Evaluating the Impact of Remittances on Household Financial Behavior

Jubel Jasmin Coronel¹ & Hooman Estelami²

¹Gabelli School of Business, Fordham University, 140 West 62nd St., New York, NY, USA

²Gabelli School of Business, Fordham University, 400 Westchester Ave., West Harrison, NY, USA

Correspondence: Jubel Jasmin Coronel, Gabelli School of Business, Fordham University, 140 West 62nd St., New York, NY, USA 10019. E-mail: jcoronel9@fordham.edu

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Abstract

Remittances are vital sources of income for households in many developing countries. This study examines the financial behavior of households in the Philippines – one of the biggest remittance-recipient countries globally. Using data from the 2023 Family Income and Expenditure Survey (FIES), we examine the impact of remittances on household consumption patterns, economic participation, and savings behavior. Remittance-recipient and non-recipient households differ on several key behavioral metrics. The findings reveal that remittance recipients spend more on necessities, long-term investments, and discretionary expenditures. They also participate less in wage-based employment but engage more in financial investing. Furthermore, savings behavior does not significantly differ between the two household groups. These insights highlight the need for policies promoting financial literacy to enable more productive use of remittances for Filipino households.

Keywords: remittances, savings, financial behavior

1. Introduction

Remittances, defined as funds sent by migrant workers to their families in their home countries, play a significant role in supporting the economies of developing countries. Thus, understanding household behavior related to remittances is an essential aspect of research on consumer finances. From a macroeconomic perspective, remittances augment foreign currency reserves, stabilize the exchange rate, and reduce the need for foreign borrowing. More specifically, remittances are reliable sources of foreign exchange in a country, given that they are more stable and dependable than private capital flows like debt or equity investments.

This paper reports research related to remittances in the specific context of the Philippines. In 2024, the Philippines was the fourth largest recipient country of remittances in the world, receiving a record high of \$40 billion in remittance inflows that comprised 9.0% of the country's GDP (Ratha et al., 2024). The Philippines has deployed 2.16 million overseas Filipino workers, making the country one of the leading sources of migrant labor (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2024). This has led to an influx of remittances that serve as vital financial resources for recipient families and the broader Philippine economy. In fact, remittances were the highest source of foreign exchange in the Philippines from 2007-2023 (Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas, 2024). The value of cash remittances channeled into the country continues to grow yearly and has not shown any sharp fluctuations despite the disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

From a household economic perspective, remittances have become an integral part of the lives of many Filipino households, shaping different aspects of household decision-making. As such, remittances provide recipient families with funds to meet basic needs and enable investments in education and healthcare, promoting long-term well-being. They also offer a financial cushion to enjoy leisure or respond to emergencies that non-recipient families may be unable to afford.

However, despite the substantial flow of remittances into the country, the Philippines is characterized by a consumption-oriented culture, with many households prioritizing immediate expenditures over savings (Rivera, 2022). A nationwide survey in the Philippines reported in 2024 that only 25% of households have savings (Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas, 2024). In comparison, 69% of Vietnamese households put their spare cash into savings (VOA News, 2020).

Furthermore, limited financial literacy intensifies Filipino households' challenges, as many lack enough knowledge and skills to manage their finances effectively. (Desello and Agner, 2023). As a result, they lack the discipline to stick to an effective savings plan or identify suitable investment opportunities to grow their remittance funds. Moreover, recipient families may exhibit dependency behavior and are less likely to participate in the labor force because they consider remittances as their family's primary source of income. According to prior World Bank studies (e.g., Bridi, 2005), the steady flow of remittances disincentivizes households to pursue additional income streams.

2. Literature Review

Previous studies have documented the impact of remittances on households' behavior across several developing countries. Salahuddin et al. (2022) investigated the influence of remittances on the savings behavior of households in Bangladesh, analyzing the households' preferred categories of savings and the demographic characteristics of remittance-receiving households. The study utilized a household survey on remittances and savings by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, which contained responses from 10,451 households across seven regions. They found that remittance inflow significantly increased household savings across all categories. Regarding demographic influences, the findings reveal that male-headed households were more likely to save in formal financial instruments, older household heads exhibited higher overall savings in banks, and education level was not a significant determinant of savings behavior. The authors also report that only 39% of households reported having savings from remittance income.

While the findings from Salahuddin et al. (2022) provide compelling insights into demographic impacts on savings, they do not focus on a comparative analysis between remittance-receiving and non-receiving households. Hua et al. (2022) bridge this gap by comparing the two household groups and extending the line of inquiry to include expenditure patterns. Specifically, the authors compared Vietnamese households' savings amounts, savings rates, and spending patterns between remittance-receiving and non-receiving households. Using data from the 2012 Vietnam Household Living Standard Survey, the findings reveal that households with remittances have a higher saving rate than those who do not receive remittances. In terms of spending, remittance receipients spend more on health, assets, and house repairs while spending less on food than non-receipients. These findings imply that remittances in Vietnam stimulate investment in human and physical capital rather than consumption.

Similarly, Junaid et al. (2018) examined the consumption patterns of Pakistani households using the 2010-2011 Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey. Their findings indicate that high-earning recipient households increase spending on education and healthcare while low-earning recipient households increase expenditures on food. Their results also undermine the assertion that remittances encourage conspicuous spending, such as expenses on social ceremonies and status-oriented consumer products.

Furthermore, Chun (2023) investigates remittance patterns of Latino households in Chicago as influenced by nativity, generational status, and social capital. Leveraging data from the Chicago Area Survey (CAS), the study reveals a high prevalence of remittance activity among first and second-generation Latinos. At the same time, there is virtually no remittance activity among the third and subsequent generations. Contrary to traditional assimilation theories, Chun (2023) also reports a positive correlation between remittance activity and assimilation factors for foreign-born and US-born Latinos, meaning Latino households with strong ties in the U.S. do not necessarily remit less due to their transnational relations and social capital. This perspective complements the findings by Hua et al. (2022), reinforcing that remittances may serve broader, long-term commitments beyond immediate household needs.

While prior studies highlight the productive use of remittances for investments, contrasting evidence from a study by Clement (2011) claims otherwise. Specifically, Clement (2011) aimed to explore the impact of remittances on household expenditure patterns in Tajikistan. Utilizing the 2003 Tajikistan Living Standards Measurement Survey, the study reveals no significant evidence that remittances were used for productive investments. Instead, remittances were utilized for consumables such as food and utilities, indicating that their primary function was to serve as a short-term coping mechanism to maintain a basic level of consumption.

Likewise, Zhu et al. (2014) found no evidence between remittances and productive investments in China. The authors concluded that remittance-recipient households tend to spend their remittances for consumption rather than investments as they treat their remittances as permanent income.

Previous studies also imply that remittances may have a negative impact on labor force participation. Azizi (2018) analyzed data from 122 developing countries between 1990 and 2015 to determine the effects of workers'

remittances on human capital and labor supply. The findings revealed that remittances decrease female labor force participation rates while male participation rates remain unaffected by remittances.

Ayalew and Mohanty (2022) also found similar results in Ethiopia. Using data obtained from the Ethiopian Socio-economic Survey, it is noted that remittances generally decreased adult labor participation and hours worked in the country. The authors suggest this may be due to the dependency effect among recipient households.

As seen by the above literature review, existing studies present mixed evidence on the influence of remittances on household behavior. Furthermore, the results vary across countries. While some studies reveal positive impacts on savings and investment (e.g., Hua et al. 2022), other studies report that they are directed toward consumption (e.g., Clement 2011) or reduce labor force participation (e.g., Azizi 2018). Building on these findings and focusing specifically on the Philippines, the current study hypothesizes that:

H₁: Remittance-recipient households have higher spending across all consumption categories.

H₂: Remittance-recipient households exhibit lower levels of economic participation compared to non-recipient households.

H₃: Remittance-recipient households have a higher savings rate than non-recipient households.

3. Methodology

This study utilized data from the 2023 Family Income and Expenditure Survey (FIES), a nationwide survey of over 160,000 Filipino households undertaken by the Philippines Statistics Authority. FIES gathers extensive data on the income and expenses of households in the Philippines. Since this is a large dataset which, due to its massive size, slows statistical computations using conventional computers, data for 2,000 households were randomly drawn from this dataset and used for this study. Random sampling was achieved by assigning a random number to each of the observations in the FIES dataset and sorting the dataset based on the random number, following which the first 2,000 data points were used for analysis. This was necessary since, from a computational capability perspective, using the massive FIES dataset would have been computationally prohibitive as it prevented the utilized statistical software from executing the required analyses. The random sample data, on the other hand, due to the use of the randomization process, is representative of the larger dataset while also enabling statistical comparison of household financial behavior based on remittance-recipient status, as it consists of 526 remittance-recipient and 1,474 non-recipient households.

3.1 Analysis of Consumption Patterns

Household consumption was classified into three expenditure categories. The first category consists of everyday necessities, including food, clothing/footwear, utilities, rent, transportation, and communication expenses. The second category comprises productive investments, including education, insurance, and healthcare. The last category consists of conspicuous consumption, including furnishing, recreation & culture, and miscellaneous goods. These categories are predefined in the FIES data based on the survey instrument used to collect the data.

This study used average figures for each group to examine differences in consumption patterns of receivers and non-receivers of remittances and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) to determine if the observed differences reached statistical significance. Table 1 shows the average expenditure patterns of remittance-receiving and non-receiving households. First, for everyday necessities, such as food, clothing, utilities, transportation, and communication expenses, recipient households have higher spending levels than non-recipient households. This result may imply that remittance income helps households allocate more resources towards basic expenses, reflecting an improved ability to maintain a stable standard of living.

Expenditures	Remittance Status	Mean (Php)	Std. Deviation (Php)
Food	Non Recipient	₱97,597	₱51,243
	Remittance Recipient	₱108,063	₱58,413
Clothing	Non Recipient	₱4,535	₽7,349
	Remittance Recipient	₱5,651	₽5,930
Utilities	Non Recipient	₱49,886	₱60,746
	Remittance Recipient	₱65,397	₱60,722
Rent	Non Recipient	₱3,877	₱17,225
	Remittance Recipient	₱4,261	₱16,910
Transportation	Non Recipient	₱15,410	₱21,863
	Remittance Recipient	₱17,605	₱20,364
Communication	Non Recipient	₽7,113	₽8,356
	Remittance Recipient	₱9,982	₱9,540
Health	Non Recipient	₽5,578	₱14,432
	Remittance Recipient	₱10,955	₱42,584
Education	Non Recipient	₱6,591	₱17,464
	Remittance Recipient	₱10,487	₱22,144
Insurance	Non Recipient	₽5,759	₱13,480
	Remittance Recipient	₱6,384	₱16,178
Durable Furniture	Non Recipient	₽4,814	₱25,868
	Remittance Recipient	₱4,404	₱13,306
Furnishings	Non Recipient	₱6,120	₱14,403
	Remittance Recipient	₽7,303	₱14,122
Recreation	Non Recipient	₽1,816	₱6,866
	Remittance Recipient	₱3,072	₱15,795
Miscellaneous	Non Recipient	₽8,903	₱15,521
	Remittance Recipient	₱10,364	₱13,565
Occasions	Non Recipient	₽5,720	₱10,557
	Remittance Recipient	₽8,279	₱20,369
Other Expenditures	Non Recipient	₽5,326	₱54,239
	Remittance Recipient	₽5,201	₱19,146

Table 1. Expenditure Groups by Remittance Status

Second, in terms of long-term investments, specifically health and education, recipient households tend to spend more, suggesting that they can afford to allocate funds for future security and well-being. Lastly, regarding conspicuous consumption, spending on special occasions is higher for recipient households, indicating that remittance income enables greater financial freedom to enjoy leisure and celebrate special events. While spending on categories like furnishings, recreation, miscellaneous, and other expenditures is higher for recipient households, this is not statistically significant.

Table 2 summarizes the results of ANOVA analyses, which determine if there is a statistically significant difference in the consumption patterns of recipient and non-recipient households. The results indicate that spending on categories such as food, clothing, utilities, transportation, communication, health, education, and occasions significantly differs between the two household groups. On the other hand, expenditure categories like rent, insurance, durable furniture, furnishings, recreation, miscellaneous items, and other expenditures show no significant difference between recipient and non-recipient households.

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Sig
	Food	< 0.001
	Clothing	0.002
	Utilities	< 0.001
	Rent	0.659
	Transportation	0.044
	Communication	< 0.001
	Health	< 0.001
Remittance Status	Education	< 0.001
	Insurance	0.388
	Durable Furniture	0.728
	Furnishings	0.104
	Recreation	0.014
	Miscellaneous	0.056
	Occasions	< 0.001
	Other Expenditures	0.959

Table 2. Analysis of	Variance Results for	Consumption Patterns
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Generally, in all three expenditure categories, remittance-receiving households spend more than non-receiving households, as shown in Figure 1. This finding aligns with H_1 and underscores that remittances generally enable recipient households to meet immediate needs, support strategic investments, and allow for some discretionary expenditures. Additionally, there is a similar pattern for both household groups in terms of their expense allocation, wherein everyday necessities make up a considerable chunk of their expenditures.





3.2 Analysis of Economic Participation of Households

Household economic participation was established based on the sources of income, as captured by the FIES survey. These include income from (a) Salaries and Wages, (b) Domestic Remittance, (c) Entrepreneurial Income, (d) Investment Income, and (e) Other Sources of Income. As was done above, this study utilized means comparison and ANOVA to evaluate how remittance-recipient households participate in the labor force compared to non-recipient households.

Table 3 highlights the income amounts for the two household groups. As can be seen, remittance-receiving households have a significantly lower income from salaries and wages than non-receiving households. This finding

suggests that members of remittance-receiving households may be less reliant on wage-based employment, most likely due to the financial support provided by remittances. Conversely, remittance-receiving households have a significantly higher investment income, which could indicate that they can use remittance funds for passive income opportunities rather than solely for consumption.

Table 3. Income Sources by Remittance Status

Source of Income	Remittance Status	Mean (Php)	Std. Deviation (Php)
Salaries & Wages	Non Recipient	₱184,690	₱243,021
	Remittance Recipient	₱143,642	₱193,850
Domestic Remittance	Non Recipient	₱15,364	₱24,066
	Remittance Recipient	₱18,321	₱34,660
Entrepreneurial Income	Non Recipient	₱69,972	₱206,333
	Remittance Recipient	₱54,026	₱129,637
Investment Income	Non Recipient	₽5,897	₱37,969
	Remittance Recipient	₱15,253	₱57,578
Other Income	Non Recipient	₱94	₱1,007
	Remittance Recipient	₱194	₱2,731

Table 4 summarizes the results of the analysis of variance (ANOVA), testing for statistically significant differences in income levels between recipient and non-recipient households from sources of income other than remittances. The ANOVA results show that remittance status has a statistically significant effect on the salaries and wages, domestic remittance, and investment income between the two groups. On the other hand, entrepreneurial income and other income do not appear to have a significant difference between recipient and non-recipient households.

Table 4. Analysis of Variance Results for Economic Participation

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Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Sig	
	Salaries & Wages	< 0.001	
	Domestic Remittance	0.033	
Remittance Status	Entrepreneurial Income	0.097	
	Investment Income	< 0.001	
	Other Income	0.23	

These findings are consistent with H_2 and suggest that remittance income may reduce a household's reliance on traditional employment, like salaries and wages. That said, remittances do not entirely encourage idleness in recipient households as they appear to have a higher investment income, potentially as a means to diversify their income streams. In contrast, non-recipient households, without the cushion of remittances, are more economically active in wage-based employment and entrepreneurial pursuits to support their financial needs. To further explore this, Table 5 shows the difference between remittance recipient households (RRHH) who earn and who do not earn investment income. The table below shows that only 118 out of 526 remittance recipient households have investment income of P67,993, which is substantially higher than the average investment income of all remittance recipient households, which is P15,253.

	With Investment Income	Without Investment Income
Number of RRHH	118	408
Average Remittance Income	₱124,931	₱82,050
Sources of Income		
Average Investment Income	₱67,993	_
Average Salaries & Wages	₱170,751	₱135,802
Average Entrepreneurial Income	₱51,732	₱54,689
Average Other Income	₱119	₱216
Demographics		
Number of Rural Households	48	226
As a % of total RRHH	41%	55%
Number of Urban Households	70	182
As a % of total RRHH	59%	45%
Average Household Size	4	4

Table 5. Remittance Recipient Households (RRHH) and Investment Income

Additionally, remittance recipient households with investment income have a higher average remittance income (\mathbb{P} 124,931) compared to those without investment income (\mathbb{P} 82,050), which may imply that households receiving higher remittances are better positioned to allocate part of their funds toward investment opportunities, leading to higher passive income. Also, these households exhibit higher salaries and wages, suggesting that households that can generate investment income still engage in traditional employment to supplement their income.

Moreover, in terms of demographics, remittance recipient households with investment income are more likely to reside in urban areas (59%) compared to those without investment income, implying that urban households may have better access to financial institutions. It is possible that because of this, they may have higher levels of financial literacy that help facilitate investment activities. On the other hand, households without investment income are more likely to live in rural areas (55%), potentially facing limited access to banks, and may have lower financial literacy levels. However, the latter measure is not provided in the FIES data. Also, average household size is similar between the two groups, suggesting that family size does not significantly impact the likelihood of investing.

3.3 Analysis of Savings Behavior

This study utilized several measures of savings behavior to address H_{3} . The first was savings, calculated as total income minus total expenditure, and the second was the savings rate, calculated as a percentage of total household income. Similar to the previous analysis regarding consumption patterns, means comparison and ANOVA were used to assess differences in savings amounts and savings rates between the two household types.

Table 6 reports the average figures for the two household types. Regarding the savings amount, remittance-receiving households have a higher average savings level than non-receiving households. However, this result is not statistically significant, as indicated by an analysis of variance (p=.14). Regarding the savings rate, remittance-receiving households have an average rate of 20.72%, compared to 20.54% for non-receiving households. This difference is minimal and statistically insignificant (p=.86) as tested by ANOVA, suggesting that remittances do not substantially impact the proportion of household income allocated to savings.

	Table 6. Savings Behavior by Remittance Status
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Variable	Remittance Status	Mean	Std. Deviation
Savings Amount	Non Recipient	₱84,279	₱170,705
	Remittance Recipient	₱96,730	₱152,635
Savings Rate	Non Recipient	20.54%	18.74%
	Remittance Recipient	20.72%	19.04%

These results do not support H_3 and contrast with studies by Salahuddin et al. and Hua et al., conducted in Bangladesh and Vietnam, respectively. These findings suggest that in the context of the Philippines, households with remittances tend to have similar savings behavior to those without remittances. A key reason may be that the Philippines is known to be a consumption-driven economy, with household consumption as the main driver of the country's GDP. Marcelo and Florendo (2024) reported that consumption makes up 76.6% of the Philippines' GDP, with a 5.6% year-over-year growth. This strong consumption culture likely explains why there is no difference in the savings behavior of the two household groups. Rather than enhancing savings capacity, remittances are being used to sustain or even increase spending (as seen in Figure 1). For instance, migrant workers from the Philippines often send packages ("balikbayan boxes") back home as a gesture of long-distance care for their families in the Philippines. These packages typically contain imported food, branded clothes, and appliances, which may be rare or expensive in the Philippines (Patzer, 2018). This practice not only strengthens transnational family ties in the Philippines but also contributes to increased consumption, limiting household savings.

Furthermore, loans may divert remittance income away from savings. Some migrant workers incur loans to finance their migration, covering travel, relocation, and work permit expenses. Balde (2011) claims that if migration is funded by debt, remittances will be used for several years for repayment, and savings will be delayed. Additionally, informal lenders, such as pawnshops, loan sharks, and cooperatives, are widespread in the Philippines (Santos, 2019). This makes borrowing easier, especially for low- and middle-income households. Without proper financial literacy, these debts accumulate rapidly, trapping families in a cycle of debt repayment.

Other than economic factors, deep-rooted cultural expectations may also impact savings behavior. Remittance-recipient households often feel obligated to help not only immediate family members but also extended relatives, neighbors, and even community groups. Some help support relatives' education, healthcare, and special occasions because they are expected to share their wealth as part of their familial duty. Carling (2008) suggests that remittances are often framed as a responsibility rather than a choice. In turn, this social expectation reduces a household's ability to save.

Lastly, weak financial literacy remains a challenge in many Filipino households (Desello and Agner, 2023) and plays a crucial role in remittances and savings. Some recipient households cannot effectively manage their remittance income due to their lack of knowledge of basic financial concepts. A financial literacy survey by S&P revealed that only 25% of Filipinos are financially literate (Klapper et al., 2015). As a result, households have low banking participation and limited awareness of financial planning tools. Some may also fall prey to high-interest informal loans or risky investment schemes. Additionally, the predictability of remittances may reduce the urgency of saving for emergencies. These factors explain why remittance-receiving households do not save at higher rates than non-recipients despite the additional income flow.

4. Conclusion

This study analyzed three distinct aspects of the financial behavior of households in the Philippines, namely consumption patterns, economic participation, and savings behavior. The findings reveal that remittance-recipient households demonstrate higher spending levels than non-receiving households for all three categories. This suggests that remittances help finance immediate needs, support long-term investments, and enable discretionary expenses. Regarding expense allocation, a considerable portion of the households' expenditures are on everyday necessities.

Remittance-recipient households also earn lower income from salaries and wages but higher investment income than non-recipient households. This result implies that remittances reduce reliance on wage-based employment but do not necessarily promote idleness or dependency behavior. Among remittance-recipient households, those with investment income are more likely to live in urban areas, which may help facilitate investment activities; on the other hand, those without investment income tend to live in rural areas, which potentially limits their access to financial institutions and may hinder their financial literacy levels.

Contrary to previous studies, this study found no statistically significant difference in savings rates between remittance-recipient and non-recipient households. Recipient households in the Philippines seem to not re-channel received remittances towards savings, as evident in both their savings rate and savings amount. Several factors may contribute to this observation. The Philippines' consumption-oriented culture, loan repayments, social obligations, and weak financial literacy all play a role in limiting the households' ability to save. It is also important to acknowledge that the insignificant difference in savings behavior between recipients and non-recipients of remittances may be unique to the Philippines, as other studies conducted in different countries say otherwise. The cultural and economic differences across countries may contribute to the absence or presence of differences in savings behavior between the two household types. Therefore, from a national economic policy perspective, the

findings of this study with respect to savings are significant as they point to the need for systematic cross-national research to identify national differences in the savings behavior of remittance-receiving households.

Future research could investigate additional factors that may be influenced by remittances, such as financial literacy and access to financial services, as suggested by the urban-rural disparities observed in this study. Additionally, qualitative research on household decision-making could enrich the understanding of behavioral factors shaping remittance patterns in the Philippines. For instance, the extent to which social and cultural expectations shape financial remittance decisions could provide deeper insights into remittance utilization in the Philippines.

These findings emphasize the need for effective policy frameworks to leverage remittances in promoting greater financial stability for Filipino households and the broader economy. Hence, we propose a three-fold recommendation, focusing on (a) budgeting programs, (b) investment education, and (c) employment initiatives. First, the higher spending levels on everyday expenses revealed in this study necessitate structured budgeting support. A potential solution is developing a government-sponsored mobile budgeting application that provides an easy-to-use app to assist households in tracking expenses and recommending better spending habits. This may also be in partnership with major remittance service providers (e.g., GCash, PayMaya, Western Union) to integrate this app into existing digital wallets. This platform may be feasible given that the Philippine government-issued IDs, and eTravel, a platform for travel registration. Additionally, the Department of Education (DepEd) should integrate personal finances into the K-12 curriculum to educate students on responsible budgeting and hone their financial management skills early on.

Second, it is observed in this study that while remittance-recipient households engage more in financial investing than non-recipient households, it is still a small group. There is a need to expand financial literacy programs, mainly focusing on investment opportunities to grow the wealth of remittance-receiving households. Building on the Economic and Financial Learning Program (EFLP) of the Philippines Central Bank (Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas), the agency could collaborate with financial institutions in the country to provide workshops that discuss risk management and portfolio diversification. Additionally, partnerships with non-government organizations (e.g., Entrepinoy Volunteers Foundation and Unlad Kabayan Migrant Services Foundation) that focus on migrant workers and entrepreneurship may improve financial education efforts. These organizations have strong track records in assisting Filipino migrant workers in investing remittances into productive ventures like micro-enterprises and cooperative investments. Furthermore, the lower levels of investment income among rural remittance recipients suggest a need for increased financial education and enhancement of financial services options for these rural households.

Lastly, while several programs are aimed at supporting migrant workers, these initiatives can be improved by involving the dependent family members, considering the reduced labor participation of recipient households, as revealed in this study. Dependents must be incentivized to explore additional income streams for remittances. Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA) can initiate free vocational training to equip dependents with in-demand skills. The Philippines Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) can also establish a work placement program that directly matches dependents to local and overseas job opportunities. The entrepreneurship programs mentioned above may also prove beneficial. Collectively, these initiatives could enable more productive use of remittances and integrate more household members into the workforce.

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