarities do not always mean successful employment.

Indonesian domestic workers are predominantly hired by the Malaysian middle-class who cannot afford to pay higher wages. Conversely, the more affluent Malaysians often preferred more domestic workers from the Philippines because they are much better trained and more fluent in English language.¹⁵⁹ In addition, government support to the migrant workers also influences their protection in the receiving countries. The Philippines government managed to impose a higher wage for its domestic workers who work in Malaysia. On the contrary, the Indonesian government was not successful imposing a similar demand.

The Indonesian government's level of effort for its migrant workers' protection is often constrained by the fact that Indonesian workers need Malaysian employers more. Malaysia is the

¹⁵⁸ Mantu, S. (2016). *Constructing and Imagining Labour Migration: Perspectives of Control from Five Continents*. Ukraine: Taylor & Francis. P. 87

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* P. 70

second destination for Indonesian migrant workers, which puts Indonesian domestic workers with less bargaining power. On the other hand, the domestic migrant workers from the Philippines have more bargaining power due to the global demand for well-trained and English fluency domestic migrant workers.

Moreover, for domestic migrant workers from the Philippines and Indonesia, Hong Kong is the most desirable place to work. Compared to Taiwan and Singapore, Hong Kong labor law stipulates a minimum wage (higher than Taiwan and Singapore) for migrant domestic workers, mandates a weekly rest day, and enshrines their right to unionize.¹⁶⁰ In Hong Kong, the domestic migrant worker occupation comprises of 53% Filipinos and 44% Indonesians.¹⁶¹ However, Hong Kong does not have an intergovernmental agreement with both Indonesia and the Philippines on issue of mistreatment by employees and financial exploitation by recruitment agencies.

In response to the Philippines' government allegation of bogus overseas jobs perpetrated by Hong Kong local employment agencies in 2015, the Hong Kong government issued a formal statement stating that Hong Kong takes very seriously the allegation, and it is investigating the matter.¹⁶² The Hong Kong government sought the Philippines' input in a technical working group on overseas domestic workers. After all, the Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) make up the majority of Hong Kong domestic migrant workers and most preferred by many Hong Kong households.

¹⁶⁰ Goh, C., Wee, K., & Yeoh, B. S. (2017). Migration governance and the migration industry in Asia: Moving domestic workers from Indonesia to Singapore. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 17(3), 401-433. doi:10.1093/irap/lcx010. P. 409

¹⁶¹ Cheung, I. (n.d.). Who Is Responsible for Hong Kong's Invisible Migrant Workers? Retrieved April 8, 2021, from <https://www.csis.org/nfp/who-responsible-hong-kongs-invisible-migrant-workers>

¹⁶² Cheung, M. (2018, July 20). Foreign domestic helpers are fully protected by the law in Hong Kong. Retrieved April 8, 2021, from <https://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/2121773/hong-kong-committed-protecting-foreign-domestic-helpers>

Hong Kong parents favor hiring Filipino domestic migrant workers because of their English language proficiency. As one of major hubs connecting the West and the East, Hong Kong's economy relies heavily on multilingual proficiency, especially English language skills as the language of business.¹⁶³ For many Hong Kong households, it is very important to incorporate English language in their daily communication, in particular to their children's English practice. An English speaker domestic worker in a Hong Kong household is a perfect arrangement; there is a worker who does the household chores at the same time teaching English language to the children.

Conclusion

First and foremost, in the past, males made up the majority of labor migrants. Many Filipino and Indonesian men migrated to the colonies and territories of their colonizers as seafarers and plantation workers. Today, women represent about half of the total number of labor migrants globally. Feminization of migration due to an increase in gendered occupation started to take place in 1980s. The Global South countries expanded their economies by establishing manufacturing industries. Economic expansion led to women's increased participation in the workplace.

Indonesia and the Philippines, the two Southeast Asian former colonies and emerging economies, benefit from their domestic migrant workers. The Philippines and Indonesia are in the top ten largest domestic migrant workers' country of origins. Although by size, population, and economy, Indonesia is three times largest than the Philippines; however, in the matter of labor migrant and its management efficacy, the Philippines is ahead of Indonesia and any other

¹⁶³ Hung, J. (2020, October 13). Hong Kong Hurts Itself By Financially Excluding Foreign Domestic Workers. Retrieved April 8, 2021, from <https://thediplomat.com/2020/02/hong-kong-hurts-itself-by-financially-excluding-foreign-domestic-workers/>

labor migrant country of origin. The legacies of colonization influence the empowerment of women and the efficacy of labor migrant management in Indonesia and the Philippines.

Although the Spanish crown colonized the Philippines for 333 years, the two legacies embedded in the Philippines' social fabric are Catholicism and the surnames. The American legacies, on the other hand, have much stronger influences in the Philippines then and now. The most significant legacy of the American colonization in the Philippines is the educational policy and English language as the language of instruction. Public education is free; the compulsory education is 12 years. Over 70% of Filipino female domestic workers are at the minimum high school graduate; some are college graduates. The Filipino female domestic workers also have greater English language fluency.

All above-mentioned qualities are not shared by the majority of Indonesian female domestic workers. The Indonesian domestic workers are predominantly middle school and elementary school graduates; they also come from low socio-economic backgrounds. Only very few of Indonesian domestic workers actually speak English language. The Dutch's colonial policy was socially exclusive and extractive. Only Indonesians of affluent background enjoyed preferential treatment, which included better school quality and Dutch language as the language of schooling.

The Dutch colonial legacy that was destructive and extractive is a combination of neo-patrimonial and Java-centric policy. President Soeharto in the post-independence period continued this policy. For example, President Soeharto focused the development efforts in Java Island, while extracting resources from Indonesia's outer islands. Social-economic inequality remains prevalent to date. Both the Dutch and President Soeharto prohibited freedom of expression. The Dutch's segregation practices based on race, ethnicity, social, and economic

standing were embedded onto Indonesia's social fabric. Indonesians of low socio-economic standing, like the domestic migrant workers, often end up with low educational attainment. Consequently, these people occupy jobs that are elementary and/or low-skilled, like domestic workers (maids or *baboe*).

These different attitudes, rooted partly in the legacies of colonization and occupation, toward domestic migrant workers influences the current government's commitment to protect and serve these domestic migrant workers. For a long time, Indonesian domestic migrant workers were neglected. They have been treated like a commodity, unlike the Filipino domestic migrant workers who were treated like heroes. Only recently has the Indonesian government expresses its commitment toward protecting its domestic migrant workers at home and abroad. The Philippines government management of their most prized overseas assets, human economic migrants, is forward-looking. The Philippines government and population highly value their labor migrants. The government of the Philippines also provides welfare to the workers and the family left behind.

Although there is always room for improvement, a series of policies have been enacted to ensure the government's commitment towards their Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs), starting from recruitment to placement at home and in the host country. The Philippines government guarantee the protection of its OFWs through domestic policies and international agreements with the host countries with a series of bilateral and multilateral treaties. In fact, following the downfall of Indonesia's dictatorship and a number of cases of domestic migrant workers' abuses, the government of Indonesia has learned from the Philippines on migrant workers' management.

That said, domestic workers from the Philippines are more qualified because they have higher educational attainment, and they are more trained too. The second most salient advantage

is English-speaking fluency. Global employers seek domestic workers who are educated and English-speaking. The third aspect is that Filipino domestic workers have stronger sense of agency. These people speak up their mind freely and responsibly. Lastly, the Philippines government has shown its commitment to protect and towards the domestic migrant workers. Education, self-agency, and civil service are legacies of the United States of America in the Philippines.

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