

**Effectiveness of Education for Working Children
in the Philippines**

A Case Study of Payatas in the Philippines

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Abstract

This research, through analyzing the case of working children in slum areas near Payatas dumpsite in Barangay Payatas, Metro Manila, aims at evaluating the role of education as a means to alternative future professions. Payatas is the largest open dumpsite in the Philippines and communities live in abject poverty, scavenging useful bits from discarded material there. A large number of children work in this hazardous profession, with the result that eventually they lose both their childhood and an option to be employed in a better paid profession. Education is widely seen as a remedy for social ills like marginalization and deprivation of communities but it is worth asking what role education plays in such an extremely marginalized slum area, and how the slum children, their families and local education sector workers perceive the role of education. This research takes the example of Payatas C elementary school and through interviewing working children, their family members and teachers, explores the nature and challenges of education for working children in Payatas. Based on a qualitative design, this research comes up with the findings that family income level, educational background and the success of working children is strongly related and schools in Payatas have not been able to serve the purpose of uplifting students out of poverty. This implies that education has so far remained an external factor in the poverty-work cycle, largely due to the fact that education in Payatas has become a property of the comparatively richer population, and the government's inability to satisfy the needs of those who are in most desperate need of a better livelihood.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background of Research and Poverty of Children

“Poverty is said to exist when people lack the means to satisfy their basic needs” (Encyclopedia Britannica eb. com). Like Agenda 21 which globally advocated sustainable development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 says, basic needs such as food, nutrition, housing, and education have to be provided to people equally. Furthermore, Mother Teresa mentioned that “It is poverty to decide that a child must die so that you may live as you wish” (iloveindia.com). Furthermore, Sen (1999) defines that “poverty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities” in “substantive freedoms he or she enjoys to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value” (Sen, 1999: 87).

A great many projects against poverty reduction are regularly implemented in many parts of the world these days. As a result of them, from 1981 to 2005, poverty incidence fell from 52 % of the world’s population to 25 % (The World Bank News & Broadcast website). The World Bank reports that improvements in infant mortality and adult literacy rates dramatically contribute to poverty reduction and it expects that poverty incidence will decrease to 15 % by 2015. However, at the same time, the current economic crisis significantly affects the proportion of poor people and the World Bank

states that “by 2015, 1.2 million more children under five may die, 350,000 more students may not complete primary school and about 100 million more people may remain without access to safe water” (The World Bank News & Broadcast website). The world is encountering a massive financial crisis. Developing countries which depend on developed countries for export-oriented manufacturing sector and lack appropriate safety net are easy to be subjected to impacts such as loss of jobs, bulk layoffs, and falling earnings. Economic crisis considerably pushes away the previous recovery and endangers people’s lives. It is inevitable that poverty still exists and will not disappear in the immediate future.

As world leaders designed and agreed the Millennium Development Goals, poverty reduction is one of the crucial and urgent problems to be solved. To solve this problem, it is equally essential to manipulate child poverty which developing countries consists of numerous and poor children. White *et al.* (2003) state that “Tackling child poverty is central to poverty reduction strategies for two reasons: rights and sustainability” (White *et al.*, 2003: 1). They think children are the ‘largest minority’ because they are too small to tackler coercion from adults and advocate their rights and as a result, they are easily ignored (White *et al.* 2003: 1). This calls for protection of children’s rights, so that they are guaranteed a safe environment in society. At the same

time, also children are essential human resources to progress to further development as they are the future workforce and thus the future of every country.

1.2 Poverty in the Philippines

This research looks at the Philippines, probably one of the most interesting examples due to an extreme rich-poor gap and high incidence of child poverty. Balisacan (2007) argues that “addressing the widespread poverty problem is the single most important policy challenge facing the Philippines” and continues that “not only is poverty high compared which other countries in East Asia, but also its reduction is so slow that the country has become the basket case in the region” (Balisacan, 2007: 202).

Although it is clear to see the gap between rich and poor countries, another factor that has come to light is the great financial difference between the rich and the poor inside poor countries. This is easily understandable when one simply takes a walk in a street in Manila, the capital of the Philippines. For example one day when I was in the lively street in Quezon City, one of the cities of Metro Manila, people were having dinner at restaurants and enjoying coffee at terrace of café with cool breeze at night. At the same time, a thin and heavily-sunburnt father and his sons looked under telephone poles to look for garbage they can sell. Likewise, wealthy people enjoy shopping, on the other hand, poor people beg money from passersby. Thus even inside of poor countries,

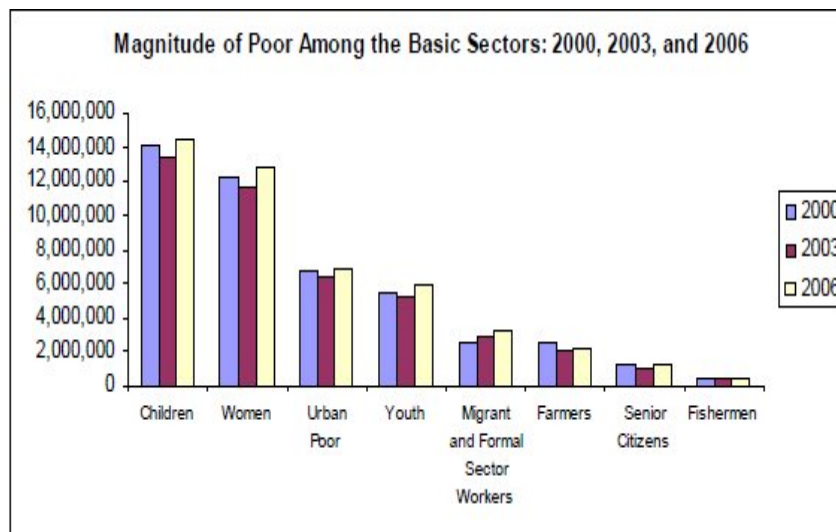
there is a big difference between peoples and it is necessary to take care of people living in the bottom of society.

1.3 Effects of Poverty on Children

According to the National Statistics Office (NSO), the Philippines had 88.57 million population in 2007 (2007 Census of Population, NSO website) and National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB) also reported that the number of the poor officially increased from 25.4 million (25,472,782) in 2000 to 27.6 million (27,616,888) in 2006 (NSCB website). NSO reveals that the bottom 30% of all families represents the poor families (NSO website, 2010). It also indicates that “about three out of ten (27%) family heads in the upper 70% income stratum had attended college or higher level of education, while only 5 percent of family heads in the bottom 30% income stratum had attained that level of education” (NSO website, 2010). In this way, it is clear that there is a huge difference between the rich and the poor in one nation.

The following chart shows the distribution of the poor among the basic components like age, gender and urban or rural population. Children, women, and urban poor accounted for the largest number of poor population at 14.4, 12.8, and 6.9 million in 2006 (NSCB website).

Figure 1.1: Magnitude of Poor Among the Basic Sectors: 2000, 2003, and 2006.



Source: Castro, 2009: 17

Children are considerably affected by poverty and it consists of the large number of population among those. Thus it can be imagined that this huge number of poor children has little or no choice to attend school.

1.4 Education in the Philippines

The Philippines is one of the successful countries that provides education to a large number of people all over the country. As compared with other developing countries in Asia, the Philippines shows a high literacy rate and school attendance rate is over 90 percent (UNICEF website). The total number of Filipino children aged 5 to 17 was recorded as 24.9 million in 2001 and it consisted of 31 % of total population (NSO, 2001). The World Development Indicators 2008 shows primary completion rate as 86 percent in 1991 and 96 percent in 2006. Primary education completion rate increasingly

developed in the Philippines (The World Bank, 2008). The Philippines seems to be more successful in education compared to other developing countries in Asia.

However, education in the Philippines has not spread to all the people. Across the country, primary school completion rate in the Philippines is high, but there is a big difference between the poor and the rich in completing primary education. Primary completion rate shows 88% of the richest quintile, on the other hand, it shows 46% of the poorest quintile (The World Bank, 2008). Poverty prevents children from studying in schools. However, the Philippines employment rate is quite high and it stood at 92.4% in 2009 and 92.6% in 2008 (NSO, 2009). In fact, among the employed people, laborers and unskilled workers consist of the largest percentage (33.0%) of the total workers (NSO, 2009). On the other hand, the number of unemployed was 2.9 million in 2009 (NSO, 2009). The unemployed people are comprised by the high school graduates (33.0%), the college undergraduates (21.5%), and the college graduates (19.7%) (NSO, 2009). The Philippines has quite a high employment rate, but most of the people listed as 'unemployed' are unskilled and cheap laborers. Therefore low educational experience is significantly related with the unemployment rate.

Furthermore, according to World Development Indicators 2008, about 2.2 million children aged 7 to 14 are working without going to school in the Philippines (The

World Bank, 2008). The primary reason that they have to work for their families is poverty. Their jobs are various, and include grueling work on the farms, dangerous jobs treating chemicals in factories, and jobs in which young girls are sacrificed physically and mentally. Children are bound by cruel jobs and losing their childhood to play with friends and study for their future. In this way, their time for studying is eliminated by the hours required for their jobs.

1.5 Research Objectives

My research focus is mainly the children who both work and study in a public primary school in Payatas, the Philippines. Payatas is the largest open dumping site in the country, and arguably one of the largest in Asia. It is not only a dumping site, but it supports a large community of people, about 117,000 in 2007 (Central Barangay Hall, n.d.) who work at the site and live nearby. Children comprise a large section of the workers. The site is notorious for its dangers, and in recent past, it had killed an unknown number of people through an accident. Yet, people who live by it are increasing in number day by day. This research therefore is not simply about child labor. This research examines the difficulties working children are confronting between studying and working, the effects after working children received education in school, and people's perceptive and future expectation of education.

My research objectives are as follows:

1. To identify the difficulties working children are confronting in school, work, and families.
2. To comprehend the role of education for the future of working children.

I hope this research will contribute to knowledge and awareness about child labor, challenges for working children and possible ways of assistance in developed countries, especially my country, Japan. We, Japanese, sometime, easily forget how much luxury and convenient country we live. We cannot think how much comfortable we have place to live and live with their families. We cannot think how much happy can have every three meals. We cannot think how much a simple plastic bag or a bit of food can mean to some people. This lack of awareness contributes to the growth of the problem of poverty and children in less developed parts of the world, as there is a lack of real sympathy and feeling and real effort from the developed world to tackle this problem. I hope this research helps Japanese people, especially children to reconsider their richness in Japan by comprehending and working children's brutal reality who share the same earth with them.

1.6 Research Questions

This research is mainly done by visiting Payatas and interviewing children, their family members, and others associated with their schooling. The specific research questions formulated to address the research objective include the following:

- ◆ How do working children deal with working and studying at the same time?
- ◆ How do interviewees recognize education?
- ◆ What factors affect the present condition of working children
- ◆ What factors affect working children's future plans?
- ◆ What hopes the interviewees have for their future?

1.7. Research Design

This research design is qualitative and focuses on working children, their parents, teachers and previously working children. To collect data, I reviewed literature related to poverty, sociology of education, and child labor. To deepen understanding of these people's lives, I visited Payatas, Quezon City in the Philippines and conducted focus group interviews among working children, individual interviews among above all of research subjects.

Besides field research, I also used books, journals and online resources from Japan and the Philippines to understand the issue, search for specific information and

consider theoretical aspects. Another aim of this secondary literature research I used books in Ateneo de Manila University and was able to collect essential information related to present Philippine education in kind cooperation of Ateneo Center for Educational Development (ACED) in this University which is directed by Carmela Oracion. For language barrier, Lilac Caspe who works for ACED as a research assistant helped translating Tagalog into Japanese all the time. Without their help I could not have completed my field research.

1.8 Report Plan

The first chapter describes the general case of poverty and children. Current economic crisis prevents the advancement of developing countries. The unstable economy and government do not function for poor people and make it impossible for them to have a healthy life because of unemployment, low household income, and so on. There is no legal protection for children living in poverty. Even children have to be used as labor force by their families. The Philippines is one of the successful developing countries that spread universal education and reached high completion rate. However, when seeing the distribution of children who go to schools, children from rich and middle-class households easily study in classrooms but children from poor households have to work for household economy and leave school some time. So this study focuses

on working children who live in one of the slums in Barangay Payatas in Manila, the Philippines, looking at their difficulties at school, workplace, and home and the role of education for their future.

Chapter two starts from the role of education. It explains the reason why education is necessary for all children. Cases of working children all over the world are described from international reports, mainly referring to the ILO reports. Analyzing regional studies by individual researchers, it concludes the factors to induce working children. Children have to work especially due to household financial conditions, but more than this, they reveal the impact of demographic characters, the household head's educational status and regional culture. Additionally, low quality of teachers and deficient school facilities motivate household heads to let children work. Finally, Payatas as the research site is described and it gives the idea of its fundamental information.

The methodology chapter describes the qualitative research and the individual and focus group interviews. As mentioned earlier, this study focuses on these children who both work and study in Payatas, the Philippines and describes their difficulties in schools, workplace, and home, and understand their acknowledgement of education, and also effectiveness of education for their future. To observe them, I conducted field

work there in cooperation with Ateneo Center for Educational Development (ACED) from December in 2009 to May in 2010. I went to Payatas C Elementary School in Manila and completed individual and focus group interviews of sixth grade children and individual interviews of faculty, parents, and men and women in their prime.

Chapter four describes Payatas through the findings from the field work. It describes how family background affects the possibility to be used as child labor force. This chapter also provides description of the school as I found it, the daily lives of the Payatas people, and especially the children. Then, it discusses the likely causes behind the many challenges in Payatas and its children. In short, this chapter explains children's challenges between school and work. Also it gives the idea of role of education there from the interviews of parents, teachers, and Payatas youth. Finally, it explains whether education contribute to their future or not.

The final chapter shows the main findings of the study. Also it corresponds to research questions which mentioned in introduction of this paper from the result of the survey. Additionally this chapter tries to give some recommendations about how to tackle this massive problem.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Child labor has a long history, starting from the industrial revolution in Britain. At that time, with an explosion of demand of workers in newly established industries, children began to be exploited. This resulted in violation of children's rights, and eventually got the recognition as violation of human rights of children through anti-slavery movements and diffusion of mass education. This spurred a reduction of child labor (Fyfe, 2007). International movements and framing of laws contributed to help children getting out of work, but this was mainly in European countries, and working children in Asian, African, and Latin American countries were left behind. They still keep working without protection.

There have been well known researches which have revealed many factors which force children to work. Some of the commonest factors are poverty, household income, family structure, educational status of household heads, school environment, and culture. These factors are mostly interlinked in a complex manner. In the Philippines, the National Statistics Office (NSO) recorded that 4.0 million children out of a total 24.851 million children aged 5-17 were economically active in 2001 (NSO, 2001). 2.6 million of them went to school at the same time (NSO, 2001). However, it is

very difficult for these children to keep studying while working, and giving up work for studies is even more difficult. Working children and their families, it appears, expect highly from education but because a huge number of them drop out from schools, they continue to get less paid or unstable jobs when they become professionals.

2.1 Child Labor in the World

When exploited, children can form the weakest position in the society. In the developing economies especially, the social and political stability is often absent and the first priority of such societies is not advocacy of children's rights. Economic stabilization, peace, health, and welfare are given higher priority than children's rights. Children are unable to understand the causes behind their plight and also they cannot address the issues on their own. At the same time they are very vulnerable. Without parental, economic, and social protections, they are easy prey to the abusers of power.

Working children are not only a problem in developing or poor countries. They have a long history that goes back to the industrial revolution, in Britain. Children started to be used for work during the 18th century. In the 1830s and 1840s, with the antislavery movement, children came to be regarded as virtual slaves and subsequently anti-child labor movements by social reformers spread in Britain as well as in other industrialized countries (Fyfe, 2007). These movements tried to legalize the minimum

age of children and then instead of making them work, they sent them to school. The period from 1870 to 1914 is described as “the era of mass education” (Fyfe, 2007: 6). The issue of child labor began to get international attention. The International Association for Labour Legislation (IALL) which is the founder of International Labor Organization (ILO) was established in 1900. ILO held the first conference to discuss the international standard of child labor in 1919. The Minimum Age Convention in 1919 (No.5) set labourer’s age at 14 years, which was revised a few times until the Forced Labour Convention in 1930 (No. 29) was ratified (Fyfe, 2007). However, at that time, the countries which ratified conventions were exclusively European countries. Most Asian, African, and Latin American countries were not involved in child labor problems. ILO’s focus was working children who worked in the formal sector. Children who worked in the informal sector were ignored. The period from 1979 to 1992 saw a revision of previous standards and conventions and globalized the issue of child labor through Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) in 1973, the Maximum Weight Convention, 1967 (No. 127), the Benzene Convention, 1971 (No. 136), International Year of the Child in 1979, UN seminar on Child labor in 1985, Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989, World Summit for Children in 1990, and Child Labor Deterrence Act in 1992 (Fyfe, 2007). Fyfe (2007) states that “Around the latter half of the 1980s, the worldwide

movement against child labour reached its turning point – but then failed to turn. It was only a decade later – from the mid-1990s – that the international profile of child labour was to reach unprecedented levels” (Fyfe, 2007: 21). The World Social Summit in 1995 contributed to the elimination of child labor and this issue came to be related with human rights. The Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) in 1999 advocated protecting children and their rights from extremely terrible working conditions. Through this progress, the number of countries which ratified Convention No. 138 and Convention No. 182 increased dramatically. The countries which ratified the Convention No. 138 increased from 50 in 1996 to 115 in 1999 and recently the Convention has been ratified by 154 countries (ILO, 2010). It took only two years to reach 100 ratifications for Convention No. 182 and the current number of ratification is 171 out of 183 ILO member States (ILO, 2010). ILO explains that “What is clear is that it comes at a time when there is a growing international commitment to the elimination of child labour, and acceptance of the policy measures that contribute to reducing the number of children at work. ILO says that “This is reflected in increasing ratification of the ILO Conventions, and in continuing efforts by the worldwide movement against child labour at the national and international levels” (ILO, 2006: 9).

Currently, entire children's population aged from 5 to 17 years was estimated

to be about 1,586 million in 2008 and 305 million of them were children employed in various works, 215 million were child laborers, 115 million children were employed in hazardous work (ILO, 2010). Though the number of these working children shows a tendency to decrease on the whole the numbers are still huge, and it therefore remains a big problem.

Table 2.1. Some characteristics regarding children and employment in the world

	Total Children ('000)	Children in Employment ('000)	%	Child Laborers ('000)	%	Children in Hazardous Work ('000)	%
World	1586288	305669	19.3	215269	13.6	115314	7.3
Boys	819891	175177	21.4	127761	15.6	74019	9.0
Girls	766397	129892	16.9	87508	11.4	41296	5.4
5-11 years	852488	91024	10.7	91024	10.7	25949	3.0
12-14 years	364366	85428	23.4	61826	17.0	26946	7.4
(5-14 years)	1216854	176452	14.5	152850	12.6	52895	4.3
15-17 years	369433	129217	35.0	62419	16.9	62419	16.9

Source: ILO, 2010: 9

More boys are likely to be working children than girls (ILO, 2006, and ILO, 2010). ILO indicates that as children grow older, the gap between boys and girls become wider (ILO, 2006 and ILO, 2010). For example, children involved in hazardous work comprised of 58.1% of boys and 41.9% of girls among children aged 5-11, 65.4% of boys

and 34.6% of girls among children aged 12-14, and 66.2 of boys and 33.8% of girls among children aged 15-17 (ILO, 2010).

In numbers, Asia and the Pacific region accounted for the largest population of 96,397 million aged 5-14 of economically active children followed by 58,212 million in Sub-Saharan Africa, 10,002 million in Latin America and the Caribbean, and 10,700 million in other regions in 2008 (ILO, 2010). Sub-Saharan Africa shows the highest rate having 28.4% of the world working children in 2008 (ILO, 2010).

Table 2.2. Some characteristics regarding children and employment in different regions

	Total Children ('000)	Children in Employment ('000)	%	Child Labourers ('000)	%	Children in Hazardous Work ('000)	%
World	1586288	305669	19.3	215269	13.6	115314	7.3
Asia and the Pacific	853895	174460	20.4	113607	13.3	48164	5.6
Latin America and the Caribbean	141043	18851	13.4	14125	10.0	9436	6.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	257108	84229	32.8	65064	25.3	38736	15.1
Other regions	334242	28129	8.4	22473	6.7	18978	5.7

Source: ILO, 2010: 10

Except for sub-Saharan Africa, each region had a decrease in the number of working children. In sub-Saharan Africa, one-sixth of the people living in this region are chronically poor, and it is expected that the number of poor people will rise to 404

million by 2015 (ILO, 2006).

In 2004, working children aged 5-17 were engaged in the following sectors: 60% in agriculture (which includes hunting, forestry, and fishing), 25.6% of services (wholesale, retail trade, restaurants, transport, storage, communications, finance, insurance, real estate, and social and personal services), and 7% of industry (mining, quarrying, manufacturing, and construction) (ILO, 2006 and ILO, 2010). However, although there are names to some of their work, other forms of work might be unpaid, illegal, and exploitative. The children engaged in such occupations form the core of hazardous child labor in Article 3 (d) of ILO Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182). They work as child soldiers, domestic labourers, prostitutes, and drug dealers, etc. Trafficking is one of the familiar problems in Asian countries such as Thailand, China's Yunnan Province, Lao PDR, Cambodia, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal and the trafficked children are used in the sex industry and in forced labor (ILO, 2005, quoted in Okusa, 2006). Children under these conditions are not protected by the government and are very easy to be exploited. Even though the number of working children is likely to decrease, Okusa (2006) points out the unique trend of increase of child labor in Thailand. Thailand is one of the countries which could reduce child labor

by the initiatives conducted by ILO and the government, economic development, and low birth rate. She claims that “The number of Thai child workers has dramatically decreased while the number of non-Thai child workers has increased” (Okusa, 2006: 48). She explains that because of the introduction of compulsory education and strict law against child labor, Thai working children came to be strongly supervised by the government, however, instead of them, non-Thai children became working children in Thai. Recently a number of people from Lao, Cambodia, and Burma migrated to Thailand due to the attraction of Thailand’s rapid economic growth. These non-Thai children are without legal documents and are also trafficked into Thailand. In this way, although the number of working children tends to decrease in Thailand, new issues such as trafficking and illegal migration foster new types of working children. Children from neighboring countries are forced to work without national supervision and protection behind the success of reduction of Thai working children.

2.2 Factors behind Child Labor

2.2.1 Poverty

There are a variety of factors that force children to work. ILO states that poverty is not the only factor that forces children to work, but also unequal income distribution, lack of job opportunity, insufficient educational system, ineffective law

enforcement to prevent child labor, and lack of public awareness are factors behind this problem (Forastieri, 1997). Various factors decide to make children work or send them to schools. UNICEF states that “child labour is both a cause and a consequence of poverty” (UNICEF, 2009: 15). Poverty is the factor itself of child labor, but at the same time, factors produced by poverty are connected with child labor. Child labor is related to country’s economic condition. However, many studies strongly indicate that poverty is the most powerful factor to produce working children. This is evidenced by the fact that child labour is a consistent issue in developing countries, and not in developed countries. In sub-Saharan Africa, one in three children aged under 15 engaged in working, on the other hand, in developed countries, only 2% of children in the same age group are involved in work (ILO 2002, quoted in Hope). Siddiqi and Patrions (n.d.) observe about reason as: “The most important reason is poverty. Children work to ensure the survival of their family and themselves” (4). Because people are poor, children become the essential workforce in a family. Poor families have to make difficult decisions that forces them into decide between immediate money from the labour market or income from standard occupations after education. With daily food instability and the acute financial constraints in their lives there is no way to think of future financial stability in poor households and for poor children. In the households of working children in developing

countries, children's income comprise of around 20 to 25 percent of total household incomes (UNICEF 2001, quoted in Hope). Child labor, though not caused by poverty alone, is still markedly exacerbated by the incidence of poverty. This reality makes it unforeseeable that child labor will disappear in the in the immediate future.

2.2.2 Household Income

Several studies show that family seems to be a significant factor for children. In particular, the primary reason that children work is that children have to help their families as one of the income earners. As Yonemura (1992) states, shortage of household income seems to affect children directly. Basu and Van (1998) provide two famous axioms and one of them is "The Luxury Axiom", which is "A family will send the children to the labor market only if the family's income from non-child-labor sources drops very low" (416). They argue that "The first and foremost evidence is the contemporary fact that the children of the nonpoor seldom work even in very poor countries" and continues that "This phenomenon is best explained by supposing that parents withdraw their children from the labor force as soon as they can afford to do so" (Basu & Van, 1998: 415). Goldin explains that "The higher the father's wage, the lower the probability of the child participating in the labor force" (Goldin, 1979: 124 in Basu & Van, 1998: 415). Edmonds and

Pavcnik (2005) also point out the strong relationship between household economic condition and the possibility of child labor force. They found that “child labor seems to decline dramatically with improvements in household living standards” and the other is “child labor seems to be highly responsive to unexpected changes in the family’s economic environment” (Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005: 209). Child labor appeared in industrial revolution in Britain in the early 18th century. Children were used in the workforce not because of huge demand of workforce but because of “falling income opportunities for parents” who didn’t have work experiences at factory (Orazem *et al.* 2009: 22). In other words, they remark that “the incidence of child labor declines as adult income rises” (Orazem *et al.* 2009: 22). Indeed, countries (for example Burkina Faso, Niger, Thailand,) which succeeded in increasing real per capita income could reduce the number of working children (Orazem *et al.* 2009). So, poverty is seriously connected with the emergence of child labor. In this way, child labor and economic condition are strongly connected to each other.

2.2.3 Family Structure

In addition to household income, family structure is also influential in the creation of child labor. There is evidence that a balanced family, with two or three

generations, is good for the growing up of children. This is because not only parents but also grandparents influence children. In their study, Kurosaki *et al.* (2006) show a significant relationship between grandparents and children. It reveals that “the results show that the literacy of the father of the child’s mother increases school enrollment even after controlling for the parents’ education” (Kurosaki *et al.* 2006: 8).

It is said that there is a positive effect on the possibility of children’s work if families are large (Cockburn 2001; Kurosaki *et al.* 2006; Knodel *et al.* 1990 and Levison, 1991 quoted from Patrinos & Psacharopoulos, 1997). This is due to financial reasons. As children increases, the expense of school fees increase proportionally. However, Patrinos and Psacharopoulos (1997) found from the survey in Paraguay that “the number of siblings does not have much of an effect on school enrollment, although it does have a significant impact on the probability of child labor” (389). They explain this is as caused by ‘specialization’ in the household (quoted from Chernichovsky, 1985: 389). He hypothesizes from his survey in Botswana that households send some of their children to schools and others to work in a process of division of choice. Households cannot collect money earned by all of the children, but they can collect some money from other working children. Due to

them, it makes possible to maintain a life and invest in education for the rest of them. Furthermore, Cockburn (2001) states that “The numbers of male, female, and elderly household members have no significant impact on child time use” (16). So, the number of siblings seems not important to decide whether send children to schools or not. In fact, it becomes clear that parents screen them and decide to give them their tasks or the chance to receive education by “specializing” them (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos 1997, quoted from Chernichovsky, 1985: 389).

Apart from these, there is a big issue with the gender of the child. In some Asian countries, there is tendency that regard girls as “poor longer-term ‘investments’ because someday they will marry and leave the family” (Okusa, 2008: 27). Girls tend to engage in household chores and work in order to support boy’s education financially.

The sibling structure, rather than the number of them, seems to be an important determinant for kids’ education in poor families. Cockburn (2001) concludes his research in Ethiopia that “The results concerning siblings suggest that there are schooling biases in favor of firstborns and boys, and that there may be some labour substitution between children” (16). Also he continues that “The presence of older siblings has no statistically significant effect on the time use of girls but it does affect the time use of boys” (Cockburn, 2001: 16). In addition, he finds that “Boys are less

likely to attend school as the number of older boys increases...However, the presence of older girls increases the probability a boy will attend school rather than work or be inactive, perhaps due to a combination of labor substitution and a gender bias in school investments” (Cockburn, 2001: 16)

2.2.4 Educational Status of Household Heads

Several studies testify that the characteristics of the head in the household’s effect on children’s time use. Cockburn (2001) finds in Ethiopia that “Children are more likely to attend school in female-headed households, although this result is only statistically significant in the case of boys” and also states that “The relative probability of a girl attending school increases with the head’s age, whereas her probability of working falls” (18). His findings also reveal the gender and age of the head in the household affect on the possibility of working and attending school.

Uneducated parents tend to send children to work. It is said that “More educated parents can increase the productivity of their child’s time in school, whether by reinforcing what is learned in school, helping with homework, or valuing their children’s efforts in school” (Orazem *et al.* 2009: 24). One survey conducted in the Philippines indicates that uneducated parents “did not have the social exposure to deal or negotiate with teachers/principals and the school bureaucracy when their children

had problems in school” and “They either do not have the time to attend to school-related issues of their children or avoid seeing the teacher when asked to report to school” (Porio *et al.* 2002: 40). Also it is very difficult for uneducated people to get stable job by competing with educated people, so they are put into strained lives automatically and are forced to send their children to workplace. Then children become uneducated and this cycle is repeated from one generation to another.

In addition, Kurosaki *et al.* (2006) find that “better educated mothers may raise the returns to children’s education more than better educated fathers, since, for example, (stay-home) mothers are arguably in a better position to facilitate children’s learning (for example, through helping with their homework) than are fathers” (7). So the role of mothers seems to create chance for children to go to schools. Also Kurosaki *et al.* (2006) conclude in the survey in India that “more educated parents send their children less to work and more to school” (6). Similar results are found in several surveys in developing countries. Burra (1989) argues from the survey of the Institute of Industrial Relations in Metro Manila that “the educational status of the household head is also closely linked to whether or not the child works” (38). He also finds that “The fathers of most child workers in the study had generally low levels of education and were, therefore, only able to obtain poorly paid jobs” (Burra, 1989: 38). It can be said

that there is a relationship between head's income and educational attainment. Because of low income, they didn't have chance to go to school in their childhood. Uneducated heads then directly affect the domestic economy, as they have to choose the decision of sending even children to work so that family can live.

Yonemura (1992) concludes his survey in Mexico that "Dedication to education of people living in informal residence is generally higher than the absolute level in the terms of consciousness of educational need and effectiveness" (302, my translation). However, he reports that in the extremely poor households there is a lack of interest in education and tend to engage their children in work, although he adds that this kind of households is very small in number among the poor households (Yonemura, 1992, my translation). Today, education becomes for certification rather than for learning among informal market as well as formal market. He argues that "even if people living in the informal sector faced financial difficulties at that time, they tried to complete academic learning than ever before and they chose to go on to junior high schools and high schools than giving up sending children to schools" (Yonemura, 1995: 27, my translation). He says that it becomes clear from the study that "junior high school graduate education is a minimum of the social requisites among people in the informal sector" (Yonemura, 1995: 45, my translation). So education means more than learning. The qualification of

schooling is more important than what children study and what skills they acquire at schools. Education becomes more and more important to get employed in formal labor market as well as in formal labor market. So it is not necessarily true that household head's educational status is proportional to the rate of children's school participation.

2.2.5 Schools

Schooling problems cause the poor to loose interest at school and contributes to foster child labor. Jaffe *et al.* (1998) asserts that education equips children with fundamental life skills like literacy, numeracy, and critical thinking ability; and is perhaps the most important investment that a society can make in its young ones. Education is generally accepted by even poor people as one of important steps for development because poor households will be able to generate sustainable income, produce competent human resource, and finally facilitate the development of their economy in the future. So schools play an important role for future lives of children. But in reality the problem is that in many developing countries, schools are not accessible and the quality of education is low in rural areas. So people are likely to think that sending children to these schools are very wasteful investment and a waste of time because children can't receive sufficient education and won't lead to income generation in the future. Edmonds and Pavcnik (2005) argue that "When schools are bad, there is

likely little return to education and households will not choose to educate their children” (215). Jensen and Nielsen (1997) also reveal that “Improvements in the quality of schooling would also increase school attendance, since currently many parents keep their children out of school because of quality reasons” (423). Furthermore, Burra (1989) reveals that “even when families can afford to send their children to school, they do not do so because they consider the formal educational system irrelevant (quoted from Pimlac, 1987: 39). So just building schools and sending children means nothing if its quality of education is adequate to return to education.

2.2.6 Culture

Apart from the familial characteristics, there is culture which accepts child work during their childhood. Yonemura (1992) concludes from the survey in informal sector in Mexico that there is “a culture to tolerate child labor” (302, my translation). He found that “This culture does not discourage but encourages child work both in cases if there is chance to work for the economic reason and even when it is not so much necessary” (Yonemura, 1992: 302, my translation). Kurosaki *et al.* (2006) also argue that there is the same culture is there in some Latin American and African countries. The reasons people there conceive work as important thing in the process of children’s growth are not only to help domestic budget but also to adopt them in social life.

Murata (2009) found in her survey in India that caste system and prejudice against people of lower positions are causes to generate child labor. He concludes that the reason that Indian society has accepted child labor for long time is that “Most administration officials and people in the middle class who belong to high position in caste have protected their status by exploiting and keeping lower people in class, religion, ethnicity, and gender below” and he advocates that “population and poverty alone are never the main factors” (Murata, 2009: 129, 131, my translation). In this way, the direct impacts from households surrounding children do not only decide whether children have to work or not but also indirect impacts from culture and the society determine their future.

In this way, poverty is not the exclusive factor to generate child labor. Children have to work for reasons created by the economy, society, culture, and schools. Poverty keeps children in the cycle of poverty from generation to generation and at the same time, children are forced to stay away from schools from generation to generation. Even if the government approved compulsory education, poor households cannot afford the money for uniforms, lunch, textbooks, notebooks and etc. This deteriorates household economy. Siblings, grandparents, and households affect the possibility of children's work. Also some cultural environments surrounding families accept their work because it is

regarded an important way for their social development. Furthermore, as observed earlier low-quality schools make them leave school and lose their interest in education. So spreading universal education in developing countries, particularly in informal residence areas, is not important but it is important that those people acquire financial assistance and understanding and readjustment of their culture, and schools have to be improved to attract them.

2.3 Education for Development

Hannum and Buchmann (2003) describe that “the expansion of educational opportunities will enhance, but not necessarily ensure, the future economic security of the world’s most vulnerable children” and also “Countries with better-educated citizens tend to have healthier populations, as educated individuals make more informed health choices, live longer, and have healthier children” (20). Education brings economic benefits and healthy lives for future children. Therefore, education is a vital component if developing countries hope to become truly wealthy countries in a sustainable way.

Theodore W. Schultz changed the paradigm which strongly believed that economic approach was a general way to develop countries and advocated the importance of education in the process of human investment (Tilak, 1994). Economic development without investing in human resources is not likely to be an all round

development. Now many people understand human investment contributes to poverty reduction. Tilak (1994) states that “Education makes a positive contribution to a society: literate people and an educated labor force play a significant role in social, economic, demographic, political and cultural development. In turn, economic growth allows further development of education systems by providing higher levels of resources for educational expansion” and he says that “The relationship between the two is referred to as the ‘chicken and egg relationship’” (77). On the other hand, he continues that “Education is related to poverty at both micro and macro levels. At the micro level, illiterate individuals or households are less productive, join less paying occupations and thus, earn less and remain at very low levels of living, mostly below the poverty line. At the macro level also, nations with illiterate or less educated masses cannot progress well, cannot increase their output substantially and, as a result, remain at low standards of living” (115). He states “Less educated households and nations are also characterized by high mortality rates and poor health conditions” (Tilak, 1994: 115). It can be said that primary education contributes to economic development.

In 1994 Human Development Report of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) explored, in-depth, the concept of Human Security. It emphasized the importance of protection for each person’s life in the progress of development. Also

“The World Conference on Education for All in Thailand” (1990) and “The Dakar Framework for Action” (2000) advocated the importance of education and promoted the spread of education. In 2001, Sadako Ogata, former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, made ten proposals in a report drawn up by the Commission on Human Security. The ninth proposal shows the reinforcement of people’s abilities through the completion of basic education. In other words, officially it states that it is education for children that will bring a peaceful life, breaking the chain of poverty. Also Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), decreed at the Millennium Summit in 2000, declares the achievement of “Universal Primary Education” as one of the eight international development goals to be accomplished by 2015.

Inevitably, education is necessary for eradicating poverty and sustainable development and also for children who will break the vicious circle of poverty. So education leads to enrich the countries and people economically and socially. Eventually it establishes the repetitive victory cycle for benefits of both.

2.3.1 Needs of Education

Education is also recognized as an effective way to combat against child labor. According to ILO Conventions on child labor, it says only grown-ups over 18 years old are permitted to engage in hazardous work which “is likely to jeopardize children’s

physical, mental or moral health, safety or morals”, while children age 13 and 12 (only the case of developing countries) are allowed to do light work which “does not threaten their health and safety, or hinder their education or vocational orientation and training” (ILO website). ILO tells that about 115 million of children aged 5 to 17 were estimated in hazardous work (ILO, 2010). Hazardous children work in “dangerous conditions in sectors as diverse as agriculture, mining, construction, manufacturing, service industries, hotels, bars, restaurants, fast food establishments, and domestic service” (ILO website). Due to lack of safety and health labor environment, children are easy to get injured and sick and to make matters worse, ILO estimates that about 22,000 children are killed every year over the world (ILO website). Huebler (2008) reports that “A report by the U.S. Department of Labor (2000) summarizes more than 160 studies that show that children, in countries at all levels of development, benefit more over the course of their lifetime if they choose school over work” (3). For example, education brings about “higher wage as an adult, less dependence on social welfare, increased savings, a reduced crime rate, increased political participation, a lower fertility rate, better health, and a higher life expectancy” (Huebler, 2008: 3). It is not too much saying that if children have choice to go to schools instead of working, their future lives can be stable economically and socially.

However merely sending working children to schools is not enough, as they continue to face adverse situation and problems. One study by Sugimoto *et al.* (2009) reveals ineffective results caused by providing working children with education. First, poverty prevents children from receiving education, even if they were given to the chance to go to schools (Sugimoto *et al.* 2009). The households which have working children are usually extremely poor due to economic reasons. Sending them to schools means such households lose one of the essential income resources. Even compulsory education is not free because they have to pay at least for transportation fee, texts, stationery products, lunch, and etc. They have to face the cost of education without essential income from the family, so sending children to schools creates “dual household burden” (Sugimoto *et al.* 2009: 15, my translation). Working children from poor families cannot keep schooling because of poor financial situation. This is also one of the reasons that many working children are very easy to drop out and leave schools. Second, education perhaps collapses the traditional system (Sugimoto *et al.* 2009). They find from the survey of nomadic people living in the rain forests in Malaysia, their children were forced to go to school because of the policy of universal education enforced in 2003. It is thought that this has possibilities to result in “ruining their traditional culture and bread and butter jobs and disjuncture of oral tradition between generations” and they

pointed out that “this fear delayed the introduction of universal education in Malaysia” (Sugimoto *et al.* 2009: 17, my translation). Also there is recognition that it is natural that households send their children to work (Sugimoto *et al.* 2009). In Latin American and African countries, people accept child labor positively due to “protagonism” (Sugimoto *et al.* 2009: 22). It means that working is regarded as important activity for children in the process of growing (Sugimoto *et al.* 2009). Numaguchi (2005) states that “In the first place, in traditional society, all the members of the family including children have been in charge of each labor and lived their lives” and continues that “These jobs in households cannot support only their productivities but these opportunities can establish the precious place for children to learn knowledge, techniques, and skills which are necessary for their lives and also the social place to get used to domestic life, productive activities, and local activities on the basis of these experiences” (3, my translation). Liebel (2003) also points out, “children are independent individuals, so they are able to judge for themselves and they must be socialized enough” (quoted in Sugimoto *et al.* 2009: 22, my translation).

Illich (1976) recognizes that “No matter how inefficient schools are in educating a majority, no matter how effective schools are in limiting the access to the elite, no matter how liberally schools shower their non-educational benefits on the members of

this elite, schools do increase the national income” and also says that “Education implies a growth of an independent sense of life and a relatedness which go hand in hand with increased access to, and use of, memories stored in the human community” (Illich, 1976: 98, 114). However, he outlines the problems of schooling in following sections, which make schooling a futile exercise if not done properly (Illich, 1976). He admits the high return to education and contribution of human growth, but he explains that education divides people in social stratification. Illich argues that “The resulting steep educational pyramid defines a rationale for the corresponding levels of social status. Citizens are ‘schooled’ into their places” and he also says “This results in political acceptable forms of discrimination which benefit the relatively few achievers” (Illich, 1976: 97). He continues and defines that “Schooling therefore –under the best of circumstances- helps to divide society into two groups: those so productive that their expectation of annual rise in personal income lies far beyond the national average, and the overwhelming majority whose income also rises, but at a rate clearly below the former’s” (Illich, 1976: 98).

There is a common understanding that all children in the world should receive education instead of working. Poverty makes it difficult to send children schools consistently, and in some countries and regions education prevents children from

passing down traditional understanding from generation to generation. So universal education is not simply a relief package for suffering people, it is vitally related to the development of a country and even a region. Also Sugimoto *et al.* (2009) argue that “the purpose which modern nations made extraordinary sacrifices and efforts to introduce universal education is not just that governments discharge their responsibilities of its practice in order to guarantee people’s right to education but also there was a plot to integrate the people by providing preferable education for the nations’ benefits” (15, my translation). Now it is suspicious that education is necessary for whom and for what if education brings into negative outcomes to working children and people around them.

2.4 Working Children in the Philippines

2.4.1 Demography

The total population of the Philippines is 90.348 million and population below international poverty line of US\$1.25 per day comprised of 23% of the total population during the period of 1992-2007 (UNICEF, At a Glance: Philippines hp). According to the survey of NSO, employment rate was 92.6% in 2008, but it reports that “among the various occupation groups, laborers and unskilled workers comprise the largest proportion (33.0%) of the total employed population” (Positive News Media website).

Further, recent child population under 18 years old was 36.793 million in 2008 (UNICEF, At a Glance: Philippines hp). In 2001, NSO recorded that 4.0 million children of total 24.851 million children aged 5-17 were economically active. The report by NSO exhibited the reasons why children (from 5 to 17 years old) had to work. It reveals that almost 40 percent of them worked because they wanted to help their own household enterprises. The second largest reason answered by 29.8 percent of overall working children was to supplement family income and it was important to their family's well-being. When it comes to their occupations, in a total of 4.0 million working children, 64.9% worked as laborers and unskilled workers. In status of employment, 58.8% were unpaid workers in own household operated farms and business. Because of this system of hiring children as unpaid workers, most of working children (62.0%) couldn't get paid. Only about 1.4 million (35.2%) of total working children could receive payment. Although the survey shows that it was possible to get higher income as they got older, on average they got Php 500 (around US\$ 10) in a week. Some of working children engaged in paid work received other forms of recompense from employers such as meal, clothing, education, and training allowances.

Integrative report of ILO-IPEC (2006) informs the worst forms of child labor in the Philippines. In general, boys in the country are exploited in professions such as

“construction (86%), forestry & deep-sea fishing (85% each), mining/quarrying (77%), other fishing (66%), sugarcane plantations (65%), other agriculture & manufacturing (55% each), pyrotechnics (52%) and services (51%)” and girls were engaged as commercially sexually exploited children (CSEC) (67%), and also work in “domestic work (76%), wholesale and retail (54%)” (37). In particular, domestic work is large market in this country and even children aged from 14 to 17 do everything at homes such as housekeeping, laundry, babysitting, guarding, driving and cooking (ILO-IPEC, 2006). Their rate of salaries depended on the employer’s personal decision (ILO-IPEC, 2006). It also indicates that more girls than boys tend to do this work and its ratio was almost 4 girls: 1 boy, but the gap was wide, 9:1 in National Capital Region (NCR). According to its survey, most of child domestic workers were likely to live with their employers and were not allowed to go out often (ILO-IPEC, 2006). Because employers shut down the relationship between child domestic workers and the outside of houses, children are very vulnerable to receive sexual harassments (ILO-IPEC, 2006). Furthermore, this affects the characters of the children. Children who are engaged in such hazardous work are described in the report as “independent-minded and hesitate to seek support or open up to people outside their group” and it continues that “This may have been caused by the series of betrayals and/or abuses they have encountered

from other sectors of society, particularly by the police and some agencies of government” (ILO-IPEC, 2006: 164).

2.4.2 The Inflow of People from Rural to Urban Areas

This painful work which damages children physically and psychologically is encouraged by their families at times. There is a distinct inflow of working children from rural to urban areas. ILO-IPEC (2006) mentions that “CDWs (Child Domestic Worker[s]) who started work as young children in their hometowns or in cities near their hometowns eventually allowed themselves to be ‘recruited’ to Manila to gain experience” and continues that “As they gained contacts and skills, they probably hoped to move on to employers with better offers or to aim for overseas employment also as domestic workers” (ILO-IPEC, 2006: 161). Also parents have a certain kind of work value. They don’t regard activities done by children in rural areas as work (ILO-IPEC, 2006). ILO-IPEC (2006) indicates that “Because of this perception they may have no compunction in making a child work at the expense of sacrificing his/her studies” (166). So the scarcity of employment chance in rural areas promoted urbanization and parents’ perception of work sacrifice their children. Filipino children are also said to have strong heart and responsibility to support families, even if they get hurt by working. As stated earlier, financial reason is a very influential factor which forces children to work. The

Philippines has one of the examples of a unique Asian character which is their lives should be devoted to family income and it remarks that “In the rural and urban poor communities, parents expect adolescent males to contribute to the family” (Center for Integrative and Development Studies, University of the Philippines, 2003: 40).

2.4.3 Discontinuity of Schooling

A huge problem faced by the working children who go to schools is the demand to manage both lives, and many are unable to do so. 2.6 million working children attended school from 2001 to 2002 (NSO, 2001). They dealt with both working and studying at the same time. However, it shows that 1.3 million (36.5%) working children stopped and dropped out of school (NSO, 2001). Children in the age group of 15 to 17 years were more likely to stop or drop out of school than children from 10 to 14 years old (NSO, 2001). There were many reasons why children stopped and dropped out of school. The two main reasons were: the children’s loss of interest in school and the family’s unaffordable financial condition to send them to schools. These reasons differed by sex too. For boys the number one reason was the loss of interest in schooling, on the other hand, for girls it was family’s unaffordability. The survey reports that as children were younger, they tended to stop or drop out of school because of a decline of interest of schooling, but as they were older, they tend to stop or drop out of school because of

financial shortage. So there is a clear connection between economic condition and continuity of children's schooling. Although this financial shortage was not the most selected reason in the survey by National Statics in 2001, as much as 415,000 children were prevented from keeping studying in schools because of economic reason (NSO, 2001).

Although working is inevitable for children who live in an impoverished community, schooling is supposed to be the center of their childhood so that they can survive in an industrialized society and also enjoy their childhood. Unfortunately when it comes to a priority, often it is work that s favored. Even for adults it is hard to deal with both working and studying. It must be more difficult for young children to manipulate both of them. Survey reveals that "On the average, a working child was more likely to report that he had difficulty working and attending school at the same time than admit that his work has negative effect on his schooling"(5?). 1.2 million of 2.6 million children who both worked and attended school admitted that "they had difficulty working and studying at the same time while only 590 thousand or 22.3 percent reported that their work had negative effect on their schooling" (NSO, 2001: 5?). There are common problems encountered on schooling such as "caching-up with the lessons (52.1%); high cost of school supplies/books/transportation (47.9%); and distance

of school from residence (40.0%)” (NSO, 2001: 5). The most often reported negative effect of schooling were “low grades (39.7%); absenteeism (30.2%); and tardiness (25.6%)” (NSO, 2001: 5). One curious fact is that NSO (2001) also reports that “More than 97 percent of the working children reached at least elementary level” (5). To go to further detail, 3.9 million working children completed a certain educational grade. Only 2.9% completed any level of grade. It also informs that “Male working students were mostly elementary undergraduates while the females had at least some high school education.” (5) It seems like that working children in the Philippines are somehow connected with educational chances, although working children who could reach colleges comprised of only 0.8%.

2.4.4 Return to Education

The largest share in working population in 1995, 25.0%, comprised of elementary graduates (Philippine Institute for Development Studies (PIDS), 2003). Elementary undergraduates (the first to fifth grade) comprised of 12.7% in 1995 (PIDS, 2003). It seems there was active job creation among people who had experience of elementary school education. However, the percentage of underemployed children was higher among elementary undergraduate (21.6%) than high school and college undergraduate (14.1% and 9.7%) and graduate (18.8% and 6.5%) in 1995, even though

the underemployment was lower than college undergraduate (elementary undergraduate 11.91% and college undergraduate 17.67% in 1995) (PIDS, 2003). It seems that working children who mostly were elementary undergraduate were more likely to encounter chance of employment, but also easy to get unemployed at some time. The fact might imply that the society needs many workers who can work as unskilled laborers. On the other hand, such people were easy to lose employment more college undergraduates. From this fact it is assumed that their occupations are more unstable and salary is lower than educated workers.

In the Philippines, school attendance rate is very high and more people came to work with certain educational background. In 2000 the largest employed group was high school graduate (22%) and the second was elementary graduate (20%) (League of Filipino Students (LFS) and NSO, quoted in PSID, 2003). The elementary school group (undergraduate: 18% and graduate: 20%) was more employed than college group (undergraduate: 11% and graduate: 12%) (LFS and NSO, quoted in PSID, 2003). On the other hand, in the same year, the largest unemployed group was high school graduate (28%). Although in 1976 the elementary school group (undergraduate: 15% and graduate: 21%) was more unemployed than college group (undergraduate: 14% and graduate: 11%), in 2000, college group (undergraduate: 16% and graduate: 15%) was

more unemployed than elementary school group (undergraduate: 10% and graduate: 13%) (LFS and NSO, quoted in PSID, 2003). In the Philippines, therefore, even though people go to colleges, they have high possibility to get unemployed. Also when it comes to occupations of college students, whereas in 1976 60% of college students became professionals, in 2000, this proportion declined to 23% and at the same time we can see drastic increase in employment in sales category from 5.5% in 1976 to 15.7% in 2000 (NSO, LFS, quoted in PSID, 2003). It is obvious that that college students' job quality has turned from high to low in this time. PSID states "This may be taken as an indicator of oversupply of college graduates given the lackluster economic growth performance" (PSID, 2003: 40). According to Blaug (1974), population growth is one of the causes of educated unemployment. Furthermore, if labor market is underdeveloped, educated people become unemployed because they are young and inexperienced. Often, a perfectly competitive labor market does not respond instantaneously and in this case, a sustained expansion of education at an accelerated rate will necessarily result in relatively high rates of educated unemployment for long periods of time (ibid). Even if people receive higher education, it is very difficult to get high income-generating jobs. Nevertheless, it remains to be pointed out that there is much less chance to get a job, without academic qualification of some degree in the Philippines.

2.5 Summary

Education brings knowledge to children. However, education for poor families is often more than simply that, it is something unusual for them. When poor people decide to send children to schools, the unfavorable effects such as financial burden and loss of their traditional view afflict the whole household. It can be seen from the discussion in this chapter that the poor families have many constraints other than simple lack of education. Even if education is available, it may not be affordable. Factors like family structure, cultural background, gender and education level of older generations are vital. Though there is a decline in working children in most parts of the world, the numbers remain huge. Working children often have poorly defined work, they are often unpaid, engaged in hazardous activities or are physically exploited. They are very vulnerable and this leads to damage in their personality. In addition, even when schools are there, the education level can be very low. Also, going to school is one thing, but completing education is another. Many working children fail to complete schooling, due to various pressures.

From the existing research literature, six factors behind child labor, and under achievement in education can be found:

1. First, poverty is a fundamental factor that forces children to work. It is inevitable

for poor families living hand to mouth to send their children to work. Small amounts of money earned by little children are essential and valuable for their survival.

2. Secondly, household income determines whether children have to work or don't have to. This is closely associated with the first factor above. A lot of researches show clear relationship between household income and child labor. It has been established that when family's income is lower, the possibility of children's work becomes higher (Basu & Van, 1998; Goldin, 1979; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; Orazem *et al.*, 2009).
3. The third factor is family structure. This does not only mean number of family members. According to some, there is a positive effect on the possibility of children's work if families are large (Cockburn 2001; Kurosaki *et al.* 2006; Knodel *et al.* 1990 and Levison, 1991 quoted from Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 1997). But on the other hand, some other researchers have argued that the number of family is not always decisive (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 1997; Cockburn 2001). In fact, whether children work or go to school is decided by "specialization" by parents (Chernichovsky, 1985). Parents *screen* them and give each their tasks. In terms of gender, generally boys are allowed to go to school and girls engage in household chores. From one study in Ethiopia, it becomes clear that especially firstborn boys

have higher possibility to go to school than younger boys and older girls (Cockburn, 2001).

4. The next factor is household heads' educational background. Parents who are comparatively more educated understand the importance of education and they are very helpful toward their children's studies compared to uneducated parents (Orazem *et al.* 2009; Porio *et al.* 2002; Kurosaki *et al.* 2006; Burra, 1989). However, Yonemura (1992) argues from his research in Mexico that poor people are also highly motivated and regard education as a very important component to enjoy a good living.
5. The fifth is the school as facility. Although people have common understanding that education is an important investment for children, it is meaningless if the quality of school and teachers do not clear the standards and satisfy their demands. If a school is well prepared to accept and educate students, it increases attendance. Similarly, if parents realize that the school is dysfunctional, it makes them choose not to send kids to school (Edmonds and Pavcnik, 2005; Jensen and Nielsen, 1997; Burra, 1989 quoted from Pimlac, 1987).
6. The final factor is culture. This is a complex issue, and for this research, this is simplified as the social background, and the habits the subjects are accustomed to.

Simply speaking, there are some societies who are more tolerant on children working. These are mostly developing countries, with a large population, high ratio of children and existence of poverty. For example, in Mexico and African countries, there is encouragement for children to work (Yonemura, 1992; Kurosaki *et al.* 2006). Murata (2009) points out the case of India in this regard and identifies the once strict caste system which created a mechanism of higher caste people exploiting lower caste people. In his opinion, this is reflected in the pattern of child labor as well.

In case of the Philippines, the school going rate is very high, but the unemployment rate is also high. This is a curious situation, because this shows that the Philippines society does not have right jobs for the graduates. Also a massive number of Filipino children are engaged in hazardous occupations. This is the theme that will form the main thread of my case from now on.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This research follows a qualitative framework. I took qualitative research design because the Philippines was a largely unknown country to me before I started this research, and I wanted to study the case of Payatas in detail. This needed an open ended research design and a qualitative design based on visiting the field and interviewing research subjects was selected (Creswell, 2003).

3.1 Methodology

Creswell says: “Qualitative research begins with assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens, and the study of research problems inquiring into the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2007: 37). Also qualitative research is unstructured, the account is constructed as the researcher moves on from the initial to later stages (Creswell, 2003). It is also a method that gives central importance to the experiences of the subjects of the research; therefore it gives a lot of importance to what the subjects have to *tell* (Patton, 2002, Berg, 1998, Creswell, 2007). Using qualitative strategies “provide[s] perspectives that can prompt recall of these common or half forgotten sights, sounds, and smells” (Berg, 2001: 3). My research puts more importance on learning from the experiences of those

who live in Barangay Payatas in Metro Manila, and presenting their accounts, opinions and understanding. In order to examine them, “Qualitative procedures provide a means of accessing unquantifiable facts about the actual people researchers observe and talk to or people represented by their personal traces (such as letters, photographs, newspaper accounts, diaries, and so on)” (Berg, 2001: 7). This research complies with this observation, as I took notes from various published sources, and also documents I collected from the field. Observing and talking with people are essential resource for this research. Consequently, “qualitative techniques allow researchers to share in the understandings and perceptions of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives” (Berg, 2001: 7).

There are five qualitative approaches, which are narrative, phenomenological, grounded theory, ethnographic, case study researches (Creswell, 2007). This study follows a case study approach. Case study is defined as: “a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case-based themes” (Creswell, 2007: 73). It is also said that “Extremely rich, detailed, and in-depth information characterize the

type of information gathered in a case study”, on the other hand, “the often extensive large-scale survey research data may seem somewhat superficial in nature” (Champion, 1993 quoted in Berg, 2001: 225). Yin (2009) says “the case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events- such as individual life cycles, small group behavior, organizational and managerial processes, neighborhood change, school performance, international relations, and the maturation of industries” (4). So case study allows researchers to comprehend people and related issues through close observation and interviews deeply. This study deals with Payatas as one case and explores what is going on there by getting involved in the community. This makes it possible to focus on the specific social group and broad the views extensively.

3.1.1 Interviews

I conducted interviews in order to hear real voices. I conducted two kinds of interviews, a focus group interview and individual interviews. The focus group interview was conducted in order to grasp some degree of the perspective of the children regarding Payatas as well as to make them feel relaxed. On the other hand, individual interview was conducted to understand them in further detail.

3.1.2 Focus Group Interviews of Children

I conducted focus group interview only for working children. 10 working children of Grade 6 in Payatas C elementary school were chosen randomly for this interview. 8 of them were boys and rests were girls. The primary reason why I used focus group interview I learned that children do not want to talk freely to a stranger. As countermeasure, I decided to do focus group interview. This was also for research efficiency because focus group interviews can be stimulating discussions and brainstorming through interactions each other (Berg, 2001). During the interview, we asked them to write down one word in colorful paper and to explain the reason why they chose the word after very short questions. Some small gifts were distributed to grow a friendly atmosphere; I gave lollipops and souvenirs from Japan to make them feel comfortable.

3.1.3 Individual Interviews

For individual interviews, I took the semi-standardized interview design, which “involves the implementation of a number of predetermined questions and/or special topics” and also “These questions are typically asked of each interviewee in a systematic and consistent order, but...interviewees are permitted (in fact expected) to probe far beyond the answers to their prepared and standardized questions” (Berg,

2001: 70). I was very careful in wording the questions. Patton (2002) says that “the truly open-ended question permits those being interviewed to take whatever direction and use whatever words they want to express what they have to say” (354). So I prepared a list of open-ended questions (refer to Appendix B, C, D) for working children, teachers, parents and Payatas youth (aged 16-30), Then I asked them with the help of the local translator. During interviews, participants were allowed to respond freely.

Five children who participated in the focus group interview were interviewed individually, following the design of in depth interview. The number of respondents stayed low as most children were not accessible for individual interviews. Only the 5 mentioned here were available because they study and work in Payatas and their homes were accessible.

In addition, I conducted interviews with the parents of the five children who were individually interviewed and the 10 children who previously had participated in the focus group interview. Most of the parents were mothers, but one was a father. For youth, we walked around elementary school and asked them to answer questions of prepared questionnaire. I also interviewed 3 teachers and the principal in Payatas C Elementary school. Unfortunately the teachers could not be interviewed individually, so they were interviewed together. The principal made time for the interview and was

interviewed separately.

3.2 Choice of Research Site

To deepen understanding of currently working children in Payatas, Metro Manila, I conducted field work in the Barangay Payatas in Metro Manila. At first I started with absolutely no experience of Filipino way of life, their culture, and customs. So this field work was very important not only to get data of working children in Payatas but also to grasp sociocultural atmosphere that they were in.

The primary objective of the field work was to interview school going children in Payatas, their families and people associated with schools. These categories, and some other minor categories, formed the subjects of my study. While I was choosing the research site I came across the Ateneo de Manila University in Quezon City, which has many experienced researchers, various research institutions, and a resourceful library. I was helped by ACED (Ateneo Center for Educational Development) chaired by Mrs. Carmela C. Oracion. It has a rich network and strong relationship between public schools in Quezon City. Since I cannot speak the local language, Tagalog, a translator was assigned to me from ACED. This translator accompanied me on my visits to Payatas. Payatas is regarded as quite dangerous for a person to travel alone, especially a young foreign woman like me who had no knowledge of the local language. Also taking

photographs or videos of working people in Payatas is difficult because taking photos of the workers for profit is prohibited and one should get permission from local authorities before doing so. Thus my behavior and actions were partially restricted.

3.2.1 Payatas C Elementary School

After choosing Payatas as the location, the specific site of Payatas C elementary school was chosen as the research site. I decided this after discussions with ACED. I wrote letters to three principals of different public elementary schools requesting access to students and permission to interview them. The Payatas C elementary school allowed me to conduct interviews and allowed me to be with the children.

Payatas C elementary school was founded in 1983 and it is located in the area closest to the dumpsite (ACED, 2009). According to the profile by ACED, Payatas C elementary school was categorized as a “Depressed, Deprived and Underserved’ school” (6). Although Payatas C elementary school accommodates 2343 students during school year 2008-2009, it doesn’t have adequate class rooms (ACED, 2009). In Grade 6, it consists of 6 sections (3 morning classes and 3 afternoon classes) and 1 class consists of about 50 students (ACED, 2009). The classrooms are very crowded and students study by sitting very close in crowded classrooms. What is more, the school area does not

belong to the school and therefore as they need, the school teachers cannot get additional rooms in the school area without the owner's permission. It is also said that the school was founded illegally. Such problems have been discussed for long time but no solution has been found. Furthermore, working children in this school are in minority group, even though it is in Payatas. For example, the 6 grade class I visited consists of 40 girls and 20 boys and only 3 of these children are working children. I found that most of the parents of the children in the Payatas C elementary school are employed and their jobs range from construction, managing information, and sales to scavenging. Most of students in this school do not have to work, so they can focus on studying and can enjoy their childhood. On the other hand, there are some working children in this school and they have difficulty in keep schooling because their time to study has to be shifted to work. They have to manipulate both study and work. But working in the dumpsite exhausts them and they tend to skip class sometimes. Additionally Payatas C elementary school has a huge number of students in small classrooms and in this school working children face difficulty in studying continuously. So I chose this school as the specific research site.

3.3 Data Sources

Data sources for the present research can be divided into primary and secondary types. Primary data include in-depth face to face interviews with working children, parents, teachers, and youth in Payatas. These were carried out from January, 2010 to May, 2010. Main aims of interviews were to understand children's difficulties with working and studying at the same time and understand how effective school education is for the children of Payatas. Primary data also include photographs, motion pictures, and daily notes field visits collected through visits to the Payatas dumpsite. Also miscellaneous interviews helped understand poverty in the Philippines such as interviews with people working at the Ateneo Center for Educational Development and professors experienced in researches in urban poverty in Ateneo de Manila University. Furthermore, I could contact and discuss with local NGOs, JICA personnel working in the Philippines, and some ADB personnel working.

For secondary data, books, journals, web resources, news items from local newspapers, and master's theses were used. This phase was carried out through using library resources, digital databases and searching the internet.

Chapter 4

Analysis and Discussion

Metro Manila is among the biggest metropolises in Asia. The gigantic city is the economic and political center of the Philippines. It is a city with a huge modern airport, broad roadways packed with busy traffic and an efficient train network. Highly expensive cars run along the streets, and people go in and out of giant shopping malls selling everything a modern person needs. However, Manila is a city of contradictions also. There are people who enjoy urban life like any other modern metropolis with lots of luxury goods, and at the same time there are many others who barely survive at the bottom of this urban society.

Big cities are most often thought of as glamorous places, full of speed, convenience and fashion. So it appears as a shock to see long lines of families sleeping on the sidewalks during the night and waking up to begin a new day in the morning. Their days too, are spent in the streets. They, and other who live in shanties just by the busy roads, form a substantial part of the population of Metro Manila. Often, these people are engaged in collecting garbage, selling it, or doing similar kinds of work that no one would like to do if they have even a little money. They are often called 'scavengers', a name that sounds less than a human being. The largest concentration of

these unfortunate people is in Barangay Payatas in Quezon City. This huge slum settlement accommodates 2.6 million people, around the largest open dumpsite in Asia. This dumpsite is the result of urban consumption and it provides jobs such as scavenging (Central Barangay Hall, n.d.). For families depending on garbage and just managing to survive, each extra hand is essential, so even the children are forced to work with garbage from a very young age. As a result, they end up dropping out of schools and growing up without education. Physical fatigue from work affects their study at schools and mental condition. Their parents are uneducated in most cases, and work desperately for a living, so they lack home support in continuing schooling as well. Thus the children here end up being caught in a vicious cycle of poverty, need to work and a forced absence from the world of education.

4.1 Two Faces of Metro Manila

I arrived at the airport in Manila on a hot and humid morning on what was supposed to be winter on December 16, 2009. The Philippines has a hot tropical climate, and winter is very short and not at all cold for us Japanese. Just outside the airport arrival gate, I was astonished to hear a great noise. Around the parking area, people were stuck in the traffic and the cars were honking horns repeatedly. I was to stay at the condominium for students at Ateneo de Manila University in Quezon City during

my fieldwork. On the way to Quezon City, we experienced a lot of traffic jams and drivers were hitting the horn again and again. It was very noisy and somehow I felt that everybody was very tense, and this made me afraid of the safety on the roads. I could also see bare bodied children running around the street, and as the cars stopped they came to the windows to ask for money. It seemed to me foreigners got special attention from them in this matter.

Finally, arriving at the place where I was to stay. I was very surprised that there was a lounge with newspapers, front desk, security personnel, cleaners, terrace with chairs and tables, underground parking lot, gym and so on. I could not believe that this is an apartment for students, but I found out that most of students in the university are from rich families and this level of service is a minimum for them. One day when I was invited to dinner at home by one of students, her driver took us to her home and we were welcomed by two maids. I heard from them that they have had maids and their own drivers since they were young. They were pretty accustomed to be taken care of by maids. In this condominium, cleaners cleaned up each room and made bed once a week and if residences left dishes in the sink, they cleaned them up. A few security guards always stood in front of the entrance everyday. Security guards were seen everywhere, at department stores, stations, university, restaurants and even fast food stores and

convenience stores. I felt this apartment was full of luxury and was not a dormitory anymore.

During my stay, I went out to see the city and its people often and also visited a rural place, Laguna province, which is located in the southeast of Metro Manila for a short break. The center of Metro Manila is dominated by high buildings, commercial facilities, and cheap transportation. In Rizal Park near Manila Bay, people can be seen spending time by reading books, having nap, and playing with children. Also a lot of tourists visit museums, historical places and churches. There were also many local people who stand in the street hoping to catch sightseers and drive them around on horse carts. Metro Manila is famous for shopping malls. People are able to enjoy shopping until around 10 p.m. everyday. Especially on weekends, malls are filled with a bunch of endless energetic consumers. In the malls, we can not only buy plenty of stuff at reasonable prices but also buy very expensive things such as large scale electric appliances, cars, and even mansions. I felt that Filipinos enjoy fast food very much. Jollibee is a very successful fast food chain store and occupies a big share of fast food stores in the Philippines. People go to food court for dinner as well as lunch with families. Also collective high status housing areas in Manila are characteristic because residential areas are surrounded by tall walls and fences and have 24-hour guards at

the entrances. People of the upper class are likely to build huge houses and live in such gated communities. When they return home, they go past the security posts. Guards recognize them from stickers on the front windows of their cars. From 6 pm to 7 pm in the evening, I saw many maids and hired drivers going back to their own homes from the gates of luxury residential areas.

4.1.1 Under the Shadow of Luxury

On the other side of this urban luxurious life, Metro Manila has another face. One day I was in downtown Manila in late evening. Many tourists were walking the pine-lined street; many people were eating and enjoying talking. Dozens of cars passed by soon as traffic lights turned green. In this busy street, one family was sleeping on a dirty cardboard sheet. When I took a closer look, I could see a long line of homeless families. Such families often spend entire lives on streets. Once children are born here, they have to grow up in desperate poverty and cannot go out of this world easily.

Plate 4.1: A typical homeless family in Manila. Often these families have a number of children who pose considerable challenges to oust urban poverty in Manila.



Source: Photo by Michael Varcus, 'Manila Bulletin', March 20, 2010

This photo from the newspaper shows a homeless family of eight on a portion of the sidewalk in Quezon City. From this picture, it can be seen that this family is not happy and they are tired of living. On the average, Php15,000 (US\$300) are required for a family of five to meet the basic needs a month in Metro Manila (Ragragio, 2003.) However, according to the survey by Mandaluyong, Muntinlupa, Pasay, and Quezon City, the average unemployment in depressed settlements is almost 40% and these people's monthly income range from Php2,500 (US\$50) to Php9,500 (US\$80). Slums are found in 526 communities all over Metro Manila and 2.54 million of people live in these slums (Ragragio, 2003). Thus, even as Metro Manila looks to be a huge city with modern buildings, cars and shopping centers, it has a dark face of poverty, which I later found was surprisingly severe and cruel in slum areas. Ganguly (2005) has analyzed slum life

through Marathi dalit literature. Here also we can find that even small babies were used for income earning (Ganguly, 2005: 188). She further indicts the inhumane living conditions in urban slums in the following way: "...the metropolis that promises mirage-like returns for hard and honest labor and extracts a steep, dehumanizing price for hosting its laboring, slum-dwelling, dalit masses." (Ibid: 188). This also shows the formation of a community along profession lines, and their marginalization in the same city for which their service is essential.

4.1.2 Poverty and Children

Poverty affects children directly. On another evening, I was in a restaurant with my friend. After finishing our dinner, we packed some food which was not finished and came out of the restaurant. Suddenly five children ran to us and surrounded us, and asked if they could have the leftover food. Such incidents are quite common in Manila, but it was shocking for me to see children beg for food, and that their families could not provide them meals. One late night I saw two children at a convenience store entrance asking for money right after customers finished paying. Even though they ignored the children and left, the children followed them for a few meters and kept asking for money. I saw a boy wash his hair and body in the water in a tank at a gas station. I saw two brothers running and playing in the middle of the street barefoot one

night. They were asking for money to people passing by repeatedly. When they were ignored, they were laughing loudly. They were tanned, had black dirt on their faces, and hair was very dry and shaggy. Their clothes were obviously unwashed and there were holes all over them. Especially, I cannot forget about one little girl. I was eating Philippine style ice shaving called halo-halo, while walking. When I almost finished and tried to throw it into the garbage box on the street, a girl came to me asking for it. Probably she was saying, "Please give it to me if you have finished." I could not understand her language well, but I could not also throw the pack away and gave it to her. She walked away eating with my spoon. After she left, her father bowed to me and he seemed to say "Thank you". This scared me because I could understand that these children were desperate in hunger, they eat anything they can get and have no sense of hygiene. There is a real danger that they will fall ill, and then will not be able to afford medicines. How they are living cannot be fully understood unless one watches them from close distance. Before I went to the Philippines, I thought I could understand poverty in the Philippines by simply looking at statistical data, but I think I had no idea what poverty really is and how poverty gives pain physically and psychologically. In Manila, I felt there is a clear line to distinguish between upper and middle class and lower class. Each separated class has separate territories and spend their time with

people in their community within it. Each person recognizes the existence of other classes and communities but they do not or may be cannot cross over. All these people are Filipinos, but I thought that problems of poverty and poor people are not familiar with people in upper class in the sense that they have never experienced such things and in many respects they understand poverty from a foreign view, not much different from mine. In addition, poverty's impact on children is particularly severe. Asking money is already their habit. Wearing over-used clothes is natural. Eating meals on time, going to sleep without thinking of the trouble next day is very common for me, but for the street children in Manila, these are like dreams. As an airplane was flying in the sky at one night, I thought I will travel by airplane several times in the future, but I wondered whether any of these children will ever have even one chance to travel by airplane.

4.2 Payatas

Payatas is a word almost synonymous to garbage. If one simply searches the Google with these letters, information on the garbage dump, the workers who scavenge there and the health hazard are widely available. I decided to select it as the research site because of the extreme nature of the place and also because a lot of children are involved in garbage collection and scavenging. There is a whole community, a huge slum

formed around Payatas garbage dump, where people spend their lives. It is something both terrible and very deeply interesting. This is because it is a fact that everyone agrees that Payatas should not be the working place for anyone, but no one is able to do anything. In fact day by day the garbage site is getting bigger, attracting more and more people for work. This is the site that gives probably the most extreme example of how poverty affects lives, and especially children.

Payatas is urban poor barangay (administrative unit within a city or village in the Philippines) located in the northeast of Quezon City in Metro Manila. Payatas covers a little less than 20% of the city's land and currently it has about 15% (117,001) of the city's total population (about 2.6 million) (Central barangay hall, n.d.). Payatas is divided into some sectors like A, B and C, and is connected by a big street, the Payatas Road. The garbage is taken down this road everyday by large and small trucks. Apart from this road there are many small streets, some very narrow and dirty. There are even lanes so narrow that it is very difficult for two people to walk side by side. Inside Payatas C, some roads are covered by white concrete. On both sides of these roads in the community, there are several *sari sari* stores (small stores selling daily essentials), and children run, play basketball and men play pool beside these stores. The houses in Payatas have a great variety. Some are concrete houses, where people with money live,

but the scavengers usually live in tin roofed shacks, some houses have cardboard walls. People enjoy talking with neighbors in front of houses. Payatas is not only the garbage, it is a community. There are schools, hospitals (though medical care is only a minimum), Barangay hall, churches and other offices in this area. But as one goes nearer to the dumpsite, the smell of garbage becomes stronger and stronger.

4.2.1 Payatas Dumpsite

In Payatas B, the 13 hectare infamous huge garbage dumpsite is found (Central barangay hall, n.d.). According to ADB (2004), as much as 6,700 tons of garbage is dumped a day in Metro Manila. Only 720 tons of them are recycled and composted, but the rest of 6,000 tons are carted to city's dumpsites, dumped illegally, or openly burned. In Payatas, garbage is accumulated for about 30 years and about 2000 cubic meter of garbage is taken to the landfill every weekday (Central barangay hall, n.d.). The squatter settlements around dumpsite were formed and most of people there depend on garbage for livelihood. In Payatas, 60% of residents were estimated as informal settlers (Central Barangay hall, n.d.). For them, the only means they can make money is by working with garbage. It is reported that "it provides livelihood to about 2,000 registered scavengers and more than 75 junkshop operators, and an undetermined number of unregistered scavengers" (Central barangay hall, n.d.: 5). In

2000, due to the heavy rains over the weekend, a 30 hectare and 50 foot high garbage mountain collapsed. ADB (2004) reports that after the collapse, fires spread across the dumpsite due to release of toxic methane gas and the presence of electrical utility poles. As a result, 200 people died (Ortiz, n.d.). But actually many deaths were unreported and many bodies became permanently lost by being buried under the garbage dump. Since this tragic collapse of the garbage mountain, the relocation of the dumpsite has been discussed because it provides fear of another collapse and also environmental problems and diseases are serious problems.

Around 30 years ago, Payatas had rich nature. Power (2006) says that “Payatas had been a ravine surrounded by rice paddies and farming villages shaded over with the remnants of the rainforest canopy” (Power, 2006: 58). Now as much as 1,300 tons of municipal garbage is dumped and it makes their livelihoods (Power, 2006). However, at the same time, it deteriorates its environment and damages the health of those who work or stay in the area. The dumpsite is located in the southeast of the Novaliches Reservoir which is the main source of drinking water for people living in Metro Manila and it is regarded as “a potential threat to the metropolis water supply” (Sia Su, 2008: 276). The low quality of water is not only the problem of dwellers in Payatas but also affects people living in Metro Manila. Sia Su (2008) found from the survey of

groundwater in the dumpsite that “The significant differences at the levels of the pollutants (TDS: Total Dissolved Solids, sulfate, conductivity and salinity) strongly indicate the existence of pollution at the community with the Payatas open dumpsite” (Sia Su, 2008: 279). Power (2006) explains that the accumulated garbage produces toxic leachate, also commonly referred to as ‘garbage juice’ and this is carried into the Pasig River and reaches Manila Bay finally. ADB has observed: “For the past 30 years, the Payatas dump site has most likely been releasing leachate into groundwater and river system....an amount currently estimated at 2 liters per second or 63 million liters each year....a rate that would fill one 18-wheeled tractor trailer tanker truck every 5 hours”. (ADB, 2004: 95). This is only one face of pollution. Besides groundwater pollution, Payatas air is severely polluted. A young pastor who once lived as a scavenger told me that when he came to Payatas as a kid, he saw the whole place filled with smoke rising out of the garbage dump. A local church which also runs a health care service, gave the information that lung diseases are the commonest illness affecting dumpsite workers. Many workers do not live long, and die due to toxic poisoning and respiratory diseases. 450 large trucks come there in a day and exhaust gas brings air pollution. ADB (2004) mentions that “Waste fires at these sites are common, which send plumes of toxic emissions into the air” (2004, ADB: 19). So people are exposed to extremely dreadful

pollutions that threaten their health. Central Barangay Hall reports that “Pneumonia, acute respiratory tract infection, pulmonary tuberculosis, acute tonsillopharyngitis, parasitism, and diarrhea are the common health problems of adults and children” (Central Barangay Hall, n.d., p.12). It is said that they are caused by the environment and the sanitary conditions (Barangay Hall, n.d.).

If considered from an environmental point of view or the point of another possible collapse like in 2000 or the effect to workers’ health, Payatas should be closed. The national government enacted the Ecological Solid Waste Management Act in 2000 and according to this, Payatas dumpsite was supposed to be closed by February 2006. It was reported that 73% residents did not want a sanitary landfill in their communities. However, Payatas has not been closed and according to some reports, it is even getting bigger by the day. There are many reasons behind this, including the opposition by workers in Payatas, who see the garbage as a source of living (ADB 2004). Payatas has become a big business as well, and such a huge community that it cannot simply be removed within a short time. Besides, many told me that the politicians are not seriously trying to solve the problem of this dump. This is because all that they need from the people in Payatas are votes and once elections are over Payatas is largely forgotten at policymaking levels. The Payatas Baptist Church, which is run by an

American, Jack Wilson, helped me to find my way inside the dump area. The church has openly criticized the way the Philippines government has handled Payatas.

However, there have been a few changes recently, and some of them are promising. The city government cleared parts of the garbage mountain and planted grass and have been trying to make the site cleaner and safer. Already there is a tight regulation on dumping extremely toxic waste, but in effect the regulation often does not work properly. But the main reason the city government could not terminate the dumpsite immediately, is that by keeping the dumpsites, it can earn large amount of subsidy from other cities in Metro Manila. So operation of the dumpsite is also an important financial resource for the city government. Currently dumpsites such as the Rodriguez disposal facility in Montalban and the Tanza facility in Navotas have started working. Power (2006) found from the interview that "Many scavengers have already moved there" (Power, 2006: 63). Although new dumpsites are developed, people working in these sites do not see much improvement in their living conditions. Even if the dumpsite is closed and dumpsites are developed in different areas, scavengers will remain scavengers in other areas.

4.2.2 People's Movement in Payatas

Now Payatas is the biggest dumpsite in Metro Manila and a source of living for many. Unlike other squatter settlements in Metro Manila, settlers have jobs in this place and can earn a certain amount as long as garbage is carted to the dumpsite. The Barangay report from Payatas Barangay hall points out that the first influx of people started in the 1960s in what was then a low lying fertile plain in the Marikina river basin. These people originally from the provinces such as Luzon and the Visayas settled in Metro Manila and after that they came to Payatas. In the 1970s and 1980s, more people came to Payatas from various areas in Metro Manila and it has been continuing today. In the 1970s, the dumpsite began to be formed as the trash from a growing Metro Manila was dumped in this place and "10,000 scavengers, junk-shop operators, and garbage brokers who followed the metropolis's waste stream wherever it led" (Power, 2006: 58). The removal of squatters in inner-city by Imelda Marcos in the mid-1970s and the closure of Smokey Mountain (an infamous large dumpsite in Manila, the biggest dumpsite before Payatas) in 1995 accelerated in-migration to Payatas. It is presumed that Payatas consists of people from rural areas (meaning those who directly come from villages to Payatas) and slum dwellers in urban areas. However, due to the poor opportunity of work in rural places and urban pull factors, many rural residents

migrated to Manila. Thus many people living in urban squatters are originally from rural areas. It can be concluded that there is the possibility that most people in Payatas are originally from rural areas. In the Philippines, the population of migrants from rural areas has been increasing since the 1970s. According to the recent data by International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (n.d.), rural population in 2006 is 31.5 million of 86.3 million of overall population and it makes up 36.6 percent. This share is comparatively small and probably the rural share was bigger before large urban settlements developed. Especially in the case of Manila, the city has grown bigger and bigger by merging with surrounding areas. Many originally rural residents have migrated and they tend to move from one town to the other town within Manila and have lived in Manila for nearly two decade. The primary reason that relocates them to urban areas is poverty. Economy in urban sector is more active than rural sector. Business in urban sector has money and adequate technology. Because of the decline of productivity and profitability in farming, people leave there and go to urban areas with a strong hope to get more income-generating jobs. For this reason, people living in rural areas expect to get money from the developed urban areas and so tend to migrate to urban areas. It can be said that this *bright lights syndrome* is a main pull factor to attract people into urban sector.

However, merely relocating into the city is not a guarantee of stable income. Because the city employs people on a skill basis, and the skills have to be learned in educational institutions in many cases. In fact it is difficult for people who are usually deficient in adequate educational experience to work in the formal sector. Their jobs are limited to the bottom of urban society and their working condition is characterized by low income and unstable employment contract (IFAD, n.d.). According to a community development project worker, “There’s no opportunity out there. The city is attractive. For a farmer, life on a dumpsite is comparatively easy. This is not a question of quality of life, but a question of survival” (Power, 2006: 67). Migrants can find jobs easily as soon as they start to live in urban areas, but their income is low and labor conditions are tough. Nakanishi (1991) explain from his research of the slum in Malabon city in Metro Manila that kinship and social connection are essential for migrants from rural areas to live in slums. Because of those linkages, migrants can start their urban life. Kinship is important for everything in the starting point, like the place to live in slums and employment. Likewise, many settlers in Payatas were led by “immediate family members and relatives, neighbors, and friends who were already residing in the place” (Central Barangay Hall, n.d.: 4). With these assistances, they are able to earn their livelihood and blend into the life in slums smoothly (Nakanishi, 1991).

4.2.3 Jobs in Payatas

So what types of jobs are there in Payatas? There is no simple answer. Jobs here are not stable and people change jobs from time to time. At times certain works bring good money and become popular. But roughly speaking; there are two main kinds of work related to the garbage:

1. collecting, sorting and scavenging from it (working at the dumpsite)
2. work at junk shops where garbage is bought and sold (away from the dumpsite).

Basically, the job in the dumpsite is to collect garbage which have some monetary value and sell them to junk shops. Gonzalez (2003) provides the idea of process that starts from sorting, transporting, consolidating and segregation, cleansing, storage, to delivery. Junk shops are in charge of jobs except for sorting. Sorting is often done with bare hands and is extremely dangerous as occupation. Besides, this involves a longer exposure to the dumpsite and thus has another dimension of health hazard. People often have to work and stay in the dumpsite for very long time, and there are a lot of waste from hospital which are not properly cleaned and stained with blood. ADB (2004) reveal that medical facilities in Metro Manila produces the 47 tons of medical waste a day, which consists of 56% (26 tons) of infectious waste. Such people who have

no equipment to deal with medical idea are easy to get injured and infected. As far as garbage pieces are concerned, currently, computer supplies fetch higher price, with empty refillable printer cartridges worth as much as 350 pesos, Power describes: “[a]s trucks dump each new load with a shriek of gears and a sickening glorp of wet garbage, the scavengers surge forward, tearing open plastic bags, spearing cans and plastic bottles with a choreographed efficiency” (Power, 2006: 62).

When I walked around the 100 meter high mountains, I could see men and women of all ages involved in this work. These ‘mountains’ in Payatas are actually two very tall garbage heaps, mostly made of plastic and useless garbage. The height is not clearly known, but I thought the taller heap was nearly 100 meters. The older ‘mountain’ has already grass growing out of it. There is a small river flowing just beside the mountains and the water is totally dark and the smell is so bad that I could not stand there for long. But people can be seen washing plastic bags before selling them in that river, and some people are staying in the water for hours. I met a lady who makes pillow cover by stitching small strips of clothing she gets from the garbage, she has only one old machine and works for 8 hours every day. I found that Payatas is a world very different from the world we know, people live a life which has completely different standards in this place.

Everyday trucks bring tons of garbage into Payatas. Trucks have to go through security at the entrance to go inside dumpsite and they have to submit documents to the office. They are carefully checked and then permitted to go. In the bottom and the middle of the garbage mountain, the security booths are set up and they are watching outsiders, scavenger's safety and also children. Children who are under 14 years old were prohibited to go inside, but many children enter by hiding behind the truck and sneak under the watchful eyes of securities.

There is also a social hierarchy among scavengers. It is constituted by "ramblistas", "paleros", and "jumpers" (Power, 2006: 63). "Ramblistas" do not belong to any organized group. They just scavenge what they get from the garbage dump. "Paleros" are in a better position, they can take out the 'best' bits of garbage from the trucks. "Jumpers" are small boys who are not allowed to work inside the dump, but they collect their share from outside the gates. People in Payatas are considered to be discriminated against in the modern society, but even in Payatas there is social hierarchy, people are distinguished by rank and the jobs are limited by it.

4.3 Payatas C Elementary School

The Payatas C elementary school is noted for its extreme environment. Though it is not a school only for slum dwellers' kids, but it is well known and mentioned in the

Barangay report that the school lacks adequate facilities and learning environment. I chose this school as the place to interview children, teachers and family members related to this school. My first impression was that the school was very small and must have very few students. But actually, when I went in, the classrooms were filled with a great number of lively children. When I went the school staff were preparing for a teachers' lunch. I could see a lot of fowl running around in the compound. This is a very common sight in the Philippines, but it was surprising to see so many of them in the school. When the morning session was finished, a great number of students got out of classrooms. Because of the large number of students, the school does not have enough capacity to accommodate and teach all of its students at one time. When the studies were finished, the students started returning to their homes. Some students walked to their homes and others used tricycles. Tricycle is a common transportation for Filipinos. It is basically a motorbike that has a cage attached to it where two people can sit. Each tricycle carries at least three passengers (one behind the driver) and a driver. But when school finishes tricycles are in great demand, I could see 5 students hang on to it. Apparently, the students were not much different from ordinary school children in poor localities. Many had colorful backpacks, girls had beautiful hair and pierced ears, and there were bullies among boys. After they left school the gate closed, and then reopen

for the afternoon session, and plenty of students who take afternoon session class poured into school again and spread to each classroom.

The classrooms are always extremely crowded. In the classrooms of Grades 6, 3 students were sitting together in one long chair and desk and sharing a textbook. Textbooks are provided by the national government free of charge. Students are not allowed to write in the textbook or damage it in some way. If they do so, they have to pay for textbooks before they graduate. Thus, even these texts are not completely free. Students have to prepare for notebooks and stationeries by themselves. Also they need to bring lunch or money to buy some food.

Though Payatas C elementary school looks to be overcrowded, having far less than ideal environment and some very poor background of its students, it can be seen from one example that promises in the kids are there. Students in Payatas C elementary school regularly show high scores in the Division Achievement Test (DAT) and also ranked 5th in the Quezon City through the National Achievement Test (NAT) in the school year 2007-2008 (ACED, 2009). According Mr. Benjamin Caling, the current principal of Payatas C elementary school: “the low performance of the students is due to financial problems and the lack of time and involvement of the parents” (ACED, 2009: 10). It is clear that financial hardship affects the students. Moreover the parents of

working children are mostly uneducated and very poor. So it becomes very difficult for the parents to guide their kids once they progress to higher classes. Eventually this cycle catches up with the kids. Porio (2002) indicates that because they could not finish schools and eventually have low literacy, they do not have social skill to negotiate and even communicate with teachers. After all, poverty affects children.

4.3.1 The Relationship between School and Politicians

When I attended the graduation ceremony, I saw many politicians at the stage and campaign staff outside the school. Although it was a campaign period for the presidential election which was later won by the current president Benigno Aquino III. At that time, I heard from a translator who was brought up in Manila that it was pretty common that politicians attend the graduation ceremony. At the graduation ceremony in Payatas, several politicians gave speeches. Typically the speeches were full of words of hope and promises that clearly seemed unrealistic. A congress woman of Quezon City District 2 stated that she would give free socks and shoes to every elementary student in Payatas. The audience cheered her, but during later conversations I came to know such promises had also been made in the past but not fulfilled once elections end. However, the school authorities see politicians as very important assets. The principal said that the government is not cooperative to invest in the school. But local politicians

are more supportive, because when they help the school, they can receive votes. Thus the best chance was to attract some help before the elections. Once elections end, politicians do not bother to think much about the school. For most part of the year the parents and people in the locality help in the repairing work and other works for running the classrooms.

4.3.2 School Fees

Even if primary and secondary education is free due to the compulsory education system, students have to pay for studying at school. The government provides basic school materials such as text books, desks, and chairs, but most of them are worn out because of repeated use. Besides textbooks are not the only things needed at school. Students have to buy uniforms and shoes (sandals and slippers are allowed in Payatas), bring notebooks, pens, pencils, paper, and crayons to school, and use the computer sometime for homework. Clearly the working children or kids of the dumpsite workers do not have money to buy and prepare for these. Students need to prepare for lunch from home, but poor children such as working children cannot get lunch from home and do not have money to buy snacks at school most of time, so they stay in the classroom without eating anything, while other students enjoy food. The lack of money embarrasses them a lot of times in school and possibly leads to psychological problems

later on. I was told by the local church pastor that many children are addicted to drugs, a lack of proper education environment and constant mental stress even at school are possibly related to such tendency.

After graduation, 314 students of 344 of entire population of Grade 6 could graduate from elementary school and go to secondary school. The remaining 30 students completed primary education, but they could not graduate because they were incapable to pay for the certification which they have to submit to secondary school or were unable to pay for text books they had damaged. That money is not a big amount, but it is very difficult for the family living day by day to prepare for a certain amount of money at one time. Even for the graduation ceremony, students have to pay for gowns and other stuff. Some working children could not pay, so the school paid those for them and they have to pay the school back later.

4.3.3 Working Children at School: Reason to Work

Jameson, a working child, says “Minsan po umiiyak ako. ...kapag...Iniisip ko po, bakit kailangan pang mabuhay kung ganun lang buhay namin?” (Translation: Sometimes I cry. ...I cry when I think about why we still need to live when our life is like this).

The primary reason that makes children work is poor domestic finance. For

example, Philipp has parents and four siblings, but his parents are unemployed. His mother works as cook for neighboring families and his father is unemployed for almost one year. Jameson lives with his mother, three siblings, and one cousin. Nermie, his mother, is forty eight years old and became widow quite early. She told that the only way to survive for them is to collect garbage. All family members participated in collecting garbage and they earn only 1,200 pesos a month (about 2,400 Yen, a cost of one single meal in a good restaurant in Japan). Also Nora, one of working children's mother, said that her husband who works as s scavenger earns only one or two thousand pesos monthly (2000-4000 Yen) to live with 5 their children. Just how poor these people are becomes clear from the following: according to NSCB (n.d.) survey, the average family income in the Philippines was 172,000 pesos (344,000 Yen) a year in 2006 (NSCB 2006). In comparison, Jameson's family's yearly income is 14,400 pesos (28,800 Yen). Their house is located near the huge dumpsite. When it rains, it becomes very dangerous as toxic flows come out of the dumpsite and enter the house. The family cannot sleep and have to stay up all night if rain lasts all night.

Thus, mainly, due to the shortage of income, children are forced to work as family's essential income earner. In this way they can somehow survive but these children do not have adequate time to study and to play with friends like other

non-working children.

4.3.4 Working Children as Students

Even though Payatas C elementary school is a school in Payatas, not all students are working children. In fact the proportion of working children is quite low. Most of the kids' parents are employed and their children are able to enjoy school life. The number of working children in one class is from 2 to 5 among 60 students. Working children are a minority group in the school and they feel like a minority. From individual interviews, most of the respondents answered that they are vulnerable to be teased by classmates. Classmates make fun of them due to their ragged physical appearance and the smell of garbage that comes out of their bodies or clothes. This seemed to me a great example of how people suffer from stigmas for working in some occupation and are never accepted by others as normal, and this even happens in schools and among small children. Teachers also agreed that the working students in general are dirtier than non-working students. Teachers who have working students in their class said that they look dirty because they do not take bath. Also they wear dirty uniforms and slippers (sandals) and not shoes. They have one uniform and wear every day. All these things are not their habits, but the condition they live in forces them to do so. But the world of children can also be cruel, and the classmates often do not have

understanding for the condition and bully the working children. The working children were not described as aggressive by teachers. Even if they are teased, they are not likely to fight but mostly remain patient and ignore teasers. From the perspective of working children, they said that they did not have close relationships with teachers and the teachers did not pay any special attention to their difficulties. In general the working children said they have to face the humiliation by themselves. However, there are examples of hope as well. Gabriel has classmates who understand his situation and cooperate with him. His classmates collect garbage from their households for one week and give it to him so that he can have more time to study and reduce work.

4.3.5 Absence and its Effects

Because children have to work, it is inevitable to pay the price of work. The poorer the children are the longer they tend to work. This results in exploiting their time of study and increasing inactive attitude of studying. Working exhausts them, eliminates the time to review classes, do homework, and finally the students end up skipping classes. Once they are absent they cannot catch up with studies because at home they have practically no guidance at all. Thus the poorer a child is, the lesser his chances of getting to higher classes and therefore complete his education. The cycle of poverty and work is so strong that it forces them to come out of school after a certain

time.

From the interviews of teachers, the difference between working children and non-working children at school becomes clear. There are three points to be described:

1. First, they mentioned student's cleanliness. From one simple look, this is quite obvious. On the one side, students wear white and ironed uniforms, but others wear partially unwashed uniforms.
2. Second is that working children are frequently late and absent from school. Most of the children come to school only three days a week. Joseph (scavenger), one of working children says that he is always late for class and skips class once or twice a week. Teachers say that they come to class late and are sleepy during class all the time. Gabriel, one of working children, studies in Grade 6, but he is already 18 years old. He works as scavenger and he has been making more time for working than going and studying at school. He failed many times and as a result now when he is in Grade 6 he is 18 years old.
3. The third point is their academic performance is lower than non-working children. Teachers agreed that in general working children do not disturb other children and teachers. But in the case of their studying, teachers say they are slow learners and have weak comprehension. One teacher says they are dazed and their minds are

somewhere else than in the class. It is very difficult for them to follow because they do not have time to do homework and review classes. Most of the time their minds are occupied with the fact that they have to go to work immediately after they get to home. Jameson says that he doesn't do homework. He says that when he has assignments, he tries to do them, but he does not know how to do. Working children cannot afford tutors for preparation of examinations, and mostly parents help children doing homework, but most of parents of working children have low educational background. For example, Nermie, Jameson's mother, just finished Grade 1 in elementary school, so it is impossible for her to read and help his homework. As observed already, this cycle of work after school, incapability of homework at home, exhaustion, sleepiness, reluctance at school, makes them lose interest in class and makes them think to give up studying. As a result, they tend to get low grade and fail classes.

4.3.6 Working Children as Workers

Payatas gives two faces of a child, one as a student in the Payatas C elementary school, the other as a worker. Children working side by side with adults with no special provision, is a very common sight. Children negotiate the price of the garbage they collected with adults at junkshop. Very small children stand in the line in

front of junk shops, with torn clothes and ragged look, and weak faces. But somehow when they negotiate price for the garbage they do not look like children but look like adults who have responsibility to earn money for the family.

The reason of the work for most of working children I interviewed is to help families and to have lunch money. They give money they get from work to their mothers. According to their schedule, most of them go to work 4 or 5 times a week. Some of them go to work on Saturdays and Sundays, too. But the garbage carried on weekends is lesser than on weekdays. On weekdays, they go to work after they get home and have short lunch. They start to work from 1 to 5 o'clock. On weekends, they start to work from the morning to the evening to make up for the low quantity of sellable garbage.

We went to Jameson's home after school and tried to follow his work. He and his family live by collecting plastic bags from the dumpsite. After he got home, he had lunch and changed his clothes. While he was preparing for work, his sister and her friend came home from the dumpsite. She had skipped class on that day because she was told to go to work by her mother due to deficient amount of plastic bags the other day. Although it was very hot under strong sunshine, they were wearing long-sleeved T-shirts and covered their head and mouth by towels. This was spring time, I wondered what will the situation be in mid-summer. They were putting a large heavy bag of

plastic they had collected on their heads. Jameson was ready to go. He wore shabby rain boots and left home carrying a pointed sharp long stick. We walked to the area near the dumpsite for five minutes. The guards at the booth near the gate were watching us. Suddenly, Jameson changed the direction and said to us that it is impossible to go up the garbage mountain with us. Children who are less than 14 years old are not allowed to go up the mountain and work as scavenger there. He and other small children usually climb the mountain when guards do not notice them. People over this age are given to a certification at the entrance, which they have to keep all the time during work. Without special permission, entering the dumpsite and taking photos or talking with workers are prohibited strictly. So Jameson could not enter if we were with him. We had to return on that day, but I went to the garbage heap with the help of the Payatas Baptist Church later. I saw many small children work at the dumpsite and there are many ways to reach the side apart from the main entrance and those always are not guarded. That day we returned to Jameson's home. His family collects plastic bags at least for one week and then sells them. Jameson's mother told us that a lot of people do the same thing, so it is not easy to collect enough of them. In the world of Payatas even discarded plastic is valuable and there is strong competition among workers for the plastic bags! They can earn only 300 pesos (600 yen) per week. By

collecting for more than one month, they earn 1,200 pesos (2400 Yen) a month.

Joseph has a job, called 'jumper'. He jumps into trucks and finds valuable garbage before people working the top of the mountain can get them. He earns 40 to 90 pesos (80 to 180 Yen). He lives with his family in very small house very near the gate of the dumpsite. Lots of dump trucks which are about three times taller than his height pass by his house every day. Although his father works as a guard at the gate, his earning is not enough to feed his three children and wife. Joseph says, "Sometime I think if my father has money, I can still attend class." Through interviews and talking with local people, adult men in Payatas are described as lazy to work, heavy drinkers and smokers, and sometime violent to their families because of drinks. Joseph says that his father is also often drunk and troublesome. His father goes to drink with his friends and after he gets home, he has frequent fights with his wife and breaks glass and throws whatever he can lay a hand to, scaring the children in the house.

Thus working children have to survive the hard conditions of working in the Payatas dumpsite. They have no special provision and nobody gives them anything more because they are kids. They have to compete with adults and they also have to fight with the law to survive. And in most cases they do so for their families, which would otherwise die of starvation.

4.4 Youth in Payatas

Around Payatas C elementary school, we saw more children and young people than adults. I interviewed several people from late teenagers to the early thirties. They looked younger than actual ages because they had not grown up fully.

Six of seven people I interviewed had dropped out of school while they were in elementary and high schools. 22-year-old Jessie finished Grade 6 and dropped out in first year of high school. The reason he dropped out was his friends. They were not going to school and were working at that time. According to him, they were bad influence for his studying, but he stayed with them because they were his friends. Eventually he stopped going to school and started to hang out with them. He has been working as a scavenger since then. His father is the driver of garbage truck. And he had been and still is working with him to collect garbage as early as 3 am in the morning and goes back to home at 11am. He earns 150 pesos (300 Yen) a day and totally his family earns 4000 pesos (8000 Yen) a month. Jolen is 32 years old and runs a very small hair salon in Payatas. Since Grade 4, he had been a working child. However, he could keep studying at school. He was living with relatives and he was sent to different relatives every year. They allowed him to go school, but in exchange of studying, he had to work for them. He said he was working just like a housemaid. He did the house chores, plant palay (rice

seedlings), and took care of younger cousins. Although he was not given salary, his relatives paid his school fees and lunch money. He was able to reach 3rd year at college. The reason why he dropped out is unaffordability of tuition. After that, he moved to Manila to learn to be a beautician. He was taught how to cut hair and other things that he can do in a parlor. Now he has a small parlor which has only one mirror and one chair. He wanted to finish studies in college. After all these hard years, his enthusiasm for education is not lost. He says if one is educated, one can enjoy a very different world. He believes education makes it possible to know a lot of things and change one's perspective in life. But it is really rare to find someone who finished college. He knows no one who finished college.

People who completed higher education are very uncommon in Payatas. Jolen told that he knows no one among children who had been working in the dumpsite previously who could go to enter higher education. However, luckily I met a girl who just graduated from college the previous year. When she was in elementary school, she was working as a scavenger and taking care of her little siblings, but she went to school, and never abandoned studies despite forced absences. She studied very hard and progressed to the upper level of school. Her family could not support her financially, but her relatives supported her to some extent. Luckily she could have scholarship. The job she

could get after graduation was clerk at a fast food chain store. Although she got job, she is hired as a contract worker and has no insurance during the first year. After one year, she will be evaluated for her work by the company and a decision will be taken whether she will be employed next year or not. She gets paid 40 pesos (80 yen) per an hour and after she is hired again from the company, she will get around 70 pesos (140 yen). She works about 8 hours a day, but she does not work every day so her salary is about 6,400 pesos (12,800 yen) month. Her salary is not enough to live by herself, so she lives with her family in Payatas.

4.4.1 Betting on Education

We asked working children how they perceive their work. Gabriel says “We have hard time just a bit”. Jameson says, “Sad”. He continued that “Because instead of concentrating on studies, we have to think of working”. As he represents, most of the working children want to prioritize studying more than working. While work disturbs children’s schooling, they are highly consciousness that school is very important for them. Most of them believe that education brings better life, which means better job and life environment. All the respondents hope to complete primary and secondary education. Philipp, Darrel, and Joseph say that they want to prioritize studying and stop working altogether.

Working children learned from their parents that education is necessary to have a better life and job. Phillip says that he does not want to be like his father and mother. Most of their parents could not finish the lower level of education and the parents themselves think that because of lack of education, they are having this miserable life in Payatas. Only Joseph's father finished secondary education. He has a job as a guard at the entrance of the dumpsite, but his salary is not enough for his family of five people. Parents strongly hope that their children become educated and can move away from the cycle of poverty and work and do not want their kids to have the same lives like them. But the parents could only hope, they have no finance to ensure the children's higher education and also they cannot guide them while in school. When working children were asked if they wanted to complete primary and secondary education, all of them said yes, but when asked about college, they became silent. Children somehow know their household's financial difficulty and worry about their family's future. Working children were not sure that they wanted to keep studying in college and their families could afford to pay tuition in college.

4.4.2 Return to Education for Working Children

Among working children, it is very rare to be able to keep schooling and graduate from college like the one exceptional girl I interviewed in Payatas. NSO (2001)

estimated that working children who could go to college was only 0.8% (31,000) all over the Philippines. On the other hand, working children who have no experience of schooling was only 2.9% (116,000). The relationship is very clear. Most children in the Philippines enroll in schools, but when it comes to completing schooling and moving on to college education, working children suffer the most. It seems the widespread school enrollment is the result of the Philippine government's effort to implement "Education for All" which is indicated in the President's Ten-Point Agenda for 2005-2010 as one of the targets and priorities for Philippine development. The Philippines has a high literacy rate and school attendance rate is over 90 percent (UNICEF, n.d.). Due to this effort, as much as 40.0% (1,608,000) of them have entered elementary school and 32.1% (1,291,000) have entered high school (NSO, 2001). However, working children who could graduate from elementary school and high school was 17.7% (713,000) and 6.4% (259,000) respectively (NSO, 2001). Thus their academic completion rate is extremely low, while enrollment rates are high. In fact, many working children have to leave school due to financial difficulty, physical and psychological tiredness, and adverse friends and studying environment. According to a survey by NSO (2001), 17.6% of working children in age group 5-9 had to drop out because they "cannot afford to go to school" and it was 17.6%, but it was 22.3% in group of 10-14 and 31.7 in group of 15-17

(NSO, 2001: 7). As they get older, children have high possibility of leaving school because of financial issues. Also as working children grow physically, they come to understand they are strong and useful enough to work as income earner for families.

Educational background is very important when people get jobs regardless of rich or poor in the Philippines. Through the interviews, most of the parents in Payatas recognize and hope that education will help their children find better jobs than theirs. So they send children to school as many times as they can, even if families have difficulty in having life and other family members have to be sacrificed and work to substitute one who can go to school. However, I found that in spite of the family's efforts, even if they luckily could complete higher education, the job attainment after graduation is very scarce.

And looking at the weak economic performance of the country in recent years, jobs are becoming more and more competitive in the Philippines. According to the Department of Education (DepEd) and the Commission on Higher Education (CHED), about 500,000 college students graduated in 2010 (*Manila Bulletin*, March 21, 2010: 4). IBON Foundation Inc. which is a local research group says that "jobs in the country will continue to be scarce and could render around 30 percent of college graduates jobless this year" (*Manila Bulletin*, April 5, 2010: B-5). Evelyn Dacumus, an officer of the

Bureau of Labor and Employment says “Many of the graduates are still not ready for the world of work. ‘Marami tayong vacancies at marami ding unemployed. Hindi talaga sila nagmi-meet’ (“We have lots of vacancies and unemployed. They don’t simply meet)” (*Manila Bulletin*, April 5, 2010: B-5). He says that “97.5 percent of the jobs available from 2010 onward are in services” such as call center agents, customer service assistant, programmer, web designer, human resource development planner, and engineer (*Manila Bulletin*, April 5, 2010, pp. B-5). But these jobs are “still open and yet to be filled by qualified applicants” (*Manila Bulletin*, April 5, 2010: B-5). This is because of students’ “failure to pass competitive qualifying exams” (*Manila Bulletin*, April 5, 2010: B-5). The average passing rate of the professional board examinations (PBT) which measures the quality of graduates has been below 40 percent for many years (PIDS, 2003). Walfish (2001) claims that “One thousand enter the first year, 300 graduate, 50 take the exam, 20 pass” (Charles B. Currin in ADB, quoted by Walfish, 2001). As a result, students don’t have enough knowledge to meet “the needs of the students or the country’s economic development” (Walfish, 2001).

Thus all over the country the quality of higher education is very low and the companies students apply become concentrated and competitive. And when it comes to the working children and their families, who despite their numbers are an extremely

marginalized group, the attainment of job is all the more difficult. Although working children and their parents in Payatas believe that education will bring stable life, but they themselves doubt whether they can afford it. Another big doubt is, whether Filipino education at its present state has enough power to lift these marginalized people out of poverty. There are various factors prohibiting the educational growth of working children, but in effect, the schooling system has failed them too. Working children are not given special care or even when they have provisions like free textbooks, the provisions are simply not enough. Besides, the working children are not in the agenda of politicians and the school authorities also seemed to take only partial interest in their education and well-being. Just cramming classrooms with students do not mean that the students will be educated. Education is a means to have a better life and if the majority of the kids who desperately need a better life is not able to complete or use education in their future lives, then the government and policymakers are answerable for the situation and they have to address this problem effectively.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

I started this research with the objectives of identifying the difficulties working children are confronting in school, work, and families in the Philippines and comprehending the role of education for the future of working children. After reviewing the literature already published on these issues I chose to visit the capital city of the country, Metro Manila for fieldwork. The fieldwork was done with the assistance of Ateneo De Manila University, and the research site for field study was the slum community around the Payatas dumpsite. Detailed account of the literature available, the key problem areas, the main efforts to solve those problems, and my experience in the field have been discussed in the previous chapters. In this chapter I conclude the research findings.

Before going back to the research questions, it is useful to remind about the key problems that form the background of this research. As a nation, the Philippines is suffering from an economic slowdown. GDP growth rate in the Philippines dipped from 7.1% in 2007 to 0.9% in 2009 (CIA Factbook). The country has a huge gap between rich and poor, and a large number of people live in poverty. The official estimate of 'poor' population was about 27.6 million in 2006. The number of families below the poverty

line had increased from 31.8 percent to 33.7 percent in 2000 (NSO, 2001). The poverty is particularly severe in urban slums. In many cases rural people relocated into slums, and they also lost their original livelihood. However, in urban slums, people often live in very hazardous conditions and work in hazardous occupations. Children suffer the most, due to their immature bodies and minds and also for the fact that a huge number of children can never enjoy childhood.

In this background, education is thought as most important for poor children to take up safer and better occupations when they grow up. Since the concept of human security became popular in the world, education has been recognized as a right to be guaranteed to everyone and considered as important step on the progress of human and national development (Hannum & Buchmann, 2003; Tilak, 1994). The Philippine government's goal, "Education for All" resulted in sending a great number of children to schools quite successfully. The enrollment rate in primary and secondary is nearly over 90 percent.

However, it seems merely enrolling students in schools have not solved the problem. This is because in the Philippines, many poor children are also part of the labor force. Poverty discriminates the equal access of schooling of poor children, such as working children. In general, students who can go to universities that clear the

international standards are limited to rich backgrounds. The problem of Philippine education is that rich children are able to receive high levels of good quality education starting from primary to higher education, while poor children cannot. NSO estimated that 4.0 million children of total 24.851 million children aged 5-17 were economically active in 2001 (NSO, 2001). About 70% of children answered the reason of work that they wanted to contribute to household income (NSO, 2001). Most of them were unpaid workers and only 35.2% of them was paid (NSO, 2001). 2.6 million among 4.0 million working children deal with both working and studying (NSO, 2001). This is a huge challenge as numerous studies prove that it is more beneficial for children's lifetime to choose to study and not to work (Huebler, 2008).

This is the general background of the problem as understood from the published sources. Next I turn to the fieldwork experience as I answer the research questions.

1. How do working children deal with working and studying at the same time?

Working children have to confront the difficulty to deal with studying and working at the same time. Working exhausts their bodies and also damages their minds. They are in trouble to balance working and studying. There are three findings to be mentioned specially.

- I) Working children are in the weak position at school because they have to work and they are poor, so they are easy targets to be teased and objects of bullying. Other non-working children associate an inferior status by the look and 'smell' of working children. This is a form of severe discrimination, though there is no discrimination against the working children on pen and paper. Such experiences hamper the children psychologically and they lose interest in class as they perceive that classroom environment is against them.
- II) Working children are absent from school nearly half of the week and skip classes regularly for work. If their families do not get enough money from job, children are sent to work the next day instead of school. Even when they can come to school, they are late for class and are sleepy in classes. As a result, they become unmotivated and cannot do homework. The teachers identified learning problems in these students such as slow comprehension. The cycle of poverty and work is so strong that it makes it difficult for the children to keep balance between studying and working.
- III) Working children do not receive any parental guidance for homework.

This is because most parents of the working children have no or very little school education. Thus education is not something that can be got from schools. Without a suitable environment at home, children cannot receive education fully. Domestic violence, parents' educational background and their own work makes are too heavy challenges for them.

2. How do interviewees recognize education?

For someone with an advanced educational background, the situation in Payatas may appear as hopeless. Indeed it would be only natural for the children to become tired of schooling. Yet even as they could not cope with the demands of education, it was surprising to see how many of the children and their family members valued the role of education. Working children and parents strongly recognize the importance of education. They hope to complete primary and secondary education at least. This is because they believe that education brings better jobs and life. Children learn and understand from their parents' experience. Parents perceive that they could not get good jobs due to lack of educational background. Because of their own experiences, they want their children to focus on studying rather than working. They think that education brings better paid jobs and it makes it possible to have different

life from Payatas. But they are also needed as one of income earners for families at the same time. This results in a conflict between hunger and dreams and most often hunger wins.

3. What factors affect the present condition of working children?

This can be answered by combining review of literature and field experience.

- I) Poverty: poverty is the fundamental factor to force children to work. Children are essential income earners for a family living hand to mouth. Little money earned by little children is essential for them.
- II) Correlation between income and work: Previous researches verify that when family's income is lower, the possibility of children's work becomes higher (Basu & Van, 1998; Goldin, 1979; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; Orazem *et al.*, 2009).
- III) Family structure: Generally, there is a positive effect on the possibility of children's schooling if families are large (Cockburn 2001; Kurosaki *et al.* 2006; Knodel *et al.* 1990 and Levison, 1991 quoted from Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 1997). But the number of family is not always decisive (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 1997; Cockburn 2001). Whether children work or go to school is decided by "specialization" by parents

(Chernichovsky, 1985) which is related to the next factor.

- IV) Household heads' educational background: Many researchers show that educated parents give more priority to studies and they are very helpful in understanding conditions of the children. This is in total contrast to uneducated parents (Orazem *et al.* 2009; Porio *et al.* 2002; Kurosaki *et al.* 2006; Burra 1989). However, at the same time, it is argued from the research in Mexico that poor people are also highly motivated and regard education as important component to have some level of life (Yonemura, 1992).
- V) The school as facility: Although people have common understanding that education is important investment for children, it is meaningless if quality of school and teachers do not clear the standards and satisfy their demands. If parents realize that it is dysfunctional, it makes them to choose not to send them to school and they prioritize work (Edmonds and Pavcnik, 2005; Jensen and Nielsen, 1997; Burra, 1997 quoted from Pimlac, 1987).
- VI) Lack of political will: The Philippine government has created schools for all, but it has not been able to keep all children in schools. Politicians in

Payatas are only interested in getting votes and they are only active during election times. Thus most of the time Payatas schools have to move on with very little resources and their cause is supported by very few policymakers.

Based on the discussion on these factors it can also be observed that though primary and secondary education is basically free, students have to pay for uniforms, stationary things, lunch, PTA fees and so on. This additional money becomes a great burden for working children's households who survive hand-to-mouth. Also working children have many siblings, usually from three to five. Like Chernichovsky (1985) points out, parents carefully choose children who should be sent to school and the rest of them engage in working.

4. What factors affect working children's future plan?

The future of working children is tough to reach any college. Most of the previously working children I interviewed dropped out of school in elementary and secondary levels. The main reason is financial inability. As I found from my field work, it is very rare that working children can keep studying to college in Payatas. Only one girl of all respondents could go to college. Apart from this, bad social company also came out as a reason for some, but it is also probably influenced by the poverty-work- low

education chain.

According to PSID (2003), it can conclude that even though children drop out of elementary schools, they are still have chance to be employed, however the percentage to be underemployed and unemployed is much higher than people who have higher level of education. Poorly educated workers are commonly hired as unskilled workers and their salaries are lower than people who have educational background. So dropping out of school leads to have financially difficult life in the future which in turn would affect the future generation they will produce.

5. What hopes the interviewees have for their future?

Working children and their families highly expect the return to education. They want better life than one in Payatas. They don't want to worry about tomorrow's food. Children just hope to keep studying and stop working. Parents just hope to send them to school and wake up without financial worries. Both of them have recognition that education changes their future lives. However, at the present situation, these are little more than just dreams.

Based on the discussion above, this research comes at two major conclusions:

1. The relationship between family income level, educational background and the success of working children is very strong. The poorer the family is, it is seen the

parents have a lower educational background, and thus are not able to support the demands of education or provide guidance to kids. This means the poverty-work cycle is too strong, and education as an external factor has not been able to break its hold in the children's lives. This is further linked to in migration from rural areas, destruction of environment and so on, but the relationship between the family's financial and educational backgrounds and the child's performance in school is the strongest factor.

2. Schools in Payatas have not been able to serve the purpose of uplifting students out of poverty. This means that education has not been able to serve its purpose. If education was really functional then those who need it most should have used it effectively in one way or other. This shows that education does not mean enrolling young kids into schools. In the present state, education in Payatas has become a property of the rich, access to it and right to use it are guaranteed by money. This is where the government has failed to satisfy the needs of those who are in most desperate need of a better livelihood.

Recommendations:

In this research only one school was studied. But from the general conclusions some recommendations can be given.

1. The schooling for working children in Payatas should be completely free. It is meaningless to complete school and even then not be able to graduate simply because they do not have money to pay for damaged textbooks.
2. Some kind of support from the government for scavengers' kids going to schools. Some kind of scholarship or quota reserved for them will help motivate the children, the family members and also teachers will be more interested in teaching to them.
3. Free meals at school for working children. It is almost always seen that when there is a conflict between hunger and education, hunger wins. Thus by answering this question, local politicians and the government can motivate poor children more to study.

Finally, it cannot be imagined that the life of a family which relies on garbage will suddenly change in a day. Jobs after graduation do not necessarily perfectly match the jobs working children have desired for a long time. But keeping going to school and studying might be one step forward to get out of the life in Payatas.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Letter to Principal, Payatas C Elementary School

January 20, 2010

Dear Principal

I am a Graduate Student at the Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University in Japan. I came to know while in Japan that some children are working while studying in the Philippines. With the support of ACED in Ateneo de Manila University, I am currently conducting research about working children. I would like to study how these children deal with both work and study. In Japan nearly 100 percent children receive school education and there is a lack of knowledge in Japan regarding how children in the Philippines and many developing countries often struggle while in school. I think it is significant for Japanese people to become aware of the working children and how they cope with studies.

I would like to conduct some personal interviews with children in your school who are working while studying, their parents and teachers. I would like them to join in a group setting, I am thinking of a total of 10 students (five boys and five girls over 10 years of age) divided in 2 groups, followed by individual interviews with each. For this reason, I would like to ask you for the necessary permission to conduct these interviews.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Chiharu Murakami

Appendix B: Interview Outlines

Focus Group Interview

This focus group interview will adopt a casual style so that children can feel comfortable. But because this is organized as interview, I will provide the following topics one by one and let them feel free to say any opinion about each topic.

1. Children's educational environment in school
2. Children's working condition
3. Children's relationship with their families
4. Difficulties they are confronting in school
5. Children's future plans

Individual Interview of Children

1. Why are you working?
2. What kind of jobs are you engaged in?
3. Why did you choose this job?
4. How many hours do you work in a day?
5. How many days do you work in a week?
6. How much do you earn in a month?
7. How do you use that money?
8. How much rest do you have during work?
9. What kind of relationship do you have with your boss?
10. What kind of relationship do you have with people at workplace?
11. What kind of difficulties are you facing at workplace?
12. What do you think when working?
13. Why do you think you are working and studying at the same time?
14. Do you come to school everyday? If impossible, how many days can you come to school in a week?
15. What do you like in studying?
16. What do you hate in studying?
17. When is the happiest time in school?
18. When is the unhappiest time in school?
19. What do you do during free time in school?
20. What kind of relationship do you have with friends at school?
21. What kind of relationship do you have with your teachers?

22. What kind of relationship do you have with you parents?
23. Do you have free time (no study, no work)? If yes, what do you do? If no, why not?
24. What do you think you can study in school?
25. What difficulties are you confronting in school?
26. What factors are affecting your studying while working?
27. How do you keep the balance between studying and working?
28. Do you want to graduate from elementary school? If yes, why? If no, why?
29. After graduation, are you planning to go to secondary school? If yes, why? If no, why?
30. What do you want to be in the future?

Individual Interview of Parents

1. What do you think about your child working?
2. What do you think child is studying in school?
3. Why do you send your child to school?
4. What do you think of education?
5. What do you think your current life?
6. What do you do for living?
7. How much money do you make for living except for child's earning?
8. What kind of educational experience do you have?
9. What kind of family did you have before marriage?(birthplace, family composition, economic condition)
10. What did you do for living before marriage?
11. What kind of benefits would your child receive by studying?
12. What do you expect in your child's future? (about educational attainment and about job)
13. How do you think your family is going to be like in the near future?

Individual Interview of the Principal

1. How many students are studying in this school?
2. What kind of school history does school have?
3. What are characteristics of school?
4. What kind of qualification do students need to enter school?
5. How many working children are studying?
6. What is better education for working children?
7. What do you think the future of this school is going to be?

Interview of Teachers

1. What kind of differences can you see between non working children and working children? (grade, manner, language skill, behavior, mentality, physical appearance)
2. Do you think working children disturb non working children in class?
3. Do you feel any difficulties in teaching working children? If yes, what?
4. Do you think working prevents them from understanding studying?
5. What type of education do you think the children can benefit from, i.e. is the present education they get sufficient or do you think any change is needed?
6. How do you think education will contribute to their future?
7. What is your idea of a better education for working children?
8. Is there any help given by the school to working children? If yes, what? If no, why?

Interview of Youth in Payatas

1. What do you do now?
2. What kind of academic background do you have?
3. What kind of job were you engaged in when you were in elementary school?
4. Why did you have to work at that time?
5. How many hours did you work in a day?
6. How many days did you work in a week?
7. How much did you receive income in a month?
8. How many jobs have you gotten since you were elementary school?
9. How did you feel when you were working and studying at the same time?
10. What kind of problems did you face between studying and working?
11. How difficult to keep the balance between studying and working?
12. How do you think that it was necessary for you to receive education during elementary school?
13. How did education contribute to your life?
14. What factors prevented you from studying in higher education?
15. What factors kept you from getting jobs?
16. What do you think about your current life?
17. What was your future plan you wished in childhood?
18. What do you think your life is going to be like?