

URBAN – URBAN MIGRATION: EXPERIENCES OF THE CEBUANO MIGRANTS IN METRO MANILA

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ABSTRACT

Metro Cebu and Metro Manila are the two largest highly urbanized areas in the Philippines. This paper provides the causality of migration by Cebuano migrants in Metro Manila and their bases to stay longer even though they came from another highly urbanized area. Through the years, migrants have also been dwelling with several dilemmas in Metro Manila. The differences of the two highly urbanized areas in the Philippines were distinguished through migrants' experiences and observations. This study employed qualitative approach using descriptive case study design. Secondary data were used to suffice the representativeness of the participants' claims. Furthermore, the data of the study had explained that migration may be viewed as a process to satisfy the needs of Cebuano migrants. It was found that the push factors were few opportunities and low salary rate in the place of origin while the pull factors were the influence made by their overseas family member and encouragement from a relative who had a migration history. Interestingly, there is a recurring pattern of migration since Cebuano migrants became the pull factors of their other relatives. They also revealed some socio-economic disparities between the two highly urbanized areas in the Philippines and an environmental stressor. The unique experiences of the Cebuano migrants were caused by the push and pull factors that led them to move to Metro Manila. They represented dynamism of people who show competitiveness in dealing with daily challenges in order to improve the quality of life.

Keywords: *Cebuano migrants, internal migration, socio-economic disparity, urban – urban migration*

INTRODUCTION

The intrinsic dimension of social and economic development is through the process of urbanization. Internal migration remains the main driver of rapid urbanization in the country. The socio-economic inequality between the rural and urban areas is becoming more prominent as the Philippines goes through the process of urbanization. There is a positive and negative implication of migration in the economic, social, and environmental aspect. However, there is a need to understand the internal migration experiences of the different migrants who came from a highly urbanized area and their migration patterns and factors to promote a more balanced spatial distribution of the population. This is done by promoting certain policy to enrich an equitable and ecologically sustainable development of huge sending and receiving areas.

The Commission on Population conducted a rapid appraisal of the factors of internal migration in September to November, 2014 that looked into existing patterns and trends of Filipino mobility and the prevailing factors associated with decisions to migrate and decision to stay in their respective

respective locality. Their study revealed that there were around 2.9 million Filipinos who moved within the period of 2005-2010 and there were 1.4 million or 50.4% long-distance movers or people who lived in a different province in 2005. Region IVA is the most preferred area of migrants with 28% of long distance movers. Metro Manila has 20% and Region III has 13 % of the long distance movers. People who lived in 2005 in a different city or municipality but within the same province accounted for 45.4%. In 2007-2010, there was an increase of urban population growth in the Philippines with an average of 45% annually. Thirteen percent or 5,697 barangays in 2010 were classified as urban. Majority of them or 64.8% have a population size of at least 5,000. Most of the migrants or 52% are in working age (20-39) and 46% of them are unmarried. In addition, they were at least high school graduates were employed.

This paper presents the causality of migration by the Cebuano migrants in Metro Manila and their bases to stay longer despite the stressors they encountered from the sharing of experiences by the

migrants that greatly contribute to the development of internal migration in the Philippines. Through the years, migrants have also been coping with several dilemmas in Metro Manila. Cebuano migrants revealed some socio-economic disparity between the two highly urbanized areas in the Philippines – Metro Cebu and Metro Manila.

Theoretical Framework

In *The Laws of Migration* by Ravenstein (1885), most migrants transfer over a short distance due to limited local opportunities such as education and employment. Migration occurs in a series of stages typically from rural to small town, to large town or to city. Once in an urban area, people become 'locked in' to the urban hierarchy. As well as movement to large cities, there is also movement away from them. Ravenstein (1885) added that long-distance migrants are more likely to move to large cities wherein people will only know about the opportunities in large cities of far-away countries. One of the laws is that urban dwellers are less migratory than rural dwellers because there are fewer opportunities in rural areas. This will be challenged by this study because in the modern context, the new trend of migration is when the people in urban area tend to migrate to other urban areas, e.g., Cebu City is an urban area but there are still Cebuans who tend to migrate to the bigger city. This argument is supported by the third premise in the laws of migration which states that most migrants transfer to larger cities. Metro Manila is bigger than Cebu City, not only in size but also opportunities.

Lee's (1966, p.3) Theory of Migration describes four categories which drive the idea of migration, one of which is origin of area, including numerous factors from the area the migrant originally lives in. The area associated with destination is when the migrants have the knowledge about the place where he is transferring to, but this knowledge is only superficial and inexact, yet the migrant still pursues it because of his Psychogenic Needs. The significant difference between the area of origin and area of destination is that some factors associated with the area of origin tend to hold people in the area, while other factors tend to repel them. In destination factors, these are essentially constant so that these focus on migration impacts of interventions of rural areas.

Intervening obstacles is the summation of the push and pull factors at the origin and potential destination do not by themselves dictate migration decisions (Lee, 1966, p.3). One of the intervening

decisions (Lee, 1966, p.3). One of the intervening obstacles of the migrants is the distance from where they used to live and transportation. The migrants will be staying away from their loved ones and they do not have any idea where to go and what to do when they are in their destination. Next is the transportation; it is possible that the fare is expensive. Practically, fare is one of the factors that need to be considered when people migrate. Distance and transportation are to be overcome before migration takes place (Lee, 1966, p.3).

Murray's (1938) Psychogenic Needs Theory contributes through the three types of needs, namely: the sense of achievement, recognition and play. Achievement is to accomplish something hard and excel one's self. Because of the obstacles that the migrants experience from the place they used to live in, they will do everything to achieve and be successful in life even if they need to migrate. According to Heffner (2002), sense of achievement is overcoming obstacles found in suburban areas the migrants used to live in. These obstacles include unemployment and poverty. It also includes the feeling of fulfillment in providing the needs of the family they left in the suburban area. Along with achievement is recognition which means gaining approval and social status because migrants want to improve their living conditions and uproot themselves from poverty. Sense of play is when the migrants want a new environment and/or appreciate what they have heard from the experienced migrants, i.e., relatives, friends, peers. Sometimes, they appreciate what they have seen on TV about Metro Manila. Although according to King (2012), despite the relatively long tradition of research on migration, there is no single theory that captures the full complexity of migration, and nor will there ever be. Van Hear (2010) has written that the appetite for searching for an overreaching theory of migration has waned along with the increasing diversity of migration flows in the new global political economy of the New World Order (as cited in King, 2012, p. 24).

Literature Review

Highly urbanized cities have a minimum population of two hundred thousand inhabitants as certified by National Statistics Office, and with the latest annual income of at least Fifty Million Pesos as certified by the city treasurer. Cebu City and Manila City meet these certain qualifications and are considered as the two biggest cities in the country. This literature provides information about the previous studies on migration.

Migration is the movement of people from a specific boundary to another. Its purpose is to have permanency or semi-permanency in residence in that specific new boundary (Lee, 1966). It is also the disconnection from the usual activities from the place of origin and the acquiring of new round of activities (Weeks, 2002). According to Cabuag (2003), migration has become the Filipino's natural predisposition, which apparently figures in their numbers around the globe. Because of geographic inequalities in the country, migration comes with decision for economic transformation. Thus, geography is also a migration causality due to economic insecurity. Massey (1990) argues that migration should be appropriately viewed as an aggregate outcome of individual decisions or as the product of powerful structural changes in society that supercede individual actions. Fligstein (1981), Portes and Walton (1981), Cheng and Bonacich (1984), and Morawska (1990) argue that migration is primarily structural, arising from specific social and economic transformations that mobilize labor through the creation of geographic inequalities in wealth and opportunity (as cited in Massey, 1990, p.4).

Thissen, Fortuijn, Striker, and Haartsen (2010) conducted a study on the different intention or motives of rural youth in their decision to migrate. The data were taken from pupils in the secondary education in two rural areas in Belgium and the Netherlands. There, 905 participants aged 13 – 18 years old. They examined the pupil's social background, migration history, perceptions of employment opportunities and the way they identify themselves with their home region. As a result, the perceived employment opportunities and local attachment are the two most significant factors in intentions of migration. It can be said that these students are less likely to migrate. In short, parents who were born and raised in the particular region are less likely to migrate than those who have parents born and raised in another region. Meaning, people with migration history are more likely to find more opportunities from different regions. Migration has been their strategy in the livelihood of such people.

Social factors greatly affect people's decision to migrate. Todaro (1997) suggests that migration is due to different reasons or could be called pull factors of that certain area or city or region. The following are the reasons: social factors such as communication factors, schools, relatives, gay social life, shopping centers and friends (Filipinas Foundation Inc., 1976), family's migration history (Findley, 1987) presence of peace and order, job prospects and recreational conveniences. The social factors aforementioned are the common factors

migrants have in mind due to being in a remote area where opportunities are not accessible (Findley, 1987). People are becoming more practical nowadays to find means to escape poverty, as well as provide better livelihood to support their family. One way to ease such social problems is going to another place to interact with others. The idea of migrating is being shared by the experienced migrants to others or the potential migrants. According to the study of Cortina and Sardon (1994), Aetas in Iloilo go down to the lowlands because of the satisfaction of basic needs through the information they received from their relatives. This notion is closely associated with the idea of pull factors of the migrants because of what they heard from other people who have migrated or what they called as social contacts (as cited in Cruz et al, 2011, p.8).

Family and relatives contributed to the decision-making process of the migrants. Migrants see themselves being economically stable if they were in more highly urbanized areas especially when they find their relatives successful and already have high socioeconomic status. From the book *Understanding the Filipino Migrants: an In-depth Study of the Motivational Factors behind Internal Migration*, the reasons of internal migration include news from relatives who have left their place of origin, safety of the environment, socio-political (Wack, 1976), and socio-economic status (Findley, 1987). It was reported that migrants tend to regard themselves as economically better off in the new place. However, it is doubtful whether they consider themselves socially better off. Economically, 53 per cent of the migrants interviewed rated themselves as generally better off in their present site of residence. With regard to socioeconomic status, Findley (1987) concluded that the upper class and the lower class tend to migrate more. If the agricultural sector is more commercialized, they will migrate to another place, otherwise there would be less people who would leave. Ledent (1982) raises a question of how urban migration evolves with economic development.

But the usual jobs that migrants get are blue collared jobs such as house help related jobs which the Cebuanos can also find in Cebu City. Although there are families in Cebu City who are hiring helpers, still those Cebuanos who are looking for the said job pursue in taking it in Manila (Brandewie, 1998). The main problems of the migrants consist of financial problems, permanency of a job, a place to stay, adjustment to the new environment and unfamiliarity with the place. From the KAPPA 1976 survey, problems of the migrants that were experienced were monetary problems, which garnered 35%, employment security had 33.5%, shelter with 24.8%, social adjustment with

garnered 35%, employment security had 33.5%, shelter with 24.8%, social adjustment with 16.5%, feelings of exclusion with 12.2% and lastly, unfamiliarity of the place 11.4%. There are also problems concerning the ethnic conflicts, an enlargement of the population of urban squatters, increase in the housing costs and payment inequality among skilled and unskilled workers (*Understanding the Filipino Migrants*, 1976).

Causes of Migration in the Philippine Setting

Even people from highly urbanized cities would still have to migrate to another highly urbanized city. Manila has been the magnet of internal migratory movements (Filipinas Foundation, Inc., 1976). Philippine Statistics Authority reported that the population surge in Metro Manila is largely due to migration. The second largest urban concentration in the Philippines is in Cebu City that dominates the southern part of the Philippines. Cebu is known as the Queen City of the South, which accounts the 0.94 per cent of the country's total population. The large population concentrations around the Metro Manila and Metro Cebu areas are result of rapid rural to urban migration (Filipinas Foundation, Inc., 1976). Philippine Statistics Authority reported that the population surge in Metro Manila is largely due to migration. The second largest urban concentration in the Philippines is in Cebu City that dominates the southern part of the Philippines. Cebu is known as the Queen City of the South, which accounts the 0.94 per cent of the country's total population. The large population concentrations around the Metro Manila and Metro Cebu areas are result of rapid rural to urban migration (Filipinas Foundation, Inc., 1976). Manila is not only the economic and political core of the Philippines but it is also the center of educational development. Manila has the most number of public and private schools as well as the best and the most number of colleges and universities (Basa, Guzman, Villamil, 2009). Rhoda (1983) reported that in almost all cases, studies reveal that migrants tend to have relatively high levels of education and are between the ages of fifteen and thirty. In Africa and Asia, migrants are more apt to be male, while in Latin America and the Philippines, females predominate. Though the evidence is mixed, it appears that rural-urban migrants are more likely than non-migrants to have non-agricultural occupational skills. Migrants are also more apt to have made previous visits to cities, have friends and relatives in cities, and be more aware of cities and the opportunities they provide. In short, there is considerable evidence to suggest that urban – urban migrants generally are more qualified for urban life than rural non-migrants.

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Effects of Migration

Migration has been called as the cause of rapid urbanization because of the different opportunities (e.g., education and employment) from the different urban like Metro Manila. Dyson (2011) concludes that urban migration has remained as the immediate cause of rapid urbanization. Internal migration in the Philippines is a fundamental part of livelihood strategies — not simply a way to escape the social problems they have experienced. This preliminary exploration into the migration decisions of young Filipino adults hint at the prospect that *poblaciones* can offer comparable “urban-like” services, schooling, and employment to migrants from rural areas and as such may counter the migration flow to more congested metropolitan centers of the country.

A theory was developed by Todaro (1997) called the Rural – Urban Migration Theory which states that migrants take into consideration the different labor chances that would be fit for them in either in the rural or urban context. Through this, the decision is made to the one that could make them gain their expectations. The job opportunities, peaceful life, better medical facilities and recreational facilities are the usual reasons of migration (Filipinas Foundation Inc., 1976). According to Long (2002), people who moved to urban areas were substantially successful in improving their socioeconomic status compared to their life in rural and they were more likely to experience upward intergenerational occupational mobility. In line with this, economic considerations shape the migration. Individuals who migrate from one location to another are responding to fluctuations on economic conditions (Jenkins, 1977).

Employment paves way to migration. Economic opportunities are mostly located in the highly urbanized cities. Blanco (1964) revealed that job creation caused migration, whereas Borts and Stein (1964) maintained that migration caused employment. Muth (1971) later demonstrated that employment and migration reciprocally cause each other. And since then, economists have sought to identify the best models and econometric methods to estimate this non- recursive relationship (Graves, 1980; Graves and Linneman, 1979; Greenwood, 1981; Greenwood and Hunt, 1984b; Greenwood, 1985; Chalmers and Greenwood, 1985).

Most empirical surveys indicate that migration is primarily motivated by economic considerations (Brigg, 1973; Connell, et al., 1977; Dejong and Gardner, 1981; Findley, 1977; Simmons et al., 1977). Studies of out-migration generally indicate that economic push factors are most important while in-migration studies suggest that economic pull factors are predominant.

Major economic push factors include unemployment and underemployment, lack of land and general rural poverty. These factors are all interrelated and tend to have the strongest impact on the rural poor. Surveys indicate that the most important economic pull factor is the perception of high wages from urban employment.

Methods

Driven by the purpose of surfacing the experiences of the Cebuano migrants, this study employed the qualitative approach using descriptive case study design. The participants of this study were gathered based on purposive sampling technique. Three participants were recruited to participate in an in-depth interview. Notably, a case study is a design of inquiry found in many fields in which the researcher develops an in-depth analysis of a case from one or more individuals (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009, 2012 as cited in Creswell, 2013). A very small sample can produce a study with depth and significance (Charmaz, 2012). Criteria for the selection include the following: (1) in-migrants which pertain to Filipinos who migrated from one city to another; (2) migrants who have lived in Metro Manila since 2010. Their length of residency can substantiate their cause of mobility and they could reveal salient experiences while settling in the metro; (3) with permanent residence; (4) availability and willingness to be interviewed.

The key informants of this study were of ages eighteen to fifty – six years old. The identity of the participants was given utmost confidential. *Participant A* is a college student who had lived in Metro Manila since 2010. *Participant B* is a nurse by profession turned call center agent who had lived in the Metro since 2011 and *Participant C* is a plain housewife who had lived in Metro Manila since 2011. These various statuses of the Cebuano migrants justify their various causes to migrate which is the primary purpose of this study. Their collective insights elucidate their representativeness of the nature of this case study. Speaking of representativeness, secondary data were used to explain and justify the claims of the participants. In a case study, Creswell (2013) elaborated that the use of a variety of data collection procedures support the claims of the key informants. Their claims may not be generalized for all the Cebuano migrants in Metro Manila, but their contributions suffice the theoretical perspective of this study.

This was explained by Bryman (2012) who states that the findings of qualitative research are not meant to represent the population but indeed to generalize

This study engages in actual in-depth interview with the participants. The interview was done based on their availability and in the place identified by them to ensure good atmosphere and to establish rapport and trust. Probing questions were also raised after key questions were asked. Each interview lasted for an hour and was scheduled in sessions to strengthen the data and analysis. For data analysis, recorded interviews were transcribed to create appropriate codes. The codes were categorized to construct themes. The consistency of the transcription and interpretation from this study were verified individually by the participants to assure truthfulness of the data reported.

Results

Push and Pull: Causation of Mobility of Cebuano Migrants

Manila is not only the economic and political core of the Philippines but it is also the center of educational development. Manila has the most number of public and private schools as well as the best and the most number of colleges and universities (Basa, Guzman, and Villamil, 2009).

The participants of this study had migrated to Metro Manila mainly due to education. *Participant A* has migrated since 2010 due to educational sponsorship by his relatives to study in Manila.

“My aunt, my mother’s cousin, encouraged me to live here. She will sponsor my education until college. I moved here since 2010 and I was first year high school that time.”

At the age of 12, due to his parents’ financial incapacity to support his education, he was highly encouraged by his relatives, who have lived in Manila for quite a while, to migrate to Metro Manila and live with them. His relatives own a retail store and are willing to support his education until he finishes college but in turn, he has to work in their retail store right after his class and during weekends. In the *Intra-urban Migration Process* of Brown and Moore (1970), the migrants tend to acquire information sources for their mobility through several channels. One of the channels is the network of personal contacts.

Likewise, *Participant B* has migrated to Manila since 2011 because his OFW (Overseas Filipino Worker) father had promised to sponsor his graduate studies. International migrants had also caused internal migration by encouraging their families in the Philippines to migrate to another urban area where they thought that better opportunities are highly present. Education is the primary reason why these migrants have been dwelling in Metro Manila.

“My father encouraged me to take my master’s degree here [in Manila]. I was a nurse in Cebu and I stopped it just to follow his plan. I don’t want him to get mad.”

The same case with *Participant C*, together with her daughter, she was forcibly encouraged by his OFW husband to migrate to Metro Manila in 2011 for their daughter’s higher education.

“My husband told me that he is going to let our daughter study in Manila that’s why we moved here. He has high hopes for our family especially for our children.”

Migration is associated with education and close family ties of the migrants. These Cebuano migrants chose to stay for the (1) better future of their families. *Participant A* had been living in Manila for six years already for him to finish his studies and continuously help his relatives in their business. *Participant B* found a (2) job opportunity in the BPO industry and wasn’t able to finish his master’s degree because his OFW father had stopped supporting him for some personal reason. He said that there are numerous opportunities in Manila so he does not need to go back to his place of origin. He also added that he receives bigger salary compared to his previous salary as a nurse. On one hand, *Participant C* had lost contact with her OFW husband and had stopped supporting their daughter’s education yet, she chose to stay. In addition, she encouraged her other children to move in Manila with them, which is another case of internal migration. One of Todaro’s (1969) parameters in his theory of migration model is that one of the social factors of migration is the contact of relatives in the urban area. On the other hand, Findley (1987, pp. 163-190) argues that family’s migration history is one great contribution on the influx of the migrants to other urban area. However, Cebuano migrants consider Metro Manila, as I quote, “everything is here, everything starts here.”

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Migrants’ dilemma in dwelling in the metro

Environmental stressor

Many parts of Manila experience heavy traffic congestion, especially in areas of high population density and narrow streets such as in Quiapo (Manila, *Participant B*), Guadalupe (Makati, *Participant C*); Quezon Avenue (Quezon City, *Participant A*) availability of road space is a major component of the quality of traffic (Boquet, 2013). The urban density of Manila is one the highest of the world (Table 1) and the rate of motorization far exceeds the street capacity to handle traffic. Among the causes of the perennial traffic difficulties are the concentration of major shopping malls and business districts alongside its course and the high number of bus terminals, particularly in Cubao area, which provide interregional service from the capital area but add to the volume of traffic.

Table 1 Population Density of Metropolitan Areas in the World

	Land area (sq. km)	Population (millions)	Population per square km
Mumbai, India	603	13,830 (2011)	22.937
Dhaka, Bangladesh	360	7,001 (2008)	19.447
Metro Manila	639	11,855 (2011)	18.567
Seoul, South Korea	605	10,442 (2012)	17.259
Cairo, Egypt	453	9,120 (2011)	17.190
Lagos, Nigeria	999	15,320 (2010)	15.236
Jakarta, Indonesia	740	10,920 (2011)	14.743
Tokyo, Japan	622	8,949 (2010)	14.390
Kolkata, India	1026	13,216 (2001)	12.883
New York City, USA	784	8,337 (2012)	10.640
Moscow, Russia	1080	11,472 (2011)	10.622
Tehran, Iran	730	8,244 (2011)	10.328
Delhi, India	1484	12,566 (2011)	8.568
Singapore	690	5,184 (2011)	7.513
Sao Paulo, Brazil	1523	11,244 (2010)	7.383
Hong Kong	1104	7,072 (2011)	6.405
Mexico City	1485	8,851 (2010)	5.960
London, UK	1572	8,173 (2012)	5.206
Berlin, Germany	892	3,544 (2012)	3.974

Source: websites of the different metropolitan areas as cited in Battling Congestion in Manila: The EDSA Problem (Boquet, 2013)

Street vendors encroached the limited space that furthers down an already busy vehicular traffic largely made of *jeepneys* and buses. Low-lying streets are impassable due to human causes such as informal settlement, which is also the result of migration in the area and garbage disposal impeding the normal flow of rivers which usually resulted to flooding that adds to traffic woes in the metro. In Metro Manila alone, according to MMDA data, there are 5034 kilometers of roads (37 km of tolled expressways, 992 km of national roads, 2366 kilometers of local roads, and 1639 km of private roads). There were 1.7 million registered motor vehicles and 10% of those were registered for-hire vehicles.

Brown & Moore (1970) report that environmental stressors are perceived as either disrupting or threatening to the desired pattern of the migrants. On the contrary, despite this social problem in the metro, Cebuano migrants have expected this one and have prepared this scenario when they were still in Cebu. They have adapted to the environment already and have considered this as a challenge as long as they would be able to achieve their individual goals in the metro. Environmental stressors vary from household to household (Appley, 1962). Brown & Moore (1970) add that stressors associated with a given situation may be reduced to or maintained at tolerable limits by restructuring the environment relative to the household so that it better satisfies the migrants' needs as they consider access to the place of employment. Rossi (1955) and Simmons (1968, pp. 622-651) suggest about the variables that determine the selection of new residence of the migrants are not explicitly considered by the Cebuano migrants.

Socio-economic disparity of the Metro cities

Salary rates

Metro Manila is a non-agricultural venue for economic opportunities. As shown in the tables below, Metro Cebu's non-agricultural jobs has its basic wage of Php 353.00 (Table 2) agricultural jobs has its basic wage of Php 353.00 (Table 2) compared to Metro Manila's (NCR) Php 481.00 new basic wage rate (Table 3). This explains the huge disparity of salary of the two metros which also gives evidence why migration to Metro Manila is a trend in the Philippines.

Table 2 Current Daily Minimum Wage Rates in Region VII (Central Visayas)

Source: Department of Labor and Employment, National

Area Classification	Non – Agriculture	Agriculture	
	New Basic Wage	Non – Sugar	Sugar
		New Basic Wage	New Basic Wage
CLASS A Cities of Carcar, Cebu, Danao, Lapulapu, Mandaue, Naga, Talisay, and Municipalities of Compostela, Consolacion, Cordova, Liloan, Minglanilla, San Fernando, or Expanded Metro Cebu	P 353.00	P 335.00	P 303.00
CLASS B Cities of Toledo, Bogo, and the rest of Municipalities in Cebu Province except Bantayan and Camotes Islands	P 320.00	P 305.00	P 290.00
CLASS C Tagbilaran City, and all municipalities in Bohol Province & Negros Oriental Province	P 310.00	P 290.00	P 290.00
CLASS D Municipalities in Siquijor Province and Municipalities in Bantayan and Camotes	P 295.00	P 275.00	P 290.00

Wages and Productivity Commission: Current Daily Minimum Wage Rates, Region VII, Central Visayas, Per Wage Order No. ROVII – 19, Effective October 10, 2015

Migration can help individuals and their families to increase their income, learn new skills, improve their social status, build up assets and improve their quality of life (DFID, 2007). According to Siddiqui (2012), migration increases livelihood and employment opportunities and it often increases their financial income. However, the subjects of this study have migrated not primarily because of employment opportunities

receive better income in Metro Manila. Increased financial income and employment were apparently secondary reasons why they chose to stay in Metro Manila. Essentially, the economic opportunities that they have attained in the area are somehow accidental. Based on the experiences of Cebuano migrants concerning income, they received less than what they are currently receiving in Manila. In addition, the migrants had seen no big difference between the two

Table 3 Current Daily Minimum Wage Rates in National Capital Region (NCR)

SECTOR/ INDUSTRY	BASIC WAGE	BASIC WAGE INCREASE	NEW BASIC WAGE	COLA	NEW MINIMUM WAGE RATES
Non- agricul- ture	P 451.00	P 15.00	P 466.00	P 15.00	P 481.00
Agriculture (Plantation and Non- plantation)	P 414.00	P 15.00	P 429.00	P 15.00	P 444.00
Private Hos- pitals with bed capacity of 100 or less	P 414.00	P 15.00	P 429.00	P 15.00	P 444.00
Retail Service Establish- ments em- ploying 15 workers or less	P 414.00	P 15.00	P 429.00	P 15.00	P 444.00
Manufactur- ing Establish- ments regu- larly employ- ing less than 10 workers	P 414.00	P 15.00	P 429.00	P 15.00	P 444.00

Source: Department of Labor and Employment, National Wages and Productivity Commission: Current Daily Minimum Wage Rates, National Capital Region (NCR) Per Wage Order No. NCR – 19, Effective April 4, 2015³

Recently, the wage salary in Cebu City had reportedly increased by 13Php from 340Php to 353Php (Table 2). But compared to Metro Manila, it is almost twice higher than the increased amount of Cebu City's minimum wage (Table 3). In Metro Manila, Cost-of-living allowance (COLA) has been added to the salary of each worker to compensate for loss in purchasing power due to inflation. It is commonly pegged to a

general index such as consumer price index (CPI) (gov.ph.). The grants of COLA aim to help workers cope with the continuing increase in the prices of essential commodities, while minimizing cost to employers who are facing high fuel-related production costs and majority of whom are micro and small enterprises.

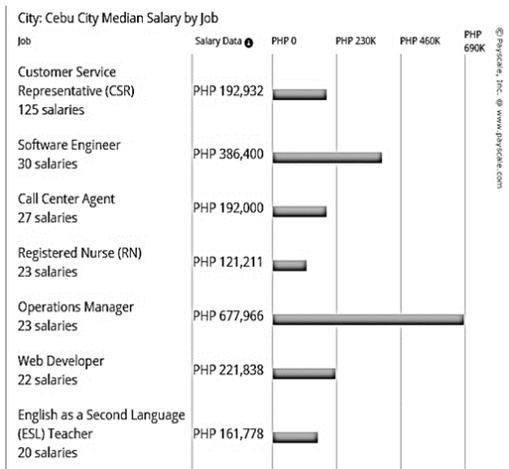


Figure 1. Metro Cebu Salary Median
source: www.payscale.com

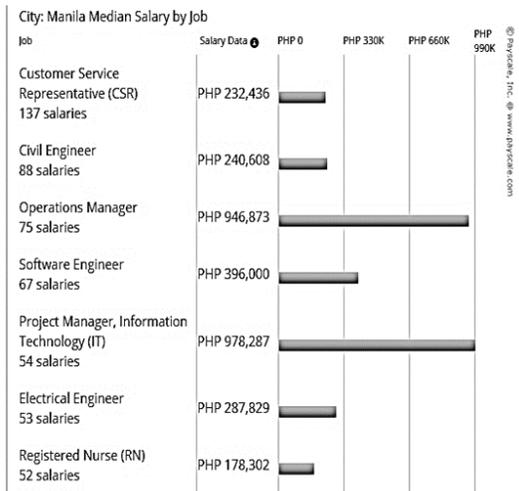


Figure 2. Metro Manila Salary Median
source: www.payscale.com

Participant B has been working in a BPO industry as a Customer Service Representative (CSR) for 2 years in Metro Manila (Figure 2) and he reported that he receives higher salary compared to his friends who are also working in a BPO industry in Cebu (Figure 1). In addition, when he was still practicing his profession as a nurse in Metro Cebu (Figure 1), he affirms that his salary greatly differs from the salary of the nurses in Metro Manila (Figure 2), i.e., it is still lower than what he is currently receiving as a CSR. Participant C also reported that her working children were receiving lower salary when they were in Cebu unlike when they had migrated and lived with her in Metro Manila. But this higher compensation they have been

receiving is tantamount to the cost of living that they experience in the metro. According to Long (2002), people who moved to urban areas are substantially successful in improving their socioeconomic status compared to their life in their place of origin and they are more likely to experience upward intergenerational occupational mobility. In line with this, economic considerations shape the migration. Individuals who migrate from one location to another are responding to fluctuations on economic conditions (Jenkins, 1977, pp 178-189).

Mode of transportation

Mass transportation services in Metro Manila are competing for scarce road space with cars and other traffic. There is a heightened competition by the privatization of public transport services. Vehicles often delay traffic by stopping in the middle of the road to let passengers board and alight. All motor vehicles, excluding commercial trucks, are banned from all Metro Manila streets from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. one day a week based on the last digit of their license plate number. Jeepneys are popular, similar to Cebu, because they operate cheaply all the time; they stop and pick up passengers anywhere. In traffic, jeepneys are more fleet-footed than buses.

Another mode of transportation that is present in Metro Manila is the commercial vans, which are made by Toyota Tamaraw FX vans and go by initials “FX”. FX services are considered faster, more comfortable, and more convenient. They have air conditioners, a perfect match for hot, muggy Manila. But passengers pay for premium fare. Participant B said:

“There are no FX vans in Cebu. There are only jeepneys, tricycle, pedicabs, and buses.”

In terms of service features, FX vans represent a hybrid between taxis and jeepneys. But these FX vans highly contributed traffic jam in the metro. Another similarity of means of transportation in Cebu and Manila was the presence of pedicabs and tricycles or trikes but they greatly differed in fare price. Participant B affirmed that:

“The fare of pedicabs and trike are so expensive. Most likely, the minimum fare is 20 pesos and it depends on the travel distance. Unlike in Cebu, only 5 to 10 pesos.”

As added by *Participant C*,

*“Sometimes, I ride a trike
going home from the market;
I usually pay for 50 pesos
even though I live near the
public market.”*

Pedicabs are human-powered sidecars (a carriage attached to the side of a bike frame). Powered by pedaling, *pedicabs* can be seen darting along the streets, hauling customers. *Pedicabs*' chief market niche is carrying shoppers to and from public markets. Women use them more than men (Cervero, 2000). Tricycles or *trikes* are motorized *pedicabs* (motorcycle with side cars). They are used for short haul-journeys (Cervero, 2000). They are much disparaged for being noisy and unsafe. Several jurisdictions in Metro Manila have banned them, preferring *pedicabs* instead. There are other various forms of transportation in Metro Manila compared to Cebu. In Metro Manila, there is Light Rail Transit (LRT1, LRT2, and MRT 3), which crosses different cities in the Metro; while buses traverse cities to cities, cities to towns, and cities to provinces in Luzon. Buses can easily navigate Metro Manila's disjointed road network unlike in Cebu, buses only travel from the terminal in the city to different municipalities.

Cebuano migrants have also enjoyed the means of transportation in Metro Manila but the fare price varies greatly from their place of origin. They admitted that they had cheaper fare in Cebu than in Manila. However, Cebuano migrants have easily adapted to the big difference of price hike and eventually considered it as normal in the area *where everything starts*.

Discussion

The qualitative approach in this research is indeed a valuable lens in surfacing the unique experiences of the Cebuano migrants in Metro Manila. In this study, the apodictic nature of internal migration in the Philippines was revealed from the lens of a select group of Cebuano migrants whose lives took a different path through migration. The individual and collective experiences of the participants of this study are situated in the push and pull factors of migration by Lee (1966, pp. 47-57). The push and pull factors of the migrants in this study created a panorama that would help the readers understand the development of the migrants through the years while dwelling in the receiving metro.

As shown in the study, the push and pull factors revealed by the Cebuano migrants, as far as their migratory behavior is concerned, are explicitly defined.

The push factors according to the participants of this study were few opportunities and low salary rate in the place of origin and left-behind families cannot support for higher education. While it is true that the place of their origin would not satisfy their needs, the pull factor came into existence when their relatives who had a migration history in a more highly urbanized area and had experienced improvement in socio-economic status encouraged them to migrate. It can be considered in Lee's (1966, pp. 47-57) push-pull typology the migrants chose to stay in Metro Manila despite environmental stressors they encountered. Undoubtedly, another pull factor for migrants to move to the metro was the enjoyment they experienced which made them conclude, which every Filipino citizen also thought, that Metro Manila is the place where *everything is here and everything starts here*.

Notably, the inductive attempt of the study toward the representativeness of the participants was through the secondary data presented. As seen, the data for population density in the metropolitan areas in several countries continuously affect the life of the people. Metro Manila ranked as the third most populous around the world. This signifies the traffic congestion in the metro at the same time a challenge faced by the migrants which was considered as their environmental stressor. Ironically, as reported by the Philippine Statistics Authority (2014), migration is one factor that causes rapid urbanization in the metro which eventually adds traffic congestion since the number of the migrants continuously grew and they perpetuate the number of commuters in the area. This was supported by Dyson (2011) who claims that migration has remained the main driver of rapid urbanization. While Cabuag (2003, pp 2-12) avers that migration is the cause of rapid urbanization because of the different opportunities such as education and employment in the different urban areas like Metro Manila.

Talking about the risk management of the Cebuano migrants before they moved to Metro Manila, one of the participants shares that he already prepared himself through what he witnessed on the television about the societal problems in the said metro. Even when he had no idea about the place, he only thought of his family's better future when he finishes college. The participant's statement concedes with the binary typology of push and pull factors wherein his preparation depends on the facts that he accumulated from the media (pull factor) which actually helped him adapt easily to the environment in the metro. Additionally, his thought of helping his family's future due to lack of financial resources is a push factor. Another participant reveals that he has no choice but to fulfill the request of his father, who has been living abroad, to study in Metro Manila.

Another participant reveals that he has no choice but to fulfill the request of his father, who has been living abroad, to study in Metro Manila. Also, one of the participants' claims that the cause of her mobility is because of her overseas worker husband. These have affirmed the pull factors of the Cebuano migrants. According to the study of Cortina and Sardon (1994), people migrate due to the information they receive from their relatives who are considered as their social contacts. Todaro (1969, pp. 138-148) posits that relatives are the social factors why people migrate. Interestingly, the push factors revealed by the two participants show that their relative abroad ceased to support them financially. Eventually, this has pushed the migrants to find opportunities in Metro Manila and they even contributed to the pull factor of migration like inviting other families to migrate to the area. This finding runs parallel with what Quisumbing and McNiven (2005) found in their research that migration has been an important livelihood strategy in the Philippines. In the classic in-depth study of the motivational factors behind internal migration in the Philippines, Filipinas Foundation Inc. (1976) reports that when individuals moved into a new place, he or she acts in the hope that he or she may be able to create a better life. This enables a person to live beyond the subsistence level or achieve a higher economic status.

The participants are one in claiming that they migrated primarily because of education. Notably, their causation to migrate was due to their certain push-pull factors as aforementioned. In the study conducted by Basa, Guzman, and Villamil (2009), Metro Manila is not only the economic and political core of the Philippines but it is also the center of educational development. It has the best and most number of colleges and universities. Todaro (1969) points that school is one of the social factors of migration.

As gleaned from the study, another inductive explanation towards the experiences of the migrants in the aspect of representativeness was made clear when secondary data from the Philippine government explains the socio-economic disparity of the two metropolitan cities. There is a striking disparity when it comes to salary rate between the two highly urbanized cities. Metro Manila has almost twice higher salary rate than in Metro Cebu in the salary rate which is evident from the results of this study. Evidently, this is the reason why the participants chose to stay longer in the metro and had no plans to go back to their place of origin. In addition, the disparity of the salary rates encourages more Filipinos from different provinces to migrate to Metro Manila

Inevitably, starting from 1965 to the present, the number of migrants has continuously grown and settled in the metro (Perez, 2014). Higher salary is associated with high socio-economic status as what classic migration scholar Findley (1987) suggests. While the Filipinas Foundation Inc. (1976) explains that migrants tend to regard themselves as economically better off in the new place. This is parallel to Long's (2002) findings that people who move to other urban areas are substantially successful in improving their socioeconomic status.

While salary rate is evident in the disparity between the two metro cities, the participants of this study reveal another variable in differentiating the two metros and that is the mode of transportation. Undeniably, Metro Manila is experiencing traffic congestion due to its population density. As a result, there is a heightened competition by the privatization and public transport services. The participants are also one in claiming that there are several transport services found in the metro that cannot be found in their place of origin such as railway transits like LRT1, LRT2, MRT3, and FX services which passengers pay for premium fare because it is a hybrid of *jeepney*, taxi, and buses that are competing with the *jeepneys* in the road. Unlike in Metro Cebu, buses only travel to different municipalities. *Pedicabs* in Metro Cebu and Metro Manila greatly vary in fare price; the former is cheaper than the latter.

There are still different life stories from several groups of migrants in Metro Manila that would contribute to the trends of internal migration in the Philippines. Some of those were incarnated vividly by the participants of this study. There may be only three of them, the power of qualitative approach to research cannot be underestimated because the participants were able to delineate their individual and collective insights to help the readers understand and appreciate their experiences in Metro Manila.

Conclusion

This case study helped surface the unique experiences towards understanding and appreciating the push and pull factors that led Cebuano migrants moved to Metro Manila. As discussed, their individual and collective insights towards their experiences together with the secondary data from the records of Philippine government, socio-economic disparities between the two metro-cities unfold. From the sharing and verbalizations made by the participants, it was found that their causation to migrate was due to their pull factors such as the influence made by relatives to study. On one hand, push factors were explained through the need to migrate for the betterment of the living conditions of their family and themselves. It is interesting to note that relatives of the migrants also

became their pull factor. Apparently, migration pattern could be somehow considered as a cyclical pattern since this is a recurring phenomenon. The push and pull illumined in the presence of the three Cebuano migrants suggests the migration trend. The outlook of migration depicted from the participants of this study offers the need to create a longitudinal and cross sectional research agenda where the multifaceted and less investigated features of the life and trajectory of the several groups of migrants in Metro Manila are captured by a more vivid description of subjective realities. In the final analysis, the experiences of the Cebuano migrants represent dynamism of how people show competitiveness in dealing with daily challenges in order to achieve quality of life.

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