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# **Seafarer training and rural development in China: A survey report.**

**(A paper resubmitted to China: An International Journal)**

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## **1. Introduction**

In examining the relation between migration and development in rural China, most attention by far has been paid to rural-urban migration. By contrast, less is known about international labour migration and -access to it by sending communities, a phenomenon which has two aspects: international chain migration via social networks which mainly happen along coastal areas; and international contract labour migration from poor areas of inland China. The research reported in this paper examines the latter, exploring how the rural poor gain access to opportunities, their cost and perceived benefits.

The term international contract labour migration ('international labour cooperation' or Laowu Shuchu in Chinese) refers to temporary international labour migration for a short-term period (two or three years) organised through an international contract or agreement between a foreign employer and an authorised recruitment agency in the sending country. The major areas for the contract labour migration are those so-called '3-D' (dirty, dangerous or difficult, e.g. construction, agriculture, domestic services, seafaring and fishing) jobs, which are no longer attractive to native workers in the host countries. Such jobs are also not attractive to urban Chinese, who may be seeking work for high skilled migration. As a result, international contract labour migration has become an important channel for the development and utilisation of human resources in rural China.

Increasing numbers of rural youth with a higher education background or with domestic migration experience, have shown their interest in employment abroad. The reasons for this include failure to achieve a place in a key university in the highly competitive national entrance examination, or the prospects of unemployment after graduation, or the competitive disadvantage of rural students over their urban counterparts. As an alternative, or even addition to academic higher education, some have looked for alternatives, for example, vocational education and

training courses. As a result, international employment has become an attractive option for many of the rural élite if they have access to such opportunities.

Generally, international labour migration is more attractive to rural people in poorer inland areas than to people in richer coastal areas of China<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, it has become an important means for the Chinese government to promote rural development and poverty alleviation in poor inland areas<sup>2</sup>. Accordingly, many local governments have established their own international contract labour supply bases (ICLS) over the last decade in order to bring together all the stakeholders involved (education and training institutions, labour brokers, licensed enterprises and rural migrants and their families).

The outcomes of government efforts in the development of the ICLS are rather mixed. On the one hand, many government reports suggest progress and positive contributions to the income growth of households and rural development in the sending communities. On the other, it is widely acknowledged that the international contract labour market in China is problematic, characterised by complaints, conflicts and protests about cheating, fraud and abuse of the system by some labour brokers<sup>3</sup>. Unfortunately, apart from propaganda or media reports, few robust researches or evaluations have been conducted on the performance of the ICLS initiative. As a result, we do not have a well-documented picture of this sector in general or the costs and possible benefits of rural participation, particularly in relation to the rural poor.

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<sup>1</sup> Not limited to China, international experience shows a close relationship between international labour migration and rural poverty alleviation in the developing world. see de Haan, Arjan and Yaqub, Shahin. 'Migration and poverty: linkages, knowledge gaps and policy implications', Social Policy and Development Programme Papers No. 40 (2009). Geneva: United Nation Research Institute for Social Development. Department for International Development (DFID) Moving out of poverty –making migration work better for poor people, London: DIFID(2007). Goss, Jon and Lindquist, Bruce, 'Conceptualising international labour migration: a structuration perspective. International Migration Review, 2(1995): 317-351.

<sup>2</sup> China International Contractors' Association (CHINCA). "Guidance for Establishing and Managing International Contract Labour Supply Bases", published in International Contracting and Labour [《国际工程与劳务》], 9 (2004).

<sup>3</sup> CHINCA Annual Conference on the Development and Management of International Contract Labour Supply Bases in 2009. <http://fec.mofcom.gov.cn/zt/cglw/xwfb/589425.shtml>.

Our research report aims to add an evidence-based piece of the picture, focusing on the case of Chinese seafarer training for officers in international shipping, the first industry with a global labour market (GLM). It seeks to analyse the motivation, sources and expectations of Chinese seafarer (officer) trainees<sup>4</sup>. The data for this analysis was drawn from a survey questionnaire designed and disseminated to 2500 trainees by the researchers in 2009. The research aimed to address the following questions. How do the rural poor in inland China get access to seafarer training and work opportunities? What are the costs and perceived benefits of undertaking training? What relationships are there between access to training and household and family incomes, geographical location and trainees' human capital accumulation?

## **2. Background of Chinese seafarer supply and training courses**

The first global labour market (GLM) was established in the international shipping section in the late 1970s with a 'flag of convenience' replacing the conventional 'national flag' system<sup>5</sup>. As a result, ocean-going ship owners or managers who adopt a flag of convenience (e.g. Panama, Cyprus, Malta) can recruit qualified seafarers world-wide to replace more expensive seafarers from traditional maritime countries (e.g. the UK, Germany, Greece). Consequently, many Asian and Eastern Europe countries have become new seafarer suppliers, accounting for about two-thirds of seafarers in the GLM<sup>6</sup>.

China contributed only 5% of the global seafaring labour force in the mid-2000s whereas about 80% of Chinese seafarers serve its national fleet. This contrasts with other major seafarer supply countries where over 80% of their seafarers are employed by foreign companies<sup>7</sup>. However, the

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<sup>4</sup> As we know that all seafaring trainees in China are male.

<sup>5</sup> Alderton, T., Bloor, M., Kahveci, E., Lane, T., Sampson, H., Thomas, M., Winchester, N., Wu, B., and Zhao, M. *The global seafarer: living and working conditions in a globalized industry*. Geneva: International Labour Office and Seafarers International Research Centre (2004),

<sup>6</sup> Wu, B. and Sampson, H. 'Reconsidering the cargo sector and seafarer labour market: a 21st century profile of global seafarers', *Ocean Yearbook*, 19 (2005): 357-80.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.*

supply of Chinese seafarers to the GLM is likely to grow for several reasons: China's population size, the high rate of unemployment amongst higher education graduates and the strength of its maritime training infrastructure. Furthermore, Chinese seafarers have shown a willingness and capability for seafaring careers in the GLM<sup>8</sup>. Despite this, the growth of Chinese seafarer supply to the GLM has been rather slow in the last two decades due to several constraints: poor English language and communication skills, weak discipline and deficiencies in the recruitment system<sup>9</sup>.

To promote the development of seafaring skills and the growth of seafarer supply, many measures have been taken by Chinese government<sup>10</sup>. These have included:

- a) breaking the monopoly of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) in seafaring resources, generating a large number of private seafarer recruitment agencies established for the GLM;
- b) developing the seafaring labour market in China, leading to the emergence of 'free seamen' (Shehui Chuanyuan in Chinese) who are mobile between shipping companies and between national and foreign fleets;
- c) establishing seafarer supply bases (SSB) in inland provinces by the joint efforts of shipping companies, recruitment agencies and local governments to mobilise local participation in seafaring training and supply.

Alongside the development of SSB, the Chinese government has taken measures to reform and promote seafaring education and training courses, for example, the introduction of two new courses to prepare candidates for the official seafarer certificate examination<sup>11</sup> and widening access. One of these is a one-year training course for final year students in non-maritime

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<sup>8</sup> Wu, B., Shen, G.B. and Li, L. The transformation of the Chinese labour market for seafarers, Cardiff: Seafarers International Research Centre (2007).

<sup>9</sup> Wu, B. and Liang, T.C. 'China walls: barriers against Chinese seafarers' entrance to the global labour market', Lloyd's Shipping Economist, March (2005): 10-12.

<sup>10</sup> Wu, Shen, and Li (2007).

<sup>11</sup> In the past, the officer certificate examination, a necessary condition for seafaring employment in coastal and ocean-going ship, depended on graduation from either a 4-year university degree course or a 3-year higher education vocational course within maritime-relevant universities and colleges.

universities or colleges, and the other is a two-year training course for those who have graduated from senior high school but not been able to enter the higher education system<sup>12</sup>.

### **3. Research questions and survey methods**

This research aimed to examine the profiles of seafarers trainees and the implications for rural development in sending communities. The term ‘rural development’ can be broadly defined as any activity leading to the improvement of rural livelihoods, including non-agricultural employment and migratory activities. Differing from that of aggregated rural income or non-farming employment growth, it emphasises the potential benefits to poor villages and households and attempts to discover whether or not poor villages or households have opportunities to participate in the seafaring training, a measure which could act as an indicator of the effectiveness of the government’s seafarer supply programme.

Bringing seafaring training for the GLM and rural development together, the following research questions guided our analysis of existing data and our survey.

1. What geographical distribution and trends in Chinese seafaring labour supply can be discerned?
2. To what extent are seafarer trainees from resource poor areas and households participating in training? How do the rural poor in inland China get access to seafarer training and work opportunities?
3. What are the costs and perceived benefits to trainees of participating in the training course? What relationships are there between household and family incomes, geographical location and trainees’ human capital accumulation?

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<sup>12</sup> Wu, B. Seafarer Supply and Rural Development in China: A Report on Survey Findings and Policy Implications, Nottingham: China Policy Institute (2010), <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/CPI/research/funded-projects/index.aspx>

These questions were addressed through a questionnaire survey conducted in ten maritime education and training (MET) institutes in six cities in varied locations: Dalian, Shanghai, and Xiamen (typical of large seaport cities), Wuhan (an inland city) and Quanzhou and Zhangzhou in Fujian province (medium-small sized coastal cities). The questionnaire was given to 2,500 seafarer trainees taking vocational training courses (for officers) lasting from one to three years. By attending the training courses, the trainees are entitled to sit for the national examination for official certificates organised by the Maritime Safety Administration of China. Within each MET institute, all types of seafaring training courses except 4-year degree courses were sampled by this survey, selecting one class from each course. For the selected classes, all students were invited to participate in a self-administered questionnaire. A total of 1,835 students completed the questionnaires, a response rate of 74%; of these, 1,751 returns were valid.

The questionnaire consisted of 46 questions covering 6 topics: personal details, family background, motivation for seafaring, decision making in relation to training and training experience, and expectations of employment and career. While two thirds of questions are multiple choices to collect basic information about students, their families and villages, a number of them adopted quantitative scale to measure their perception and prospect to seafaring career. Nonetheless, we left an open question for respondents to express their comments and suggestions on the improvement of seafaring training course and recruitment in China.

With a focus on the rural poor and their access to the training course, a ranking system was devised in the questionnaire so that the development status of villages, households and respondents themselves could be categorised into three levels: high, medium, and low. Villages and households were ranked in terms of economic level and individual respondents in terms of levels of human capital accumulation. Three or four indicators were combined for the purpose of classification. The use of categories of human capital, household and village economies at three levels (high, medium and low) enabled differentiation within the categories (see Table 1) as well as comparisons between them. For the category of human capital, four indicators were used: age,



educational level, migration experience and training undertaken before registering on seafaring training courses. For household livelihoods, we asked trainees questions about their father's occupation and major sources of household income, as well as their family's economic status in relation to all other village households. This last assessment is quite familiar in Chinese rural society where people take an interest in knowing about the economic achievements of their neighbourhoods. To find out about the trainees' own villages, we asked them to rate their village's economic development (low, medium, high) and to identify the major sources of village residents' income. We also asked them to estimate the number of poor households in their village and rate their village's present development status<sup>13</sup>.

The data generated by the questionnaire was cleaned before producing descriptive statistics (using SPSS Version) and Chi-square test to reveal correlations between the categories (for example, family income and trainee participation). The main findings are summarised in the next sections.

[Table 1 around here]

#### **4. Access and motivation in seafaring training**

The sources of trainee seafarers in our survey were widespread. They came from 27 of China's 31 provinces, both coastal and inland. The coastal region (the traditional source of seafarer supply) accounted for 54% of trainees, the inland region for 46%. About 70% of trainees came from rural areas, 20% from towns and 10% from cities. When asked details about village population and development information, over 98% of trainees offered clear and informative

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<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*

answers. This indicates that almost all participants belonged to the rural population in terms of hukou registration with a clear awareness of the development of their rural communities<sup>14</sup>.

The status of rural poverty given in Table 2 is based upon trainees' local knowledge and individual perception rather than any government standard. Generally, a very few respondents (2.7%) claimed that there were no poor households in their village and 22% thought the rate was below 10%. Nearly half (46%) estimated the percentage to be 10% to 30%, while 28% of respondents suggested that it was more than 30%. In terms of general village economy, two-thirds of respondents from 'high' level villages said that the incidence of poverty there was below 10%, and the remaining third estimated it to be 10% to 30%. By contrast, about three quarters of trainees from villages with low economic levels estimated the poverty rate to be more than 30%, and the rest put it at 10% to 30%. In relation to rural poverty and village economic category, Table 3 shows that the migration rate of young people was higher in the poorer villages, as might be expected. Nearly a third (31%) of trainees reported that over half of young people in their village had gone out from their villages to work while over 40% estimated that between 20% and 50% of young people had migrated at some point.

[Table 2 around here]

#### Access to training

Access to training and the occupation of seafaring depends on aspirant seafarers having information about it. The trainees' knowledge about seafaring and training opportunities came from several sources. Just over half (51.5%) identified social networks (friends and relatives) as their main information source. Public media such as television, newspapers, magazines and internet were

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<sup>14</sup> According to our observation in other projects, it is common for rural residents to resettle in urban centres but retain close linkages with home communities where family members live and have land. Also, many rural villages are in the process of transition to urban suburb (town or city).

selected by 16.4% of respondents, and schools and teachers by 15.5%. However, there is some difference in the information sources used by various groups. As Table 2 shows, social networking was used more often in the coastal areas and villages already supplying seafarers than in inland areas and villages that do not. Social networking was also used more often in the more prosperous villages whereas the use of teachers as a source of information was greatest in the poorer villages.

#### Trainee expectations

Once in receipt of information, trainees gave a variety of reasons for embarking on seafarer training. Expectation of high wages was the main motivation cited by 84% of trainees. Job security was the second most frequently perceived benefit from training (chosen by 61.6%). The quality of training institutes ranked third (53.5%) in the six reasons given. Only 8.3% reported training costs as their first consideration when deciding to embark on training, though it was mentioned by 46.7% as one of several factors taken into account. So there appeared to be no great difference between the poor and rich in terms of their motivation towards a seafaring career but there were differences in the channels of information used to get information about training and career prospects. The roles of middle schools and teachers in disseminating information about seafaring training and work was more important for poor rural groups than for those from richer backgrounds where social networks played a more prominent role. This has some practical implications for planners wishing to promote seafarer training and recruit trainees. One important finding in relation to training potential and poverty alleviation was that trainees from poor families or villages were not necessarily low in human capital accumulation as Table 3 shows.

[Table 3 around here]

Perhaps surprisingly, the largest percentage (29.7%) of trainees with high levels of human capital accumulation came from the lowest level of household economy. This may reflect the greater range of

choices available to the most educated and skilled young people from richer families., with seafarer training coming lower in their list of options.

## **5. Costs and financing of training**

Training carries costs that may present a barrier to poor families. Despite encouragement by the government, participation in seafarer training courses is neither free nor subsidised for the rural poor. Affordability is a key issue for rural people, especially poorer families, and it is likely to play a strong part in a trainee's decision to accept the offer of a place at a training institute. According to our survey, applicants needed to pay not only the full cost of tuition fees (the largest element) to MET providers and living expenses (accommodation, food and other expenses) but also a fee to brokers or intermediaries who provided information and facilitated their registration on a training course (see Figure 1 for a breakdown of costs). The total costs of training per capita average were roughly calculated as 50,491 RMB Yuan (approximately USD 8,000). In making the decision to invest in training, applicants balanced a number of factors relating to costs and benefits.

[Figure 1 around here]

Where does the funding for training come from? It is common for students in China to receive financial support for education and training from parents and sometimes from other relatives, either as an interest free loan or gift. This appeared to be the case with seafarer training too. In our survey, 92% of trainees received financial support from parents who contributed, on average, 81% of the training costs; 43% of trainees received funding from other relatives, covering 28% of the training costs; and 37% of trainees claimed to have funded themselves to some extent, around 15% of the costs. Roughly a quarter of respondents mentioned other financial sources such as

bank loans and government support though these two sources provided only very small amounts. Thus seafarer training in our sample is heavily dependent upon parental and family support (89.5% overall).

While the training costs were similar for all trainees, the financial pressure for individuals and groups may be very different. Taking the share of parental contribution to total training costs, Figure 2 illustrates the differing financial situations for different groups. For the rural poor (the low income category in villages and households), the parental contribution was less than three quarters of the total costs, about 15% lower than that of the high income category. However, even though a lower contribution than that of high income families, the proportion of parental income needed for training costs is likely to be greater. In terms of human capital, our analysis showed that the higher the level of human capital accumulation, the lower the share of parent financial support for training costs. Bearing in mind that high human capital trainees came not only from rich villages but also from poor ones, a possible conclusion is that, overall, trainees from poor rural families found it more difficult to gain funding support from their families, with affordability being largely dependent upon the combination of funding from relatives or their own savings. This is particularly true for the high human capital group whose personal savings contributed to around 30% of the total costs.

[Figure 2 around here]

Expectations of positive financial impact from future seafaring work were high. Over three-quarters of trainees (78.8%) thought it would have a large positive impact on family income. Only 2% thought there would be only a little impact. Trainees from poor families and villages in inland areas expected more benefits than those from richer families and villages in coastal areas

(Table 4). From this perspective, the seafarer programme can be seen as having the potential to impact positively on rural poverty alleviation, if expectations are met.

[Table 4 around here]

Taking into account the severe impact on the international shipping industry of the global economic recession from 2008 onwards, we asked trainees if they were -concerned about employment opportunities after completing training. One third of respondents said they were very worried, 23.1% were moderately concerned, and 45.1% had few or no worries. Some groups appeared more concerned than others (see Table 5). Trainees from poor villages and households were the most concerned about employment opportunities after completing training.

[Table 5 around here]

As can be seen, expectations of the impact of seafaring employment varies among groups, with higher expectations evident in trainees from poor rural families. However, whether these expectations can be realised, at least in part, through participation in training courses is largely dependent upon their ability to fund them. The main funding sources are parents and the wider family together with trainees' own savings. It is likely that some able candidates from the poorest families are not able to fund their training. The future prospects for earnings were a concern, especially for those from lower income backgrounds and for married trainees. Trainees from low income households and villages were the most concerned about future earning, presumably because of the high risk they had taken in funding the training from the limited financial resources available to them and, perhaps, the debts they incurred.

## **6. Discussion and Conclusions**

This paper has attempted to portray some key characteristics of trainee seafarers and their sending communities as well as examining factors influencing the decisions of trainees to embark on training courses. It has also analysed some patterns of seafarer supply in relation to household and family incomes, geographical location and trainees' human capital accumulation. A number of conclusions can be drawn from this survey.

Firstly, international contract labour supply offers an important opportunity for seafarer training and employment to the rural poor in inland regions, poor villages and households. This has already resulted in an increasing trend of seafaring labour supply from poorer areas, villages and families. Our data indicates that the rural poor in particular are more interested in international contract labour migration than their counterparts either in urban China or from resource-rich areas or households. This suggests that international contract labour supply could (and should) be more integrated with poverty alleviation programme to target poor regions, villages and households.

Secondly, the costs of training are high, borne by trainees and varying between courses and institutions. This presents a barrier to access for many young people from poor rural families. The costs of training are substantial, involving the full costs of tuition fees, living expenses and intermediary fees (averaging 13% of the total costs though also varying widely). Compared with other groups, trainees from poor rural backgrounds have more difficulty in funding such high costs, often relying on financial support from multiple sources including parents, relatives as well as their own savings if they have previously worked, and in some cases loans. Given the potential for rural development and poverty alleviation through seafarer training as well as for an improved

quality in seafarer officer supply, three courses of action would be needed to turn this potential into reality more effectively:

- (a) stricter regulation of seafarer training course quality and cost through intervention by the government;
- (b) the provision of government subsidies or low interest loans to suitable trainees from poor rural families;
- (c) the establishment of some sort of Foundation for Seafarer Training through a joint effort of Chinese government, shipping companies and private donations.

Thirdly, the strategy for widening access to seafarer training by offering courses with different or relaxed entry requirements appears to be effective in demonstrating its potential. Our study has shown that many final year students in non-maritime universities or colleges have switched to a one-year vocational training route to prepare for a seafarer career. This has offered a new momentum for improving the quality and competitive capacity of Chinese seafarer supply in the global labour market as well as providing a new approach for developing and employing human capital in rural China.

Finally, given the fact that international contract labour migration provides benefits but incurs heavy costs to the rural poor in inland China, we argue that the opening of China's labour market would allow foreign employers to provide training and employment opportunities directly to the rural poor. This could significantly reduce the costs and risks to trainees and those wishing to take up seafaring work. The necessity and feasibility of opening China's international contract labour market can be seen from comparing China with the Philippines. China's international contract labour market is still monopolised by state-owned enterprises and no individual migrant worker is allowed to contact, negotiate or sign a contract with a foreign employer directly. By contrast, the Philippines is open to private or foreign agents, and migrant workers are free to sign



a contract with a foreign employer or their representative in advance under government regulation<sup>15</sup>. As a result of the different structures and policies, the performance of the two countries in the international labour market is very different. According to official statistics, about 420,000 Chinese workers went abroad through its international labour cooperation programme by 2008<sup>16</sup> but this was only a third of the number from the Philippines<sup>17</sup>. Improving its international contract labour system could also result in a reduction of the large numbers of Chinese illegal or irregular migrants that flow into Europe and North America<sup>18</sup>. The limited access to international contract labour has turned many Chinese migrants to other channels, such as family connections or inappropriate or fraudulent visas to gain entry to these countries. The costs and risks of irregular migration to the migrants themselves are considerable, often involving large payments to underground brokers or 'snakeheads', risks to personal safety and subsequent labour exploitation.

Through the case of Chinese seafarer supply, this paper has aimed to shed light on the situation of seafarer supply in China and its potential for the development of human resources in rural areas.. It also points to the need for more research, especially on the impact of seafarer training and supply on sending communities and families. The development of international contract labour supply in poor areas of China offers an important means of poverty alleviation and rural development but is only likely to happen if Chinese government opens its international contract labour market to foreign employers while at the same time improving its regulatory system for seafaring training.

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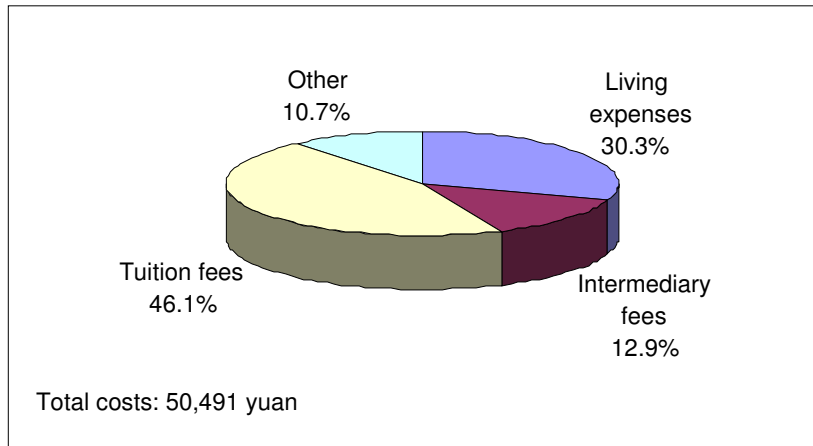
<sup>15</sup>International Organisation for Migration (IOM). International Migration and Development: perspectives and experience of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), Geneva: IOM (2006).

<sup>16</sup> Minister of Commerce of China (MOC). 'Statistics of China's Overseas Contracting Project, Labour Cooperation and Project Design in 2008'(2009), online at:  
<http://hzs.mofcom.gov.cn/aarticle/date/200901/20090106004132.html>

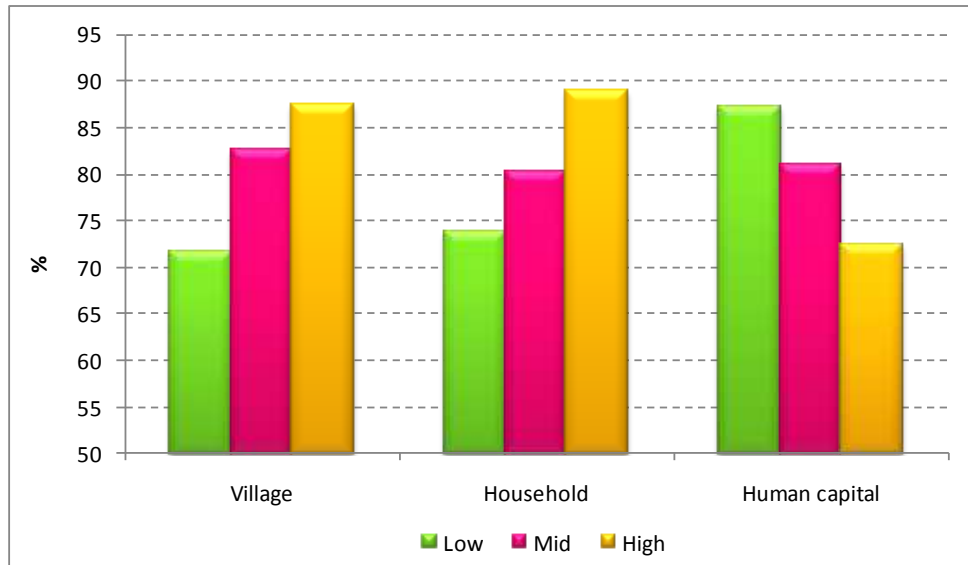
<sup>17</sup> Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), 'Overseas Employment Statistics', (2009),  
[http://www.poea.gov.ph/stats/2008\\_stats.pdf](http://www.poea.gov.ph/stats/2008_stats.pdf)

<sup>18</sup> Chin, James K. 'Reducing Irregular Migration from China', International Migration 3(2003): 49-72.

**Figure 1.** Constituent costs of seafarer training courses



**Figure 2.** Parents' share of training costs by selected indicators



**Table 1** Classification of trainees by human capital, household and village economic performance (%)

Rank	Category					
	Human Capital		Household economy		Village economy	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Low	615	35.1	579	33.8	480	27.9
Medium	645	36.8	581	34.0	800	46.5
High	491	28.0	551	32.2	441	25.6
Criteria	Age, education level, migration experience, skill training course		Fathers' occupation, household livelihood. Position of household income in relation to all households of this village		Major income source; poverty incidence; position of village income in all villages of the county	

**Table 2.** Village economic levels

Village economy	Poverty			Young people outflow from villages		
	>=30%	10-30%	<10%	<20%	20-50%	>50%
Low	74.0	26.0	0.0	23.1	38.0	39.0
Medium	16.8	67.0	16.3	20.9	48.7	30.3
High	0.0	31.3	68.7	36.1	40.0	23.9
Total	28.4	46.4	25.2	25.5	43.5	31.1

**Table 3** Sources of information about seafaring used by trainees

Location and level	Category	No. trainees	Sources of information		
			Media	Teachers	Social networks
Region	Inland	810	17.3%	16.1%	48.2%
	Coastal	918	15.5%	14.8%	54.3%
Seafarer in village	None	563	21.0%	17.2%	41.2%
	One or more	1163	14.3%	14.7%	55.8%
Village economy	Low	480	16.5%	20.4%	43.0%
	Medium	799	16.9%	15.2%	51.4%
	High	439	15.7%	11.2%	58.5%

**Table 4.** Perceived impact of seafarer employment

Category		A little (%)	Moderate (%)	Large (%)
Village	Low	2.1	6.4	85.6
	Medium	1.4	16.6	75.6
	High	2.8	28.1	62.7
Household	Low	1.5	9.7	82.9
	Medium	1.8	13.5	78.5
	High	2.5	27.7	63.3

**Table 5.** Concern about employment prospects

Category		Not worried %	Worried %	Very worried %
Village	Low	35.8	21.8	42.4
	Medium	42.1	24.4	33.5
	High	55.5	21.6	22.9
Household	Low	37.5	23.9	38.7
	Medium	43.9	21.8	34.3
	High	51.6	23.1	25.4