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A child labor free Philippine

- When will that be?

Abstract

We have been in the Philippines where we did a research about child labor. We went to a country in South because we wanted to come home with a deeper understanding of how social work can be practiced in a developing country and to get a bigger global perspective. Child labor is a big subject and therefore we made a demarcation in our research to child labor that we could observe in the urban area Manila. To get answers on our research questions we chosen to do a qualitative study with a triangulation of methods. This means that we used different kind of data collection methods such as, interviews, observation and literature studies. To get interviews we contacted an organization that helped us with contacts on the spot. We interviewed both government and non-government organization to get a broader picture of how they are working with child labor. The observation was made all the time since there were children around us every day, begging or wanted to sell some items to us. The literature was more difficult to find because there isn't any books about the Philippines in Sweden.

What we have found out is that child labor is a big problem in the Philippines, but that it is a country with a lot of big problems for example poverty. The children in child labor come from poor families that need an extra income. The children doesn't only work a few hours a week, they often work so much that they drop out of school. Except that the children is missing out of their education there is also a lot of risks involving in child labor. We have been researching about the children's situations and how government and non- government organizations are working with the issue of child labor and it's negative effects on the child's development. We found out that both ILO and the Philippine government have programs right now to support the goal of a child labor free Philippines. We also found out that there is a big lack of trust for the government. To analysis our results we have chosen two theories, the ecological model of human development and development of psychopathology. Both theories are Western but they can be applied on the Philippines if you have the context in mind.

Keywords: Child labor, risk factors, protective factors, governmental organizations, NGOs

Abstract Tagalog

Nagtungo kami sa isang bansa sa Timog-Silangang Asia na nagngangalang Pilipinas, kung saan kami nanaliksik tungkol sa *child labor*. Nais naming magkaroon ng mas malalim na pangunawa sa pagkakawang gawa (social work) sa isang umuunlad na bansa sa Silangang parte ng mundo. Nagobserba kami at gumawa ng masusing pagaaral tungkol sa child labor sa lungsod ng Maynila, kapital ng bansang Pilipinas. Gumamit kami ng tatlong iba't ibang pamamaraan ng pananaliksik. Nagsagawa kami ng interbyu, pagobserba at naghanap ng data mula sa mga naunang pagaaral tungkol sa child labor. Nakipagugnayan kami sa isang lokal na organisasyon na nagsilbing instrumento na tumulong sa aming pag-iinterbyu ng mga tauhang mula sa gobyerno at mga pribadong organisasyon na konektado sa child labor. Dahil laging may mga kabataan sa paligid namin, Nagsilbing obserbasyon ang lahat ng oras na iginugol namin noong kami ay nasa Pilipinas ang iba ay nanghihingi ng limos at ang iba naman ay nagaalok ng mga paninda sa amin. Hindi naging madali ang pagkuha ng data tungkol sa Pilipinas dahil sa kawalan ng mga libro dito sa Sweden.

Napagalaman namin na ang child labor ay isang sa mga problema sa Pilipinas, maliban sa kahirapan. Ang mga batang ginagamit sa child labor ay nanggagaling sa mahihirap na mga pamilya na dahil sa kahirapan ay nangangailangan ng dagdag na kita. Karamihan sa mga kabataang nagtatrabaho ay hindi na nakakapasok sa paaralan dahil mas malaki ang pangangailan nila na makapagtrabaho para masuportahan ang kanilang mga pamilya. Maraming panganib ang nakakabit sa buhay ng mga batang nagtatrabaho, maliban sa hindi pagkakaroon ng pagkakataong makapagaral. Aming sinusuri ang mga pamamaraan na isinasagawa ng gobyerno ng Pilipinas at ng mga pribadong organisasyon para masolusyonan ang problema ng child labor sa bansa. Aming napagalamanan na ang gobyerno ng Pilipinas at ang ILO ay parehong may mga programa na isinasakatuparan para maitigil ang child labor. Amin ding napagalaman na may kakulangan sa pagtitiwala sa gobyerno ang mga Pilipino. Ang *ecological model of human development* at ang *development of psychopathology* ay ang dalawang teoryang aming gagamitin upang unawain ang resulta ng aming pagaaral tungkol sa child labor sa Pilipinas. Ang parehong mga teorya ay Western ngunit sila ay inilapat sa Pilipinas kung ka may ang konteksto sa isip.

Keyword na: Child labor, panganib kadahilanan, pangharang kadahilanan, organisasyon ng pamahalaan, mga NGO

Preface

We are very glad that we got the opportunity to go to the Philippines. We are very grateful to all help we have got during our stay. We would like to thank the Philippine National Red Cross for their kindness and for all their help. We would especially like to thank Selvaratnam Sinnadurai, Ibrahim Badiee, Zenaida Paez-Beltejar and Blanca Estacio. They made our interviews in the governmental organizations possible and Blanca who also took us to a slum area called Welfare Ville. We would also like to thank all of our respondents for their participation and SALINLAHI and Gabriela for taking us to Smokey Mountain. A big thanks to our supervisor Kenneth Sundh who have supported us during this, for us, a trip we will remember for a lifetime.

Table of contents

1. INTRODUCTION.....	3
1.1 PROBLEM DESCRIPTION.....	4
1.2 AIM	4
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	5
1.4 DISPOSITION	5
2 BACKGROUND.....	6
2.1 MOTIVATION OF OUR FIELD STUDY.....	6
2.2 MAIN CONCEPTIONS	6
2.2.1 <i>Child</i>	6
2.2.2 <i>Child labor</i>	6
2.3 THE PHILIPPINES AND MANILA IN ITS CONTEXT	6
2.4 THE PHILIPPINE HISTORY AND THE PHILIPPINE TODAY	7
2.5 GLOBALIZATION.....	9
2.6 URBANIZATION	10
3. MATERIALS AND METHOD.....	12
3.1 RESEARCH STRATEGIES	12
3.2 PREVIOUS KNOWLEDGE	12
3.3 DEMARCATION.....	13
3.4 QUALITATIVE METHOD	13
3.5 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH.....	14
3.6 DATA COLLECTIONS TECHNIQUES	15
3.6.1 <i>Semi-structured Interviews</i>	16
3.6.2 <i>Observation</i>	17
3.6.3 <i>Literature</i>	18
3.6.4 <i>Literature search</i>	20
3.6.5 <i>Selection and the approach</i>	20
3.7 PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS.....	21
3.7.1 <i>Transcription</i>	21
3.7.2 <i>Analysis method</i>	22
3.8 PRECISIONS OF RESULTS	23
3.8.1 <i>Validity</i>	23
3.8.2 <i>Reliability</i>	24
3.8.3 <i>Generalizability</i>	24
3.9. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	25
3.10 SOURCE CRITICISM	27
4 PREVIOUS RESEARCH	28

4.1 MARIA ROSARIO PIQUERO-BALLESCAS	28
4.2 FRIEDRICH HUEBLER	29
4.3 INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES AND HAKAN ACAROGLU & OZCAN OSMANGAZI	31
4.4 MARIE JOY B. ARGUILLAS AND LINDA WILLIAMS	33
5 THEORY	35
5.1 THE ECOLOGICAL MODEL OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT.....	35
5.2 DEVELOPMENT OF PSYCHOPATHOLOGY	37
6 RESULTS.....	39
6.1 CHILDREN’S SITUATION	39
6.1.1 <i>Family providers</i>	39
6.1.2 <i>Children Professions</i>	40
6.1.3 <i>Risks and protective factors</i>	41
6.2 THE FACE OF POVERTY	43
6.2.1 <i>The situation of the education</i>	43
6.2.2 <i>Underemployment</i>	44
6.2.3 <i>Values</i>	45
6.2.4 <i>Vicious circle</i>	46
6.3 THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF WELFARE STATE ARRANGEMENT	46
6.3.1 <i>Governmental conditions</i>	46
6.3.2 <i>Governmental goal</i>	48
6.3.3 <i>Governmental strategies</i>	49
6.3.4 <i>Non- governmental conditions</i>	52
6.3.5 <i>Non- governmental goal</i>	53
6.3.6 <i>Non- governmental strategies</i>	54
7 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	57
7.1 CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIETY WORK.....	57
7.2 THE ORGANIZATIONS OPPORTUNITIES AND OBSTACLES IN THEIR WORK AGAINST CHILD LABOR.....	62
8 FINAL DISCUSSION	66
9 FURTHER RESEARCH	68
9 REFERENCES	69
9.1 INTERNET REFERENCES	70
10 APPENDIX 1.....	71
10.1 INFORMATION LETTER	71
11 APPENDIX 2.....	72
11.1 INTERVIEW QUESTIONS.....	72

1. Introduction

We were living in the center of Manila City. It was Saturday morning and we were sitting on our backyard to Pension Natividad, having our breakfast. As we sat there we saw that something was happening outside the big gate, which separated us from the families on the streets, guarded 24 hours a day by a security guard. After a while we understood that people were getting in line in front of the gate. After a few minutes the guard opened the gates and we saw how a lot of children, women and men were going inside. We didn't know why but we looked at the people and even recognized some that we have seen on the streets, sleeping, living and working, who we literally been forced to go over while they were asleep to be able to walk on the sideway. The children looked happy, they were playing around and having a good laugher. They could not be so old, maybe from one to five years. The children was black, not from the sun but from dirt. Some of the children were even without cloths. After a few more minutes we finally understood what was going on, the families were getting food and drinks from the staff of our Pension. We did now feel that we were staying in a good place.

It's a lot of families on the streets in Manila and we just had to go a few meter to the corner were the minimarket were until young children were begging us for money, looking at us with their big eyes asking for money to buy some rise, showing us by putting their hands to their mouth. A few meters more and we had seen a dozen of children begging, working, sleeping and playing on the streets. The Philippines ratified the UN children rights convention 21 years ago. They have also incorporated the conventions from International labor organization (ILO) in their laws. These conventions, both from UN and from ILO, are supposed to protect children from child labor but still there are millions of them just in the Philippines. How many depends on who we asked, if they have been from the government they told us a lower number than the people from non-governmental organizations (NGOs). On the World's Day Against Child Labor, June 12, 2010, you could read in the Philippine newspaper "Manila Standard Today" about a survey from the National Statistic Office that showed that there were five million working children in the age five-17 in the Philippines year 2009. Labor Secretary Marianito Roque said that the Philippines and the department have set in place programs aimed toward the prevention of child labor and elimination of its worst forms (Barcelo, 2010).

Child labor is a big problem and many organizations and institutions are aware of the problem. They know that there are risks that the children are exposed to when they work instead of going to school. There are different ways to deal with problems and we have

therefore been there, in Manila, to enhance our knowledge on how different organizations are handling the problem, how they are working and in what levels they are working.

1.1 Problem description

The Philippines have national laws and have ratified international conventions that protect children rights. Despite this there are approximately five million children in child labor in the Philippines today (Barcelo, 2010). The capital, Manila is a particularly vulnerable area, much because of the extensive urbanization. The urbanization has led to poverty, increased unemployment, underemployment, squatter¹ settlements, slums and child labor (Panopio & Reymundo, 2004, p. 372ff). A persistent problem in the Philippine for many years has been poverty that primarily affects children. Children work to help their families but not without problems (Piquero-Ballescás, 2009, p. 66f). Children that works suffer from emotional, psychological and physical problems, they risk to get abused and maybe most important of all, many children that work miss their education (Department of Labor and Employment, 1994, p. 43ff). Usually it becomes a chain reaction of poverty, if the child doesn't go to school it will be hard to get a job to provide its prospective family. The most common is that the parents' pass on their living to the children and it will start all over again (Panopio & Raymundo, 2004, p. 389). It is because of this really important that someone intercepts the children if they work instead of going to school. There are many organizations working with this issue, both governmental, NGOs and people organizations. The organizations do not normally have so much money or support from the government to perform their work. Some of our respondents also mentioned that this is just one problem of many in the Philippines and that the country needs more pressure from the outside world so that more resources should be placed on child labor.

1.2 Aim

Our aim is to enhance our understanding of child labor in Manila, child labor as a risk for the children and to see how different organizations take action against the problem.

¹ Squatters are persons who occupy vacant lots owned by the government or private persons even without legal right to do so.

1.3 Research questions

- What forms of child labor can we observe in Manila?
- What risks can affect children in child labor and what protective factors can reduce a negative outcome?
- What opportunities and obstacles have different organizations in their work against child labor in Manila?

1.4 Disposition

In section one we started by writing an introduction to our essay. We have continued with a problem description and the aim and our research questions. In section two we wrote about the background to why we chosen to go to the Philippines, our main conceptions and a section about the Philippines and Manila today, some history and about two important phenomenon to understand the context, globalization and urbanization. In section three we have our method and ethical considerations. In section four we presented our previous research and in section five we presented our theories. After that we have continued with our results under section six. Under this section we have chosen to present the results by our observations as a story, running through the whole section. This is followed by our analysis in section seven. In section eight is our final discussion and in section nine the further research. In section ten you can find all our references.

We have written this essay together during the whole time. We have one part each that we have the main responsibility for although we both have been involved. Åsa Ullén is responsible for section two and Klara Eck is responsible for section four.

2 Background

2.1 Motivation of our field study

The profession of social work has entered its second century as an organized profession and is now a global profession. Social work practice and policies are increasingly shaped by global phenomenon. However, too often, the profession is impeded by the lack of a global perspective. During our study time at Ersta Sköndal University College we have learned about human rights and specially children rights. Sweden has stood in the forefront in the campaign to establish children rights, playing an important role in designing and pushing for the signing and acceptance of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. And by most international comparative ratings, Sweden and the other Nordic countries rank at the very top when it comes to measures of child well being. We know the children rights and how the social work practices in Sweden, a welfare country in west but that's not always the picture in other parts of this world. When we got the opportunity to go to a developing country our wish was to come home with more knowledge and experience in social work practice from a developing country and a bigger global perspective.

2.2 Main conceptions

2.2.1 Child

Child refers to any person under the age of 18 (Republic Act nr. 9231).

2.2.2 Child labor

We have chosen to use International Labor Organizations definition on child labor. According to them: "Child labor refers to any work or economic activity performed by a child that subjects him/her to any form of exploitation or harmful to his/her health and safety or physical, mental or psychosocial development" (ILO, 2006, p. 14). This definition is also used by other governmental organizations and NGOs.

We will here make a clarification. We have chosen to spell labor like this. Some organizations spell it as labour. None of it is wrong and we have tried to be consequent but we have had to use the other spelling if the organization we wrote about has used the other one.

2.3 The Philippines and Manila in its context

In preparation of this paper it has been very important for us to see how the Philippines and its capital Manila is functioning to ensure that what we are studying are studied in the right

context. We will shortly describe the history of the Philippines because it is very significant to how the Philippines are function today. We will also describe how the Philippines are structured today. Beyond that we think it is especially important to try to explain Manila in its context for the reader, because of the understanding to the city that our study is focused on. We will try to do that through two concepts that are important to the development of Manila, globalization and urbanization. Those two phenomenon's affect on everything in Manila so as the people that's living there, the quick rising population, the decreasing surface to live on, their jobs or the children's education. It also affected how the social system was built years ago and how the country managed to stand on its own after years of colonization.

2.4 The Philippine history and the Philippine today

The Philippines is a country characterized by colonization. Spain's colonization began in the 1500s. After the war between Spain and the United States in 1898 the Philippines became a U.S. colony. In 1934 began a planed transition for the Philippines to be independent. The archipelago was occupied, however, by Japan during the world war two and the Philippines didn't become independent until 1946. The country has maintained close economic and political ties to the United States (UD, 2009). The Spaniards formally founded Manila in 1571. Manila is a port town and because of the location it became the capital (Panopio & Raymundo, 2004, p. 371). Manila is located by the Pasig River and in front are Manila bay, its position made Manila a trading, industrial and commercial center (Ibid. p. 380). With the Spaniards came the Catholic Christianity, today the Christianity is the leading religion and most of the people are catholic's, the country is the fourth largest catholic country in the world (The Philippine National Red Cross, personal communication, 18 march, 2011).

The Philippines was one of the leading economies in South East Asia during the 60th and 70th. The economic growth slowed down during the 80th and today the country is suffering from high unemployment and a high proportion of poor population (Department of Labor and Employment, 2004, p. 16). According to organizations that we have meet the Philippines is not a poor country today, it is a rich country with a poor population because of the corruption and that the money stays with the already rich. The country has lots of natural rescors but the money is used wrong (The Philippine National Red Cross, personal communication, 18 march, 2011; SALINLAHI, personal communication, 23 march, 2011). Another problem is the geographic location that implies that the country suffers from several natural disasters every year, from earthquakes, volcanic eruptions to typhoons and floods. The most affected is the poor that lives in bad houses or no houses at all, they have to build up their houses over

and over again, if they can afford it (Ibid.). The Philippine is governed by a president and under him there is one Mayor in every municipality. Every municipality is divided in a number of Barangays that is the smallest unit of the government and a Barangay captain controls every Barangay (Barangay captain Rodolfo M. Posadas, personally communication, 19 April, 2011). It is a very corrupt country, money is used to buy votes and pay off election watchers. It is also common to give food to people who need it so that they will vote for a particularly person (Panopio & Raymundo, 2004, p. 386). This is something that some of our respondents agreed on.

It lives about 94 million people in the Philippines, about 15 million of them lives in Manila. About 43 percent of the population is under the age of 18. A family in the Philippines is earning an average of 4000-6000 pesos every month (about 750-1000 SEK). The population growth in the Philippine is huge. The population is rising with almost 500 000 residents every six month, the population growth is over two percent and the population will double every 29 years (Ibid. p. 382).

The Philippine population is characterized as young because of the fact that among 57 percent is under the age of 20. When a country has a young population they need to make regulations for the youth's needs like food, education and health facilities (Ibid. p. 402f). The growing population has strained the national budget. The number of children in the country has limited education and health service. The Catholic Church, however, doesn't see the growing population as a problem but the allocation of recourses (Ibid. p. 405). The Philippine government started to see the problem with the growing population in the 1960s. One way to handle the problem was family planning programs, which means that the families will have access to some form of birth control. Statistics shows that 20 percent of Filipino women don't want more children. That means that a lot of women need family planning. The church recommends one way of family planning, natural family planning that helps the couple to develop patience, self-control and responsibility. Many thinks that it is because of the Catholic Church that the Philippines have failed to reduce the population growth in such substantial level (Ibid. p. 406f).

The education in the Philippines ranks quite high compared to other developing countries. Education policies are very liberal and expansionary (Ibid. p. 419). On the other hand and unfortunately the quality of Philippine education has been the subject of much debate in the past decades. With the average class size of 50 to 60 students per class across Philippine, only 67 percent will eventually complete basic elementary education, based on numbers from 2002. The net enrolment ratio in public secondary education in 2002 was only 57 percent.

This despite that public education in the Philippines is free but with cost for school uniform, books, equipment and transport (UNICEF, 2010). The Philippine Institute for Development Studies (PIDS) and UNICEF has also in a new study made known that 44 percent of all Filipino children under the age of 15 were living in poverty in 2006. This means that almost 13 million children, not only suffer from income poverty but also from everything that comes with it such as lack of food, shelter, health, education, water, sanitation facilities, electricity and information (UNICEF, 2010a).

2.5 Globalization

An expression that is spoken more and more about is globalization. It is a common word in politics, economy and media fields. According to Giddens (2007, p. 62), globalization means that we are increasingly living in just one world. This means that individuals, groups and nations become more and more interdependent. This is supported by other authors, including Iris Marion Young (2007, p. 37) who means that interdependent is necessary if we want to be able to speak about a global society. Globalization is created in interaction between political, social, cultural and financial factors (Giddens, 2007, p. 62). There is an unequal global distribution in the world, which highlighted issues of justice that call for a global redistribution regime. The fact that some parts of the world live in wealth and a larger proportion lives in poverty is enough for a global rebalancing. A more important reason is the history of dependence and exploitation of the now rich and poor regions and institutional structures that help to maintain this structure (Young, 2007, p. 38). The Philippine is as we mentioned a country increased by colonization. Although the colonization is over, many are acting on behalf of the colonial economic structures between countries remain. The rich countries are making money at the expense of the poor countries, which in turn depends on the structure and can not affect it (Young, 2007, p. 39).

Social work is rooted primarily in Western Europe, the approach followed to the European colonies. When the colonies gained independence it was common that the social work changed and weakened. Reasons could be weak regimes, low self-government, repressed conflicts, few trained social workers, but the main reason was that social work wasn't directly suited to national conditions (Trygged, 2007, p. 11). It is hardly possible to create a unified social work when the differences in different locations are too big. The prospects for the former colonies to engage in a Western type of social work do not work when the conditions doesn't exist (Ibid. p. 26). In comparison with Western traditions and circumstances, international social work mostly focused on structures rather than on individuals (Ibid. p. 31).

It is therefore required both local and global knowledge in the social work. The ultimate is that local conditions play a major role in the shaping of social work (Ibid. p. 25). The definition of social work and the perception of what are social issues is different between countries. Many times concepts and terms that we use in West are missing (Ibid. p. 13). To uncritically missionary on certain types of social work is all too similar to how it worked during colonialism and an uncritical embrace of local customs and practices can preserve customs that are contrary to human rights (Ibid. p. 25). There must be a balance between universal knowledge claims and the local context (Ibid. p. 26). There are no international standards that regulate the profession of social work or accredit its educational programs across nations. There are, however, a number of commonalities in social work throughout the world. Although relative emphasis varies, social work everywhere recognizes a dual emphasis of responsibility to individuals in need and responsibility for social reform or social change (Healy, 2001, p. 80).

Social problems are often global. They are interrelated and can be recognized even if they seem different. There is significant knowledge about the effects of globalization on welfare state development and the importance of knowledge, terms and conditions for social work in different types of communities (Trygged, 2007, p. 109).

2.6 Urbanization

Urbanization is the process of concentrating people within a relatively small geographic area (Panopio & Raymundo, 2004, p. 367). Manila is a typical example of an urbanized city, on a surface of 636 km² lives almost 15 million people. The difference between urbanization in developing countries and industrialized countries is that the developing countries are mostly agricultural and are in stage of becoming industrialized economics (Ibid. p. 371). After the world war two lots of people started to move to urban areas like Manila. Unlike the cities in west there were no jobs for the rural migrants and the quick growing population (Ibid.). Third world urbanization leads to problem as migration, underemployment and unemployment. The migration has forced professionals to look for jobs in other countries, today more than eight and a half million Filipinos work abroad (Arguillas & Williams, 2010, p. 304). In social science are urban referred to a quality of life that is typically found in the cities (Panopio & Raymundo, 2003, p. 365). In Manila has the raising population caused strained water and power resources and the garbage disposal has become a huge problem (Ibid. p. 374). The garbage is thrown in the streets and it causes flooding during the rainy season. Another big problem is the pollution, Manila is one of the most polluted areas in the world. The traffic and

factories mainly cause the problem and it is common that the people in Manila suffer from headaches, cough and allergies because of this (Ibid. p. 388). As the city becomes more congested it pushes its residents farther from it. It is the poor people that are hit hardest and more and more squatter communities occur along the rivers, railroad tracks and seawalls (Ibid. p. 380). By the year 1992 about 40 percent of the total households was squatters (Ibid. p. 389). In a conversation with the organization SALINLAHI they estimate the number to be 70 percent in 2011 (personal communication, SALINLAHI, 29 march, 2011). Some squatter settlements have developed into slums. Slums are characterized by overcrowding, filth and misery. There are lacks of facilities for a healthy and comfortable life. Parents in slum areas tend to pass on this life to the children. The people living in the slum are Manilas cheap labor force and they are also associated with crime, gang warfare, prostitution, begging, scavenging and other illegal activities. The population in Manila has grown quickly, in the year 2000 it was about ten and a half million people that lived in Manila, today the number is 15 million. Because of this it will be hard to improve the situation to the better (Panopio & Raymundo, 2003, p. 389; SALINLAHI, personal communication, 23 march, 2011). To improve the living standards in Manila it is requested to use urban planning. The meaning is directing the city's physical growth and social growth to provide a more healthy and pleasant environment. It also needs to have better provisions for employment, education and health. There has been these types of projects in Manila, one was an almost three billion project in Smokey Mountain. Smokey Mountain was a dumpsite where lots of squatters were living and working as scavengers. The project aim was to convert the dumpsite into a housing and industrial center (Panopio & Raymundo, 2003, p. 390). The project resulted in houses built of bad material, people living in small rooms in a very filthy area, still working as scavengers. The difference is that they now pay rent to the government (Gabriela, personal communication, 29 march, 2011).

In urban areas it is more difficult and cost more to build a separate house than in rural areas. In urban areas it becomes more common with extended family households. The common way is for new residents to come and join their relatives. The household size increases with the increasing level of urbanization in the area (Panopio & Raymundo, 2003, p. 382). The relation between parents and their children seems less influenced by the urbanization. Care and support is still seen as a moral obligation and responsibility. The family still occupies a central position and is still a source of security and comfort (Ibid. p. 384).

3. Materials and method

3.1 Research strategies

The qualitative science usually begins with that the scientist gets to know the literature within the field and that the scientist tries to come up with a few preliminary research questions. The investigator needs to be open for the fact that the questions may change and have to be reformulated through the study. The scientist may discover new questions in the meeting with the empirical reality (Larsson & Lilja, 2005, p. 96f). Our investigation is not an exception. We have changed our questions several times before we were satisfied. After you have got to know the literature better it will be easier to formulate the problem and find a theory that suits for your study. The data is always depending on a theory or hypothes (Ibid.). We found our theories quite early in our investigation although the more common is to find them later because of the fact that the material, problem and questions may change during the time. Our questions have like we said changed many times but are quite similar to what they were in the beginning. When the scientist has read literature and come up with the problem it is time to do interviews and observations to get the answers that is needed. After the collection of empirical material it is time to analyze the phenomenon that the researcher has been studying. The analysis will be done along the purpose, not randomly (Ibid.). We did our interviews and observation on spot in Manila and later we transcribed the interviews and made an analysis linked to our problem and our questions.

3.2 Previous knowledge

When we decided to go to the Philippines to do our study it was because one of us has been there before and she knew that child labor was common there. For that reason we thought it would be a good country to do the study in. One of us had never been to the country or any part of Asia and had not any previous knowledge about how it would be or about the subject. The previous knowledge can be for better and for worse. For better was that we knew that we could do our study in Manila, that we could find child labor there. It was also good because of the fact that we had a contact from the beginning that has been very helpful. For worse could be that one of us already had a picture of what it would be like and that she already thinks she know the context although it was a few years she was there and it might have changed. For better could also be what we just described, she knew what to come to, the other of us didn't which was kind of a chocking experience.

3.3 Demarcation

In this study we have to demarcate us because it's not possible for us under this short of time to study all form of child labor. First of all we demarked us to do the study in an urban area, which was Manila. We did not have time to investigate child labor in rural areas although we know that it is even more common there.

Second we have focused on the forms of child labor that we could observe, the work that are performed on the streets and other places in Manila. A reason for our focus is that this kind of work is the most visible. There is also an empirical basis for a focus on child labor as work outside of the household because these children have the lowest school attendance rate of any group (ILO, 2009, p. 11).

3.4 Qualitative method

A qualitative research can be difficult to describe because the qualitative researcher often uses several different methods (Bryman, 2001, p. 251). But what still characterizes the qualitative research is that the knowledge that is generated is oriented interpretation, where the focus is on the understanding of the social reality (Ibid. p. 249). Bryman (2001, p. 249f) also argue that qualitative research is described as constructionist. This means that the social reality is a result of an interaction between individuals, a construction. Similarly says Bell (2000, p. 13) that qualitatively oriented scholars doubt the existence of social facts and questioned the use of a scientific approach when it is people being studied. Qualitatively oriented researchers are also more inclined to take up descriptive detail, but also explanations when they report their results. Many surveys also contain a detailed description of what has taken place in the environment studied. The reason is usually to emphasize the importance of contextual understanding of social behavior (Bryman, 2001, p. 265f).

We have chosen to use qualitative methods as we strive for a better understanding of the problem area that we have chosen to explore and describe. We believe that individual's views and experience is connected with the context they find themselves in and with that view, we find it difficult to use a quantitative approach. We have chosen to describe, as many qualitative researchers, the context of Manila and the Philippines history so called "Thick description". This because, as we said, we find it very important for the reader to understand the hole picture, so the results and analysis can be understood from the respondents views and to understand why it looks like it does in Manila. There is some criticism of the qualitative approach as you can read under the headlines of validity and reliability. Other criticism is what called "going native" and it means that one identifies with the people being studied and

then loses the purpose of the investigation (Ibid. p. 265). We have thought about this and have tried to not take any side or put our own values to our research.

3.5 Methodological approach

A methodological approach or design as you also can call it can be compared with a drawing at a house. It includes a plan to gather information, organize and integrate the information and it results in a special final product, the results of the science. The choice of approach is chosen by what the problem is, what questions it will lead to and what result you want (Merriam, 1994, p. 21). Case study methodology is in many ways particularly suited to social science research. Research type provides unique opportunities to gather a rich data set that can provide practical and nuanced knowledge in matters of social reality. Examples of questions are what social vulnerability is and how social problems are understood and managed. Case study methodology is used in different disciplines and it is not entirely clear what the term means because everyone has their own definition. In general, however, the term is used to represent a certain kind of investigation. There are studies of a contemporary phenomenon in a real context where the number of investigated cases is limited, while the information collected on the cases are rich (Meuwisse, Swärd, Eliasson- Lappalainen & Jacobsson, 2008, p. 41f). The cases that are investigated may consist of individuals, groups, an organization, a local community etc. The contemporary phenomenon may be social care, criminality or anything that has the interest of the researchers. The diversity of the research gathered during the term case study is wide and has a wide significance (Ibid. p. 42).

Of the fact that a case study is focusing on an individual or an organization doesn't mean that the analysis has to be limited to that level. The case is used to illuminate the broader structures and processes. Many case studies are also on several levels, ranging over micro to macro (Ibid. p. 45).

The case studies are used to advantage several different data collection methods and different types of empirical data. The strength of case studies is their ability to handle several types of empirical material (Merriam, 1994, p. 23). That suits for our study because we have chosen to collect data through observation, literature and interviews. The goal of a case study is to capture the investigated phenomenon in all its complexity and in its context. The case study usually requires a qualitative approach but not necessarily only qualitative methods. There are no specific criteria that must be fulfilled for a study should be called a case study but there are certain characteristics. For example, people should be studied in their natural environments in everyday situations, the goal is a holistic description and to discover rather

than prove. Various methods and data sources used to achieve a detailed and complex picture. Nor is it clear how the case should be considered. A case may include an empirical study object or a theoretical or analytical design - created by the researcher (Meeuwisse et al, 2008, p. 49).

The case study is particularly useful for generating specific, nuanced and contextual emphasized knowledge (Ibid. p. 51). Case studies also have the ability to make room for multiple perspectives. It is pointed out frequently that even powerless actors are made visible, such as the homeless and drug addicts (Ibid. p. 52). In our case, we highlight the children in child labor, in many cases, street children. The choice of distinct physical location for the case study doesn't need to be predetermined and may take place without preconditions. Another way is to start from a phenomenon which seems to be interesting and try to find a place where this phenomenon may exist largely (Ibid.). Before we came to Manila to start our study we chosed to handle two cases, children in child labor and the organizations working with the children. We didn't know where to do our study but we found that we could just go out on the street to observe child labor. We also found slum areas that we visited where we knew it would be a lot of working children. We have always studied the children in its natural context and we have visited the organizations in their offices, to see how they work and what possibilities they have to work against child labor.

The criticism against case studies is similar to the criticisms contained in qualitative studies in general, that knowledge is limited to the particular case and the results is unable to generalize. The response to the criticism is its position in the profit of being able to study a unique case. Some scientists oppose the criticism, arguing that some case studies can be generalized (Meeuwisse et al, 2008, p. 52).

3.6 Data collections techniques

We have chosen to use a data collection technique called triangulation. Triangulation is when the researcher is viewing things from different perspectives. It means that the researcher can use different methods, data sources or even different researchers in the same study. In this way, the researcher can get a better comprehension of the thing that being studied (Denscombe, 2009, p. 184). We have in this study chosen to go for the triangulation of method. Triangulation of methods is the most common form of triangulation among social scientists (Ibid. p. 185). It is often used for mixing qualitative and quantitative styles of research and data (Neuman, 2006, p. 150). We have not done that because it would take too long time to learn the both styles and to long time to analysis both qualitative and quantitative

data. Therefore we have decided to use similar qualitative methods. If similar methods produce the same results it is more reasonable that the conclusion is authentic (Denscombe, 2009, p. 186).

3.6.1 Semi-structured Interviews

A semi-structured interview includes flexibility and balanced by structure (Gillham, 2008, p. 103; Denscombe, 2009, p. 234f). The interviewer have a list, a interview guide, with both topics and questions that are going to be discussed but in a semi-structured interview the respondents have a given space to talk in more detail and answers here are more open (Denscombe, 2009, p. 234f; Patton, 1987, p. 111). The relationship between the interviewer and the interview person is responsive or interactive and leaves therefore space for some adjustment of clarification and develop (Gillham, 2008, p. 20). The more structured part in this method is that the same questions are asked to all respondents, all the interviews takes approximately the same time, and to ensure that similar things are covered up the respondents are guided forward with support issues/questions from the interview guide (Gillham, 2008, p. 103; Patton, 1987, p. 111).

We have chosen to do semi-structured interviews because we wanted our respondents to be free to talk about what they felt was important but we also felt that in a new culture we couldn't make structured interviews because we didn't get the opportunity to do a pilot study, to test our questions before the real interviews. We felt that we had to be careful with to tight questions and to use concepts that we weren't sure of if they use there. We have done seven semi- structured interviews and talked to people from four other institutes, as we see them as complements to our interviews. We have also had discussions with some organizations and talked to a mother about her and her children's situation in the slum area. All our interviews was taken approximately the same time, some longer than others because some had more time. During our interviews one of us interviewed the respondents with questions from our interview guide that we had done and the other was taken notes to complement the audio recording that we used in all the interviews. It is important to record the interviews as it facilitates a throughout analysis, the researcher can listen repeatedly to the data and other scientists can review the material (Bryman, 2001, p. 310). But there are also disadvantages and it is that the sound recordings only capture the verbal communication and not the non-verbal (Denscombe, 2009, p. 259).

3.6.2 Observation

The observation is based on the eyes direct observation of occurrences. The task is to observe and record their observations in as objective manner as possible and then interpret the information as accurately as possible (Bell, 2000, p. 139).

We have chosen to do an unstructured and non-participation observation. An unstructured observation means that you don't use an observation schedule for registration of behaviors. We also started the study without completely fixed opinions on what we wanted to observe. It is important to write down the most important parts of the observation as soon as possible after the observation is done (Bell, 2000, p. 138). The purpose of that is that as detailed as possible note how the participants in an environment behave and based on that provide a narrative (storytelling) description (Bryman, 2001, p. 176). That is also our purpose with the observation, we want to present our observations in a narrative way to give the reader a clearer picture on what we have seen.

An unstructured observation can lead to some problems that are important for the scientist to take into account. When it is more than one observer that is observing the same thing at the same time their depictions will probably be different from each other's. Each scientist has their own focus and interpreters important concurrencies in her own way. This makes unstructured observations cumbersome and time consuming because that the scientists have to find a way to ensure their interpretations of the observation (Bell, 2000, p. 138). It can be positive though to be more than one scientist because of the fact that you through a common observation can compare your notes. This constitutes a form of control of how to interpret what you have observed (Ibid. p. 139).

An unstructured observation is normally used in connection with a non-participation observation. The meaning of this type is a situation where the observer observes but not participates in what happens in the environment (Ibid.). The observer is in the environment that is being observed but is passive (Bryman, 2001, p. 176).

The observation that we have done is a mix between these two forms that we have described. It was not so easy to choose what forms we should pick because our observation isn't following any of these types to the full. About the non-participation observation we have been observing in the natural environment for the children in child labor. We have observed on the streets, in the slum, along the Manila bay beach walk (where it is common that foreign men picks up children in purpose of sex), outside restaurants and in the places where people live where we have been invited. We have tried not to affect what happens when we observe, we are not sure that we have succeeded though because wherever we are we draw attention to

us because of how we look. That has been both positive and negative for our study. The positive is that people are very curious about us so we have been able to meet many people and to see places and environments that we shouldn't have been able to see other ways. The negative is that we can't ensure that we don't affect by our presence just because of the fact that people are coming to us, that they want to speak with us and because of their curiosity, although it has been very interesting. About the unstructured observation we didn't know exactly what we wanted to observe but we knew to some part. We wanted to observe what kind of work that the children was doing and how the environment looked. We didn't want to use observation schedules because we thought it would limit us in the observation. We wanted to be free to observe in any environment at any time and in all situations that we could be in. That is also how we have done it; we have observed wherever we have been where we've got the chance. That could be when we walked on the street in Manila, when we sat at restaurants or cafés, when we got the opportunity to go with different organizations to slum areas and to places where people lived. We could just really open our eyes anywhere to see children in child labor.

We think that it was helpful to have two persons observing the same thing. It was positive to be able to discuss what we have seen and it was also helpful because of the fact that you saw different things and you could complement each other.

3.6.3 Literature

As a step in our study we have made literature reviews. A literature review interpreters and compiles previous science and what have been published about the subject before (Merriam, 1994, p. 74). It is based on the assumption that knowledge accumulates and that people learn from and build on what others have already done (Neuman, 2006, p. 111). We have made three literature reviews, first an integrative review, second a methodological review, third a theoretical review. An integrative review is when the author present and summarize previous research on the topic and it is common that it is combined with a context review. A methodological review is when the author is focusing on research methods and definitions. A theoretical review is a review on relevant theories (Ibid. p. 112; Merriam, 1994, p. 74).

The first thing you have to do when you are doing a literature review is to find relevant literature and documents. It is important that you do a critical review of the literature that you chose to use to find out if it is a reliable source (Merriam, 1994, p. 76). We have found and are using different types of literature and documents in this paper. We are using books,

articles, written information from the state and state organizations, written information from NGOs and people organizations, international organizations, publications, official statistics and statistics from NGOs, websites and Internet. We have read the information and tried our best to use just the once that we thought was reliable. Information that comes from the state is usually considered to be reliable. It appears to be that because authorities write it, it should be impartial and are based on facts (Denscombe, 2009, p. 295). In the process of our paper we seem to have to be most critical to the information that we got from the state organizations and the written information we read authored by the state. When it comes to the statistics that's made of the state and state organizations we have tried not to use it. First because the latest measures that was done on child labor is from 2001. Second is that these numbers are a lot lower than statistics from other sources such as some NGOs, people organizations and international organizations that have published material that we have read. It is in the states interest to keep the low number and we don't think they are the real once. It is also a question of what conception of child labor that have been used during the measures, for example, some just see the children that are not going to school, some counts all street children in as well which means that we have had to deal with very different numbers, statistics and information.

We have found a lot of our information on the Internet and on different organizations websites. A problem when it comes to information from the Internet is that there are very few restrictions about what can be placed there. That means that when someone will use documents from Internet they will have to be very critical and carefully check for the author, the credibility and the authenticity. It is also important to be critical about websites (Ibid. p. 303f). We have tried just to use information from the organizations own websites that we considered was reliable. Most of the organizations are big, for example UNICEF and ILO, some are international which means that they don't have any pressure from the state to write "the right things", that also includes the NGOs in the Philippines.

We have used lots of books and articles in this paper. When you use a book in a paper it is good if you recognize the publisher, if the book is able in a new edition it's better to use that one. It means that there has been sufficient demand on a new book (Ibid. p. 303). We found most of our books in Sweden on the libraries. We had a huge problem finding books about the issues of the Philippines on Swedish libraries. We tried to find books when we was in Manila instead, we were at the National library, unfortunately we just found one book and that one was quite old but still current and authored by ILO. We got a few books from a teacher at our school that have been to the Philippines and has books from there. It was easier to find articles and we used different databases to find them. Important when you search for information in

form of articles or journals is that you take into account how long the journals have been. Often it is safer to use an old journal and be more skeptical about new ones. It is also good to find out who is the publisher (Ibid. p. 302). Some of our articles are published by organizations and authorities and some are published in different journals. We have read them and been critical and chosen to use them who we thought was most reliable. One of our criteria's was that they had common basic information.

3.6.4 Literature search

We have been searching after researches about child labor on Academic Search Premier with full text and scholarly (Peer Reviewed) Journals. We got eight results using the search word "child labor Philippines". One of them was the article by Maria Rosario and Piquero-Ballescas. With the search word "child education Philippines" we got 26 results and we have used the article by Marie Joy B. Arguillas and Lindy Williams. We couldn't find so much relevant information on the Academic search premier and therefore we started to look on the Internet. We found the article by Hakan Acaroglu and Ozcan Dagmedir when we were searching for child labor. Then we also found the paper from Friedrich Huebler, UNICEF, on their website.

3.6.5 Selection and the approach

Before we could decide to use interview as one of our methods we had to make sure that it was feasibility of data collection methods. We had to make sure that the persons we wanted to interview really were available and that we could get a direct contact with some respondents. The hierarchy in the Philippines is very strong and therefore we needed a person that could get us in to the system of the authorities so we could get some interview persons within different organizations that work with the issue of child labor. We contacted the Swedish Red Cross because the Red Cross is a worldwide organization and because we already are members of the organization and thought they may help us. Our contact in the Swedish Red Cross contacted the Philippine National Red Cross and they promised they would help us to come in contact with some organizations in Manila. And that was our way in to the system. With the help from the Red Cross we got interviews with two different Departments of Social welfare and development (DSWD) and with the National Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE). We also had an interview with the Social Department of the Red Cross. We also contacted different organizations on the spot and got an interview with the

ILO. Of a coincident we met a man that new about an umbrella organization named Bayan that had member organizations that also was working with children and women's issues. We contacted Bayan and got an interview with two organizations; Association for the Rights of Children in Southeast Asia (ARCSEA) and SALINLAHI -Alliance for children's concerns. We also got an opportunity to meet SALINLAHI again together with an organization called Gabriela on the field in a slum area. We also had one interview booked with UNICEF but it got tuned for different reasons. We have also been talking to a social worker in a church, a barangay captain, a mother of three children in child labor and three teachers from a public school.

To get the interviews, as we said we started with a contact person in an organization. This contact person gave us support and the organization joined in a good for us, acted as a guarantor. They also took the contact with the different governmental organizations and got the permission for us to go there. Bryman (2001, p. 283) would call this contact person a gatekeeper. The other organizations and persons we come in contact with were via the snowball sample. A snowball sample is a sample when you met a person that knows other persons that knows other person and so on (Ibid. p. 313). Even if we didn't know which organizations we would meet we had a picture that we wanted to interview people in special positions, working with child labor or with knowledge of the issue.

3.7 Processing and analysis

3.7.1 Transcription

To make a transcription means that a written version of the interviews gets produced, a form of translation (Gillham, 2008, p. 165). We have in our research recorded all our interviews so that we could do accurate transcriptions. We have interviewed in a varied environment in which it sometimes was difficult to hear what the interviewee said. This we have marked clearly in our transcription. We also interviewed in English, a language that is not ours or the respondents first language. In the Philippines most of the people talk English but in different levels. We have also come across respondents who have not mastered the language fluently. This has resulted in that we haven't understood every word during our transcription, often due to a different accent or because of ambiguity. We have also marked this during our transcription.

In a transcription disappears, however, emphasis, pace and tone of voice that can change the meaning of words (Ibid.). We have thought about this and therefore recorded that to some

extent. We have also discussed details like that after every interview, things that can have significance to our interpretation and analysis. We have in our transcriptions also marked who's talking, the interviewer or the respondent. When the transcriptions were made, we ended with reading them through to get an overall feel for the content.

3.7.2 Analysis method

To transcribe is a beginning of the analysis process. To analyze means to separate something into parts or elements (Kvale, 2009, p. 210). It is a process that involves making meaning of information that the researcher has obtained (Merriam, 1994, p. 142). Unlike a quantitative data analysis, there are no clear rules for how a qualitative analysis should be carried out and no established methods. Many researchers don't even believe that this is something to strive for (Bryman, 2001, p. 373). We began our analysis by going back to our problem and issues because it was from them that we collected data. It is important in a final report to compare final results with the definition of the problem or issue (Merriam, 1994, p. 143). We believe that the data that we have collected has suited along well with our problem and feel satisfied with it. In the next step we designed a so-called case record, used in case study analysis. Case study analysis is that method of analysis that comes closest to what we have done. In our case record we collected information from our interviews, field notes from our observations and from our own memos. A case record includes all information that will be used in the analysis. You then edit the information, organizing the case record in terms of subject and delete repeated information (Ibid.). We sorted the information thematically, in order to then go through it again while we noted comments in the margins. The review is about seeing patterns and regularity that is then transformed into categories (Ibid.). Designing categories involves deciding what is linked to what, what data is fit for a particular category. All items in a category must be equal in any aspect, and the difference between categories should be sharp and clean. The categories depended on the information obtained and the focus on the research, namely the research objective and questions (Ibid. p. 146f). During the analysis we have, consolidate, reduced and interpreted the information. The goal of the analysis is to reach credible conclusions that are based on empirical data (Ibid. p. 143).

3.8 Precisions of results

All social researchers want their measures to be reliable and valid. Yet a perfect reliability and validity constructs are not possible to achieve. They are more like ideals researcher to strive for. Both ideas help to establish the truthfulness, credibility, or believability of findings (Neuman, 2006, p. 188). Validity and reliability is important criteria's but many qualitatively oriented have questioned the relevance of these concepts because measurements' is not the primary interest in qualitative research. Another thing about these criteria's that have been questioned is that they require that there is a possibility to reach a single and absolute image of social reality (Bryman, 2001, p. 257f).

3.8.1 Validity

To get a strong validity it requires that the researcher observes, identify or measure what he/she claims to do and that the data is the correct type, to investigate the subject (Bryman, 2001, p. 257; Denscombe, 2009, p. 278). The data also need to be measured correctly. Validity refers to accuracy and precision in data requires (Denscombe, 2009, p. 278).

Interviews are the main method in a large part of the social science research and the validity of the research objects report of their feelings, perceptions, attitudes and behavior is generally accepted. But people can have practical knowledge about themselves but how right they have is another question (Gillham, 2008, p. 24). People also answer different in questions depending on how they perceive the interviewer. How honest people are or how much people open up is often related to the interviewer's gender, age and ethnic origin. This means that data becomes affected by the researcher's personal identity. Not so much the identity as such, but what the identity means for the respondents. Both the interviewer and the respondents have preconceptions that going to have some impact under the interview (Denscombe, 2009, p. 244f). Therefore looking at something from multiple points will increase the credibility and improve the accuracy of the results (Neuman, 2006, p. 49; Bryman, 2001, p. 258). For that reason should the researcher use method triangulation. Interview data should be confirmed by other information sources, as written source and observation (Denscombe, 2009, p. 266).

In our study interviews have been our main method were the respondent's statements are important for our results and analysis. We could not do anything about our identity but under the interviews we have made an effort to be polite, responsive, timely and neutral, all to make a pleasant atmosphere so the respondent can feel relaxed and give us honest answers. We

have also in this study as we have said before used triangulation to increase the studies validity.

3.8.2 Reliability

To get a strong reliability the research instrument must show the same data at other times and the research instrument is supposed to be neutral and consequent (Denscombe, 2009, p. 378). It's hard to get a strong reliability in qualitative research, because it's not possible to freeze the social environment and therefore the research cannot be completely replicated. To get a strong reliability, if there is more than one researcher, the researchers must also be aware and decide how they are suppose to interpret what they have been seeing and hearing (Bryman, 2001, p. 257f)

In our research, to get a stronger reliability, we have described the context very carefully so the reader and other researcher can get a picture of the environment in Manila. If other researcher would like to repeat our research they can out of our written context decide if they could do the same study another time in Manila or in another urban area. We also think that Manila as an urban area that is changing very slowly and that other researcher probably would get the similar result. When it comes to our interpret of the data, we have been careful with our own values and have after each interview and observation discussed what we have heard and seen so that we together have reached a common understanding. Kvale (2009, p. 160f) also state that it takes time to get to know a new culture were there can be different values in the interactions between strangers. The interviewer also needs to understand verbal and nonverbal factors to prevent misunderstandings between different cultures. In some interviews we have had some misunderstandings when it has come to our questions and some conceptions that we have been using. During the interviews when a misunderstanding has risen we have got help from other persons to interpret and we have in some cases also formulated the question on another way. During one interview we also had to give some example of that we were meaning and therefore the question became a leading question.

3.8.3 Generalizability

The general criticism of qualitative studies is primarily that the generalization is problematic because the knowledge that the study generates is limited to the specific case (Meuwisse et al, 2008, p. 52). The people interviewed in a qualitative study may not be representative of a population but will instead be generalized to theory. This means that the study results being

generalized in relation to a theory or a theoretical perspective (Bryman, 2001, p. 270f; Meeuwisse et al, 2008, p. 52f). In our study we have chosen a method triangulation which means that we not only have made interviews with a few persons but we also have scientific information from different authors, countries and organizations. This increases the generalization of our results because we have a broader knowledge than if we would only have made use of interviews.

3.9. Ethical considerations

Writing a research thesis means that the researcher must take into account the various ethical issues, concerns, dilemmas and conflicts that arise during the process. Ethics define what is or are not legitimate to do or what moral research procedure involves. It is often a balance between two values; the pursuit of scientific knowledge and the rights of those being studied (Neuman, 2006, p. 129). We have discussed on many occasions what we need to take account of in our thesis. We have chosen to make semi-structured interviews where we have got in contact with government, non- government and people's organizations and the topic we are addressing in this paper is directly and indirectly, a political issue. We have been aware of that we may acquire sensitive information and therefore we have been taken part of the Science Council (Vetenskapsrådet) four research ethics very carefully. We have also taken part of law 2003:460 which are the act on ethical review of research involving humans. We think the criteria's suits better for science on higher levels than ours and have therefore not addressed it in our process.

The first of the Science Council four research ethics is the information requirement which means that the respondent should be aware of their role and the conditions that apply and also that participation is voluntary and that they can withdraw their participation at any time (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002, p. 7). We have therefore made and been giving an information letter to all our interviewees so they have been acquainted before the interviews about their rights as respondents. No respondents during our interviews have been withdrawer their participation. We have also informed all respondents about where our research will be published. We have been careful to introduce our school and we have also been giving the respondents a copy from our recommendation letter from our schools that clarify why we are in the Philippines, doing this research.

The second is the requirement of consent in which the participants themselves have the right to decide whether they want to participate or not (Ibid. p. 9). All our respondents have

wanted to participate. Before we arrived to the Philippines we had decided that we shouldn't interview children below 18 years old, because of some ethical problems that arise. While in the Philippines we had an opportunity to interview a family, one mother and her three sons that were child laborers. We were visiting them in their home together with two members from two organizations, with the family's approval. While in their home, the children were too shy to talk to us and didn't show up. We were the first foreigners that they had seen. Therefore we just talked to the mother and didn't have any discussion with the children. In the Philippines it is more common to talk directly to the children and therefore we were willing to do so. Many people that we have been talking to rather think there is unethical to not talk to the children because then we miss out their own stories about their conditions in life. Even though we just talked to the mother we had to think about the ethical problems of research a private life and then publish it. We are now grateful that she shared her story because it has affected our understanding of the humans' conditions here in the Philippines, in the slum areas.

The third is the confidentiality requirement that says that the question should be given the utmost confidentiality and personal data should be stored so no outsiders can access them (Ibid. p. 12). We have been giving our respondents the opportunity to remain anonymous as both individuals but also the workplace. None of our respondents have told us that they wanted to be anonymous but after received some sensitive information we have decided to let everybody be anonymous and in some part also the name of the organization that they work for. We took that decision because in the Philippines there is lots of corruption and it have and is still in some places a political unrest and we don't want anyone to get in trouble for has talked to us. We have also been careful with the interview data so nobody could get the access to it.

Fourth is the use requirement, which means that the data we have developed only will be used for research purposes (Ibid. p. 14). We relate to this by that the information only will be used for our purpose in this particular paper.

In the case of our observations we have done in the urban area Manila, we have had another discussion namely, is it ethical to observe the children without their knowledge? We ourselves believe that this issue has been the biggest ethical dilemma for us in our study and we have carefully weighed the pros and cons. We have also raised the issue with our supervisor for guidance on the subject. We did decided that we consider it justifiable because the observation prove the information we have received from our informants but also question the respondents stories and it is therefore an important element of our analysis and conclusion.

We also think it is justifiable when none of the children that we have observed will be identified in this paper.

3.10 Source criticism

As we already have written we have tried our best to select trustable and reliable books and articles. One of the articles we found in the Philippines is quite old, it was the only one we found and therefore we used it anyway although some things might have changed. We have also tried not to use statistics from the Philippine government because we don't find it reliable. Some of our statistics and information are from the government anyway, because of the fact that it sometimes has been hard to find it from other places. When we started this study we noticed that there are many different definitions on child labor. We have chosen one that is common but sometimes when we did interviews they could talk about another one. This means that we sometimes may not have talked about the same definition and criteria.

4 Previous research

4.1 Maria Rosario Piquero-Ballescás

The article is called “*Tungod sa Kawad-on*” *Filipino working children’s health and globalization* and begins with government statistic that shows that 33 of 100 Filipinos counted as poor in 2006. With a persistence of poverty, more households and children continue to be affected. With an annual growth rate of 2.36 the Philippine population is expected to expand even more and the multiple burdens as, poverty, unemployment, hunger, inequality, and health problems. This will continue to affect the children of the poor, unless it won’t be resolved (Piquero-Ballescás, 2009, p. 66f).

Children are working for two reasons, based on a national survey 2001. The two reasons are; to help their households and to augment their family income. At 2007 a case study was made by Cebu Labor Education Advocacy and Resource center (CLEAR). They interviewed seven children in child labor and the case study show the qualitative dimension of the 2001 quantitative survey (Ibid. p. 67f).

We’ve selected three children’s stories from the results. We decided to choose the three child laborers that work with typical works in urban areas like Manila. One of the children was eleven years old and was in grade four when the study was made but she was always absent from school because she was unable to pay for school requirements. She said that it was her neighbor that invited her to start work and she is now working with scavenging, selecting salable waste like cans, plastics, iron or steel bars, electric wires, bottles and so on. She said that she also eat scavenged food. She earns approximately 30 pesos (about five SEK) a day. She works morning until afternoon, nighttime too. She doesn’t takes any rest because scavenge more means more money. The reason for her to work is because hunger/starvation due to poverty. She has eight siblings and when she describes good and bad things of her family relationships she say that she have a drunkard father that hits the children and it’s peaceful when he is sober. The eldest sibling also hits her when she can’t give him money for rugby². Other difficulties for her are extreme hunger until scavenged items are sold, feeling dirty especially when eating scavenged food, afraid and frightened especially when she gets chased by dogs or being mistaken for a burglar. She envious those who have responsible parents, those with small household size, and those who can go to school and be dressed properly (Ibid. p. 70ff).

² Glue in a plastic bag ingested by sniffing. It is a common drug among the street children.

Another child is a 17 year old girl. She only got to grade three and have been dropped out. She was working as a child prostitute and got invited by gang members with the same work. She is not working as a “bar girl” anymore because she is pregnant with her second child. In the bar she use to earn 300 pesos (about 50 SEK) per customer. She started to work at eight pm until four am the next day. She doesn’t take any breaks because she needs to earn money. She is working because of extreme hunger and because she have no one to turn to for help. She lives with a family of 16 siblings and her mother has passed away. About her households problem she say that she witnessed her father verbal abuse her mother, one sibling is a drug user, but now dead, poverty, no define job, no schooling and no future. When she is talking about her job she says that if she is on her monthly period she hide from the customers. Usually if the customer is drunk she gets slapped, and sometimes a sadist customer physically abuse her before sex. She got pregnant because of her work and her children have different fathers. She is happy when money is available so she doesn’t have to worry about food (Ibid. 2009, p. 70ff).

The third child is a boy, eleven years old but now dead because he got stabbed 14 times. He was always absent from school and was working as an assistant baggage carrier in market. He was carry load for costumers up to their vehicles. He got invited to the job when he was hanging around on the market with his gang mates. On his free time he used to play billiards and sniff rugby with his friends. When he described his family situation he said that his parents were separated and that his father while drunk hits his wife. Their house burned down and they were living in a small hut. The boy said, “Too difficult for us to lose our mother and I envy those children who have still mothers that care of them” (Piquero-Ballecas, 2009, p. 73). When he were asked about good and bad family situations he didn’t come up with any good only bad, “ Because I have no parents who care for me I have to struggle to work so I can buy food and rugby, better than stealing” (Piquero-Ballecas, 2009, p. 73). His dream was to join the air force and he used to pray to the Lord for his parents to be reconciled (Ibid. 2009, p. 70ff).

4.2 Friedrich Huebler

The article is called *Child labour and school attendance: Evidence from MICS and DHS surveys* written by Huebler that is working on UNICEF, division of Policy and Practice. It says that child labor is one of the barriers on the way to universal primary education, the second of the Millennium Development Goal. Numerous of studies show that in the developing world, primary education is crucial to the achievement of an increase living

standard. With increased education the benefits include higher wages for adults, less dependence on social welfare, a lower fertility rate, increased political participation, better health and increased savings (Huebler, 2008, p. 2f).

The data that presents in this paper on child labor and school attendance comes from 35 household surveys that cover one quarter of the world's populations and was collected between 1999 and 2005 (Huebler, 2008, p. 2). In the Philippines year 2000, they had a population of approximately 75 million and out of them 14,5 million children between age seven to 14. In the surveys they have been choosing these ages because children in all the 35 countries are expected to enter primary school by age seven. In the Philippines the results on current school attendance shows that more female than male attend school and that there is a big difference in school attendance between the poorest children with only 78,5 percent compared with the richest children with 98,5 percent. The total percent is 90.0 (Ibid. p. 2ff).

The most important factor in the decision to send children to school or to work is the household wealth. This according to the results from a model that test the individual determinants factors of child labor and school attendance, for children in the age of seven to 14. But the decision is also influenced by other factors (Ibid. p. 9). One positive factor for the child's attendance in school is if the household head have primary, secondary or higher education. The higher education the household head has the likelihood that the children attend school increase. The effect of the household size is clearest if the children are below seven years. In those families the child may have to drop out of school to save money, to work or/and take care for infant household members (Ibid. p. 14). The distant from the residence to the school is also a factor that is linked to the child's school attendance. On average, children from urban areas are more likely to be in school then children from rural areas. The analysis support the poverty hypothesis that suggests that parents only sends their children to work if there is a need of supplement household income (Ibid. p. 16).

Historical experience has showed that legislation alone is not sufficient to eliminate child labor. Children will continue to work legally or illegally if their labor is needed or if there is no easy access to education of good quality. Making education truly free is a step toward increased enrolment rates, also easier access to school and income transfers (Ibid. p. 17). School feeding program and delivery of social services like basic health care in the schools can serve as a further incentive for school attendance. In many countries cash transfers to poor families have been tested successfully. But the results show that children who are out of school don't stop working entirely. Instead they began to combine work and school. The cash transfer has therefore not been an answer to decrease child labor. Another concern about cash

transfers is that street children and orphans don't get reached by transfers to poor households. Other forms of support are requiring for these children (Ibid. p. 18f).

To come closer to the goal of universal primary school the increased demand for schooling must be met. This by an adequate supply of schools and teachers, with requires additional financial resources (Ibid. p. 21).

4.3 Institute for labor studies and Hakan Acaroglu & Ozcan Osmangazi

This part summarizes two researches were the first one is a *Comprehensive study on child labor in the Philippines* and the other is called *An alternative approach for child labour in developing countries: Child labour participation rates or school non-attendance rates*.

Child labor is one of the basic problems of developing countries and both microscopic experience of the households and macroscopic proceedings on a societal level need to be examined to analyze child labor in the Philippines. Poverty is not its cause, poverty is just symptomatic of larger societal problems, an effect rather than a cause (Institute for labor studies, 1994, p. 7f).

On the microscopic level the family's consciousnesses is important because households decisions can be the most effective cause of child labor (Acaroglu & Osmangazi, 2010, p. 76). The families in the Philippines are training their children to work because it is an important aspect of childhood socialization in the county (Institute for labor studies, 1994, p. 5).

Children's work can often start with play, together with older siblings, peers or sometimes parents or other relatives. The play begins as simple work graduating to harder work (Ibid. p. 11). In the households, all income earners are expected to contribute to the household coffers and children in low income families are also trained to earn a living. Economic dependency is not necessarily marked by age in the Philippine society. This has implications on the existence of child labor (Ibid. p. 5). In many cases the child laborers perceive work to be as a means to move up in the social ladder. This can give the better future jobs. The community also gives children an opportunity to work because there is always an apparent demand for the simple jobs they perform. For an example, in the urban poor community's children are selling water because there is no running water supply in the houses (Ibid. p. 12).

The macroscopic factors of child labor can be traced to state policies, national economic conditions, social-cultural conditions and global conditions (Ibid. p. 16). Globalization can give developing countries the opportunities to new trade possibilities and foreign investment inflows witch increase their gross domestic product (BDP) per capita. But an increase in GDP per capita entails an increase in child labor employment. Developing countries with slack

labor standards, low wages and plentiful of unskilled labor, especially child laborer, are regarded as a heaven for foreign investors (Acaroglu & Osmangazi, 2010, p. 76). The economic development in the Philippines has been slow in the past decade, the corruption in high places had resulted in refusal of foreign creditors to extend more financial assistants. Plans for economic development failed to attract investments to underdeveloped areas outside large cities and the Philippines have also a big competition from other newly- industrializing countries of Asia. The economic underdevelopment affected the whole nation, and become a motive force for child labor (Institute for labor studies, 1994, p. 16f).

Child labor is also affected by government policies, especially by the social expenditures and the social infrastructures (Acaroglu & Osmangazi, 2010, p. 76). Educational policies in the Philippines have increased the probability of child labor because of the big expenses for the family to send their children to school. To have an education is a high premium and the children's desire to attend school makes them work to be able to afford it (Institute for labor studies, 1994, p. 22f).

To minimize and eradicate the ill effects in Filipino children the government has enacted legislation, executive orders, attendant policy guidelines and direct action programs (Ibid. p. 2). The protective legislation against child labor did not only serve to stop the employment of children but also served to push urban children from industry to the streets and to the informal sector where the legislation doesn't protect them (Ibid. p. 39ff).

In the informal sector, like vendors, scavengers and child prostitution the children are risking their health. Among the children on the streets, many get fever, asthma, cough and cold because they get exposed to heat and rain. They also risk to get hit by vehicular. Among scavengers the biggest risks comes at night. The garbage is duped and many truck and bulldozer drivers have a hard time to see the children. Children both get hit and run over. In the nighttime the children also risks to be sexual abused and terrorized by gangs. Other big risks are the garbage itself where you can find hospital wastes, chemical and pharmaceutical rejects and explosives. Children also die from tetanus from infected wounds (Ibid.).

In urban areas there are also a lot of children in entertainment and prostitution. These children can be prisoners in brothels or sold by their parents to recruiters in believe that the children are going to be employed as domestic helpers in the cities. Instead the children are forced to working as sex slaves. The third group is working in bars and clubs (Ibid. p. 52f). These all children are vulnerable to physical pain and injury. They are exposed to contagious diseases, often sexually transmitted. Psychologically they are likely to suffer from low self-esteem and other problems (Ibid. p. 45).

The research data indicate that policies must pay more attention on the participation of children below 14 years in paid and unpaid labor activities. The Philippines also need sanctions against prolonged school absences that may reduce full time jobs of the children. In the school curriculum the society's goal to abolish child labor should also be integrated and the children need to be taught about their rights in all levels of education (Ibid. p. 127f). Attitudes concerning children at work tend to be ambiguous and muddled by poor understanding of, or incomplete information about the phenomenon itself. There is a weak link between existing programs on child labor and the public advocacy from the government, local government and law enforces (Ibid. p. 127f). The concerns families should also get help to understand their situation and be given the means to alleviate their difficulties, if not the children are going to continue to work (Ibid. p. 129). Child labor is symptomatic of broader social problems and a phenomenon of underdevelopment cannot be the concern of any single agency. All government agencies should be mobilized to address it and the non-government organizations as well, with or without linkages with the government (Ibid. p. 130).

4.4 Marie Joy B. Arguillas and Linda Williams

The most important predictors of children's education outcomes are family structure, household resources, number of siblings competing for the resources and the parents' educational attainment. According to this science, "*The impact of Parents' overseas employment on educational outcomes of Filipino children*", it is common today that Filipino parents leave their children to work abroad which separate them from the children during a long time. Western based studies analyses that the education outcome for these children will be negative. In this study the authors will show that the separation can be neutral or positive for the children education (Arguillas & Williams, 2010, p. 300).

The study is made in different urban settings in the Philippines, including Manila. The study includes 2346 respondents, all children with one or both parents abroad (Ibid. p. 305f).

The Philippine is a labor-exporting nation. Most of the parents that leave the Philippine today for work are mothers of young children. Many investigations have argued that it has negative consequences for children to grow up in a single-parent household. For example it could be negative for the child's school participation and educational success. The argument is that the families with one parent have limited resources like a lack of family structures and the necessary social, economic and cultural capital. Two-parent households hold an advantage over the one-parent household in terms of the economic and ability to invest in the children. But if the case is that it is a single-parent household because one of the parents works abroad,

the economic gains from the migration that results in improved chances for the child to stay in school. The migration can affect the child's education in other terms than the economic though (Ibid. p. 301).

In 2007 there were about eight and a half million Filipinos working abroad. The work often brings economic benefits to the family at home but the consequences on children's development and wellbeing is unclear. Some studies that have been made on children left behind shows that they suffer from psychological and emotional stress, some also felt lonely, angry and unloved. Some studies also show that the children often are less socially adjusted than other children. The price for money is the cost of the family solidarity. Some studies also show that children with mothers overseas are more likely to end up in drug abuse, drinking or gambling (Ibid. p. 304f).

The results from this study show that the parent educational attainment has an impact on the child's education. If the parent went to school it is more likely that the child also will do so. It also shows that middle class children have a better chance to go to school than children from lower classes. The study also shows that more children finished high school if they had one parent overseas, doesn't matter if it was the father or the mother. If both parents are abroad their children doesn't finish high school in the same extent. This study results is different from other studies and shows that it improves the child's educational outcome if one parent is overseas working. What the study doesn't show is how the children are feeling and how happy they are (Ibid. p. 310ff).

5 Theory

Theory has an important role in research and is an essential ally for the researcher.

Researchers interweave a story about the operation of the social world (the theory) with what they observe when they examine it's systematically (the data) (Neuman, 2006, p. 49f).

5.1 The ecological model of human development

This model was developed by the American psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979). The theory builds on assumptions that the individuals' development depends on the interaction with the ambient environment. Bronfenbrenner describes how the consistency in different systems affect on the child's development, he means that the child never can be taken out of context of relationships and the environment (Havnesköld & Risholm, 2009, p. 21).

Bronfenbrenner means that a theoretical model that can help with attentive different impact factors on human development is required (Meeuwisse et al, 2008, p. 190). The ecological model of human development emphasizes the child as an active subject in interaction with the surroundings. This may vary depending on factors as class, sex, age, ethnicity, and culture (Ibid. p. 190ff). The model is used widely in social work to explain the interactions between people and their changing environment (Connolly & Harms, 2009, p. 158). It is also used as a means to conducting research on people's natural environments (Meeuwisse et al, 2008, p. 188). Even if Bronfenbrenner is focusing on the child he still mean that the process is seen as a present development during the whole lifetime and that the process is affected by relationships in both the operating environments and greater social contexts (Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2008 p. 19). The basis of the theory is that the human development is a product of interrelationship between the individual and four different structural systems (Connolly & Harms, 2009, p. 158). These systems are the micro system, the meso system, the exo system and the macro system.

The micro system can include family, the immediate neighborhood, school, preschool and friends (Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2008 p. 19f; Connolly & Harms, 2009, p. 264). The micro system contains the immediate contact between the individual and her closest surroundings and the mutually relations that occur. Bronfenbrenner also refer this level as a two-person system, a dyad. From dyadic data it appears that if one member of the pair undergoes a process of development, the other does too (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 5). Every individual has a specific role in the micros level, during a specified period of time as for example the role as a daughter or student. A role explain Bronfenbrenner, is a set of activities and relations

expected of a person occupying a particular position in society and of others in relation to that person. Role expectations are associated with every position in society and are about how the holder of the position acts and how others act toward her. The role that functions as an element of the micro system actually has its roots in the higher-order macro system and its associated ideology and institutional structures (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 85f).

The capacity for the dyad to develop is also crucially dependent on the presence and participation of third parties, the meso system (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 5). The meso system is the interaction between different micro systems in which the developing person actively participates, such as the relations among home, school and preschool, neighborhood peer groups (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 25; Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2008 p. 19f). If such third parties are absent, or if they play a disruptive rather than a supported role, the developmental process breaks down, like a three-legged stool. The environmental events that are the most immediate and potent in affecting a person's development are activities that are engaged in by others with that person or in her presence. Active engagement in, or even mere exposure to, what others are doing often inspires the person to undertake similar activities on her own (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 5f).

The exo system is a community description of the local community and its institutions like educational, community health, welfare institutions, childcare, authorities, media, culture - and recreational institutions. The individual doesn't act directly in the exo system's structures but she impacts indirectly by the institutions that she comes in contact with. An example can be a parent's workplace where the child doesn't act directly but is affected by the parent's salary or travel time (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 25; Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2008 p. 19f; Havnesköld & Risholm, 2009, p. 22).

Finally we have the macro system that encompasses the laws, rules, ideologies, habits, the society's values, economic and politics. These institutions get their given concrete expression in the micro-, meso and exo level (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 26; Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2008 p. 19f; Connolly & Harms, 2009, p. 264). The micro-, meso-, and exo system are concrete and concern individual's actual environment and specific concerns of life. The macro system is more abstract. But a child's development is affected by changes or transitions in all of the systems.

5.2 Development of psychopathology

A research area that researchers in the previous theory like to refer to is development of psychopathology with its research about exposed children's vulnerability and resilience in interaction with risk factors and protective factors in the surroundings (Meeuwisse et al, 2008, p. 194). We have therefore decided to use the theory of development of psychopathology as a complementary theory.

Risk and protective factors need to be seen in interaction with each other (Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2000, p. 213). The protective factor reduce the risk of an adverse outcome, the risk is less when there are protective factors and bigger when the protective factors are missing. The protective factors integrate with the risk factors and the protective factors impact depends on and varies with the level of risk (Ibid. p. 216). Examples of risk factors can be for the child to grow up in poverty, with unemployed or sick parents, limited schooling, uneducated parents etc. (Meeuwisse et al, 2008, p. 192). Examples of protective factors are good physical health, success in school, to not have siblings until two years have elapsed, to not be separated from the parents or other caregivers, that the child is good in something particular, for example a sport. It is also a protective factor if the child has a good relation to another grownup, if the parents are supportive and have a socio-economic potential (Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2000, p. 213; Gjaerum, Grøholt & Sommerchild, 1999, p. 81f). The child can also have protective qualities of character such as social competence, a good confidence, peaceful temperament and patience. In combination with protective factors from the surrounding can these factors strengthen children's ability to handle risk factors (Meeuwisse et al, 2008, p. 193).

The risk can be seen as a process where consideration needs to be taken to the child's age and development stage. The expression and effects of the risk is linked to the child's age-specific vulnerability. The vulnerability can also be bound to the child's gender, psychical health, earlier experiences etc. The fact that a specific problem occurs at a given time has to do with triggers. Maintaining factors contribute to that the unfavorable condition persists or that the problems occur. The strength of the risk is affected by several things including the number of unfavorable factors, the intensity of the explosion and its duration (Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2008 p. 87). The collection of risk factors is of great importance because it is harder to manage more risk factors than less of them. The risk also increases with combinations of risk factors for example poverty and unemployment in the family or an abusive and violence parent. It is the cumulative risk that can be unmanageable for children and can lead to danger to their development (Meeuwisse et al, 2008, p. 192; Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2000, p. 218). The child should be provided with as many protective factors as possible for benefit from

different systems as the personality, the surroundings, and the family. It is positive if the work with providing the protective factors starts at an early part of the children's lives (Ibid.).

When we use this theory in this study it is important that we remember the cultural perspective. People in different cultures have different beliefs, knowledge, values and world view which is equally important for the analysis of policy options and restraining forms in us as in others. It is important to understand people's life situations in a certain context, i.e. communicating the social and cultural constraints and opportunities they have to consider in their attempts to cope with life (Gjaerum et al, 1999, p. 164).

6 Results

In this section we will present our results based on the interviews and observations we have made. During our study we have interviewed several organizations, both by governmental and non-governmental nature. We have already stated which but to clarify we will do it again. To begin with the governmental organizations we have met two different DSWD, which is the social service in the Philippines. We also met the National Department of Labor and Employment, DOLE. The non-government organizations that we met are the National Philippine Red Cross, an umbrella organization called Bayan, two smaller organizations that work with children issues, ARCSEA and SALINLAHI – Alliance for children’s concerns. We also met a women and children organization called Gabriela and the UN agency ILO. Besides the organizations we also met a social worker in a church, a barangay captain, three teachers from a public school in Manila and a mother of three working children.

In order to disclose our results and pick out the most important and interesting aspects we have divided the results by three empirical themes. The three themes are the children’s situation, the face of poverty and the percents or absence of welfare state arrangements. We have divided them further into sub-headings in order to report the results in a clear manner. In the text we have chosen to not always specifically mention which organization that said what, we will mention them as government or NGO. The reason is that the NGOs is very similar to each other and so are the government organizations to each other. Sometimes we won’t mention who said what because of the sensitivity in the data. We have chosen to present our results from our observations as a story of a day for us in Manila. The story is written in a timeline from morning to night and we are trying to explain what we have experienced and seen in Manila.

6.1 Children’s situation

6.1.1 Family providers

When it comes to the question if there are any child labor in Manila all the organizations are on line with each other, it’s a clear yes. They also agree on the cause of the problem, poverty. Another indicator is the number of siblings. When we talk to some teachers working in a public school in Manila they say that it is common that the children work instead of coming to school. The Department of Labor and Employment tell us about a law they have “that will really protect the children from engaging child labor”. It is the same law that says that no children under 18 years old are allowed to work if they don’t go to school. She also says that

it is hard because “one culture of the Philippines is to support one another specially the family so when the child is involved in work the adults will appreciate it as part of the culture to help the family”. The purpose with working children is to help with the family income. DSWD tells us that the older children have to work in big families with low income “the income of the family is not enough to three to six mouths so what did they do and you as the eldest child you better work. There is no need for you to finish high school or elementary, you have to work see?” Many times it is the parents that force the child into work and the child has to give all the salary to the parents. If the parents don’t force them they at least accept the children to work. According to one organization there are about two and a half million children between five to 17 years old working in the Philippines to expand the family income. They also say that they think the number is too low, the statistics is from the government from 2001, they say that the statistics is conservative.

Observation from Manila

We leave Pension Natividad an early morning in March. The sun has just raised and it is hot already. Although in Manila you can’t really see the sun and the blue sky because of the pollution. Our guard opens the gate and we go out on the street to wait for a cab. Some of the children and their families are still asleep, lying on the sidewalk. We both see a small boy and his arm that is lying stretched on the ground. We hope that no one accidentally will step on it. Some other children are awake, their parents are sitting along the sidewalk, looking tired and are very dirty. The children comes to us immediately, looking at us with their dark eyes and filthy faces, asking us for money “Maám, please give me some money so I can buy some rice”. When they say it they touch their stomachs, put their hands up to their mouth in a move as if they were eating something. They want to show us how hungry they are. Then the taxi comes, we go inside, leaving the children behind, stop thinking about them, it would be to hard to think about it all the time.

6.1.2 Children Professions

Our respondent from the department of labor and employment tells us that it comes new forms of child labor every year and that makes it hard to track the children. We are being told and can also see for ourselves that one of the most common jobs for children on Manilas streets is as vendors. They sell flowers, cigarettes, candy or anything else they can sell. It is

also lots of children begging for money to buy some rice. Another common work is scavenging, the child collects garbage and sell it. Gabriella tells us that the smaller children collect empty bottles and the elder children collect other garbage to sell to the junkshops. One of the government organizations tells us about the bar-girls and bar-boys. The children are illegally working on bars along the streets of Manila and the risk of trafficking is imminent for these children. It is also common with child prostitution but that is something that the government organizations never mention to us. The NGOs tell us that it is a huge problem and that you have to give more attention to the problem. According to SALINLAHI the Philippine ranks fourth in the world when it comes to child prostitution and the number grows every year.

Continued observation

We are on our way to a place in Manila called Tondo. It is a poor area where the big dumpsite Smokey Mountain is located. The dumpsite is closed but it is still many people working there, scavenging and hope to find things to sell to get money for food. Many children work there all days long. Before we go there we stop to meet a girl working at the organization SALINLAHI, we can call her Rose. She will take us there, it is not a safe place for us to go by ourselves. We have decided to meet her near one of the sky train stations. When we go out of the cab the air is so thick you could almost chew on it. It takes just a few seconds then a boy comes up to us, begging. A few meters away we see his mom or grandma hoping he will be luckier than she, maybe it is easier for a child to get money than for an old lady. After a while Rose comes and we jump on a jeepney to begin our hour-long trip to Smokey Mountain. A jeepney is a mix between a car and a bus. You sit in the back in one of the two long seats, passing the money to the driver, banging the roof when you want to go off. We sit there in all the fumes from all the other jeepneys and it doesn't take long for children to hop up hanging on the sides trying to beg for money. After about ten minutes both of us are starting to feel a dull headache from all the fumes, wondering how the children feel, working, living and sleeping in this 24 hours a day.

6.1.3 Risks and protective factors

Lots of risks are combined with child labor, everyone agrees to that. Everyone also agrees on that the children are supposed to be in school instead of working. One of the government

organizations tell us that almost every case she has had when it comes to child abuse, rape or physical abuse also is a case of child labor. She tells us that it is a risk to the child's physical and psychosocial development and especially to the child's education if he or she works. The children can even be in danger of their life while they work as for example scavengers and prostitutes. One NGO gives us examples from the dumpsite Smokey Mountain that lots of children have died being hit or run over by the garbage trucks. She also tells us about the children scavenging with big hooks that they use to find the garbage. It is not uncommon that the children accidentally hook their own body parts. Child labor can also be a danger to their physical, mental and emotional development. Lots of children are malnourish and "if they go to school they have a hard time to concentrate". Another governmental organization says that it is common for the small children who are working on the streets to be utilized by elder children and adults. They force the children to commit crimes for them to escape from the law "maybe the adult can use these children to be exploited and then so that a big risk for these children, they will be abused". They also said that it is hazardous to work on the streets. There is heavy traffic, pollution and offenders. DSWD tells us that one risk also can be the family and the parents of the child. In most cases the family is seen as a protective factor but it is common that it is the family that makes the child work. About the risks one respondent says, "Really it is violation of their basic rights as children as, against the child convention about the children rights. This is all dangerous to the children. And in a long term this will have an impact in our country in whole, these are the future of the country".

When it comes to the protective factors for the children in child labor we can find plenty. We will here mention some of them and later under the headlines governmental strategies and non-governmental strategies we will write more detail about the results of how the organizations work to provide protective factors. As we mentioned all the organizations thinks that the most important protective factor is for the children to be back in school. They also talk about the solution of the problem with child labor, which are the adults shall work. They want the government to provide jobs for the grownups so the children can go to school instead. They also educate the parent and tell them and the children their rights. One of the most important protective factors is the parents or the family, although they also can be a risk factor. If the child has to be taken away from the family because he is forced to work it is not uncommon to put the child in an institution. This seems to be a risk factor but can also be protective. Here the child can eat, meet doctors and go to school instead of work on the street. Many of the organizations have food program, including the church we talked to. They also have school for the street children. There are also other participators in the community that

helps the children. At the pension where we stayed they provided food and water for the children and their families. They also let children from the street come there to play basketball.

Continued observation

When we come to Tondo we walk for a while through the slums to meet a second person, we can call her Mary. She works in an organization called Gabriela, an organization for women and children rights. We walk until we come to a river that goes through the slum area. The river is full of garbage, we are told that it eventually goes out into the sea, the people here has more worries about other things than that. A short distance away we see some boys, they make their “needs” in the river, after they jump in. We go over a bridge and take a small stair down, coming closer to the water to enter the slum on that side. The smell is inexplicable, a mix of garbage, animals and death. On our side there are a huge slaughterhouse and we have to step over a rill of blood, also going into the river. We walk inside between the houses, in alleys maybe one meter wide, walking over trash, roasters and dogs so full of fleas they don’t have any fur left. Everyone is looking very curious, all the children are yelling and coming to see who we are. Here it doesn’t come any tourist.

6.2 The face of poverty

6.2.1 The situation of the education

According to two NGOs the Philippines have in 2011 a population on 94 million people. Of this 43, 34 percent is children below 18 years old, approximately 40 million. When it comes to the children’s education the NGOs says “The education is more like a privilege than a right”. They tell us that more than one third of the 42 000 barangays cannot offer six years of elementary education and that there is a lack of secondary schools in the Philippines. And if the children would like to go to the university they say “good look because there is not many university’s in the country so only the absolutely best pupils will have the chance”. Out of 100 students only 28 will graduate secondary school. This is because, they say; to big expenses for the families. There is also lack of classrooms, 60-75 students on one teacher. The schools don’t have any qualitative textbooks and the books are from the 70th. The children must also share the few books that exist. The teachers that we have been talking to agree on that statement. They are primary teachers and have approximately 60 students in their class and

according to them it's a problem, partly because it's hard to disciplining a big group and partly because many of their students are poor and has high absenteeism. According to the NGOs the government and the current president have now a program called k+12 to solve this problem. To improve the education they add two more years on secondary school, from four to six years. The NGOs expresses; "This is not a solution. It's ironic because they don't acknowledge that students don't even finish secondary school because of the many expenses for the families. Now the president is adding two more years that will be another burden for the families".

Continued observation

We go into a house heading to the roof where Gabriela has its office. The stair is rusty, steps are missing and we feel very unsure to walk there. When we comes up you see over the whole area, an area of shelters and high houses build of bad material. A government investment to make people pay rent. The houses are actually quite new but they seem like 50 years old. But people are paying rent now. The children have to work because of that. If it would be a major earthquake the buildings would fall down like card houses. And when we look we see that the area never stops, it goes on until we can't see any longer. The office is a very small nest. A table and two plastic chairs. Outside the children are playing, three floors up with rusty railings, sometimes the railings are missing. In the stairwell someone has just made a fire to cook some food. It is very common that these areas are affected by fire. It happens a few times every year, almost always leaving 10 000 people homeless. It happened once during our stay in the Philippines. It took several hours before we heard the sirens.

6.2.2 Underemployment

In 2008 the NGOs estimate that there were four and a half million people unemployed and that 16,5 million were underemployed. There is a big lack of work in the Philippines which make a lot of people go abroad to work. The Philippines is the second largest country to send out workers abroad, migrant workers in the worlds. The NGOs believe that's because;

The education system is commercialized in market, you should go to university and be a nurse or a doctor so that you can work abroad. The government doesn't help the children to finish their school and work here. They are not providing decent jobs in our

country. The government is proud because the people abroad helps by sending money into the Philippines.

Continued observation

We sit in the office, talking to the girls from the organizations, we plan the day, and they will show us Smokey Mountain and let us met people that live here. We leave the office, start walking through the slum, to the river, up the small stair and over the bridge to the other side, the side where the dumpsite is. The dumpsite itself is a green mountain, it is a few years since it was closed and now it is green by grass. But if you come close you can see that it sort of grows garbage out of it. The side we don't see looks like a garbage place although we are not allowed to go there, where all the children work.

6.2.3 Values

Both government and NGOs agree that child labor, in a certain level, is socially accepted. Most of the respondents believe that parents only let their children work if their salary is needed for the family's survival. But one of the respondents from a government organization believes that family values are very important when it comes to letting your child work. She means that "not all children from poor families are ending up in prostitution, some also turn out to be good "It's only a matter of values patterns".

As we said before, a big family seems to be one reason for children to work, according to our respondents. In the Philippines the Catholic Church has an important role when it comes to family values. The Catholic Church does not improve contraceptive or information about it and many children in poor families and street children get pregnant. According to the Church one should not have a child before marriage and therefore a lot of people are marrying in young age and having a lot of children. This is a problem according to some NGOs. Today there is a legislative proposal saying that it should be legal to inform people about contraceptive. One problem they say can be that the Church and the State isn't separated. One of the NGOs however said that even if the president is a catholic himself he could see things quite different. While the Church is against contraceptive the government is concern about the increased population. But until now they aren't allowed using contraceptive and a lot of families have children they can't provide for.

Continued observation

We go through the area looking at all the high houses, it must be like 30 of them, and so many people. We stop at a place buying lunch and goes to Mary's grandmother to eat it. We go inside one building, we come into a very big room, and that is the stairwell. Water is leaking from the second floor, it is dark, children are playing and screaming, roasters are walking around and on the sides there are doors, everywhere. The buildings have about ten floors, it lives so many people in every building that you can't imagine. We go in one of the doors, coming to a small room where an old lady is sitting, watching TV. Some other family members are there too. We sit down on the floor to eat. Around our feet the family cat is going around, scratching itself so the fleas fall off and its owner kicks it away. The apartment is about 20 square meters. A normal family size in one apartment is around ten people.

6.2.4 Vicious circle

Two of the NGOs don't think things will change if the government doesn't provide jobs for the people and if the government doesn't increase the financial support for the schools. Our respondent from the ILO expresses the vicious circle as such;

They are supposed to be formed so they become the future of human recourses in this country. And from ILO this is a really big thing because they are supposed to be the future labor force in this country. They are in child labor, they are not studying, they are not prepared what will happen to the future labor force of the country they will be unskilled and more they will be in poverty.

6.3 The presence or absence of welfare state arrangement

6.3.1 Governmental conditions

In the DSWD National capital region (NCR) we spoke to one social worker in the community based service unit. She explained that they are seven staff in that unit and that they are the once that are working with child labor. But she say that all the 1000 staff in the DSWD NCR have the special training to know about the laws, guidelines and mandates of the government regarding labor cases. If the budget is enough she say; "Yes because we are submitted our proposal". The DSWD NCR covers seven municipalities and has 17 barangays in their area.

How many people that is, was something we didn't get an answer on. The DSWD do have partners like local government unit, NGOs, private agencies, the church, the concerned citizen and the private sector. The social workers are saying that it would be good if only one agency could help one family and then the next family but in the reality the families have a huge number of problems that not only one agency can work with. According to her the NCR is the biggest and best DSWD in the Philippines.

Another DSWD that we visited have 35 employees but only three out of six are registered social workers and when we were there they were only two. The social worker says "I am the one handling her cases, new cases, all cases when she's on leave. And I am trying hard". The other employees are community workers, assistants, drivers and daycare workers. They have a population on three and a half million to cover. In the year 2010 they rescued 199 street children and some housemaids. When it comes to the budget she says "It is enough" but then adds that they ask for financial assistance from the mayor, DSWD NCR, other government organizations, non government and people's organizations. So it's not enough we ask? She laughs and says "yes there is times...".

The respondent from Department of Labor and Employment said she was proud of the budget. In this year, 2011, they have twelve million pesos for the one year of implementation of the program. Other agencies that are in the program do also allocate some of their budget. Most of our respondents during our visit in the Philippines have mentioned the corruption in different ways. For an example does the 25 richest families in the Philippines earn as much money as eleven million poor families. The Philippines is a rich country with a lot of natural resources but the money doesn't go to the one who needs them. One respondent tells us about the power of the Mayors;

So whatever the Mayor wants you as a social worker, there is no need for you to...just to follow the Mayor. I am not saying they are bad but still the Mayor is the one that sometimes dictate or do what he wants for the social worker to do. Very frustrating. If the Mayor says: don't do that program there is no need for you to implement that program because we have no money. This is a problem because he has one priority for his own interest, like go there because it is a lot of voters. Give them a good service because all of them voted on me...hello...that is not social work. It is the same in all the provinces.

6.3.2 Governmental goal

When the question being asked our respondent from the National Department of Labor and Employment gets happy and she say; “We have a really fantastic goal, for the Philippine program against child labor; believe it or not it is child labor free in Philippines. When will that be? I don’t know. I might be dead at that time but even then I would be happy”. To get there she says that a big vision is to get more and more partners that participating in that program. One social worker from DSWD develops it a bit more and says that it is to save and protect the children from the particular treatment. They want the older children to be in school as much as possible because it’s their rights to be educated. They also want the children to be mixed or join the community so they can contribute as a citizen and be treated as a normal person. They want the children to live in a wholesome family atmosphere were the child can develop his or her potential and not go back to the streets, not in prostitution, not in gambling or drug addiction. One social worker summarize with; “You want them to be in a normal situation in a family in a community that can contribute for his total development”.

Continued observation

After lunch we got to meet a mother of three children. She invited us to her mother’s apartment where she lived and when we walked inside she offered us a plastic chair to sit on and also on the madras on the floor next to her. The apartment is exactly like the one we ate lunch in, except that this one is full of garbage. The mother is skinny, she has no teeth in her mouth and her face expresses a very hard life. She told us that her youngest son now is twelve years old. He was only six month when the children’s father died in a heart attack. She became a widow and lost the family income. In the household they are now nine, her, her three children, her mother that is the one that rent the apartment and her sister with her children. The sister is a widow too. The mother’s three children are working at the dumpsite. Two of them full time but the youngest boy also goes to school but is in grade one instead of the sixth. As she tells us her story her sister is sitting on a chair next to us, picking lice out of her daughter’s hair. During the whole time mice are running around our feet and it is hard to face the fact that these people actually lives there. The mom thinks that the government could have helped her when her husband died but they didn’t. She says that the help she think would have helped is job and education. She says with tears in her eyes that she doesn’t think that it is okay for children to work but that they don’t have any option. Her children do envy other children that go to school and wish they could do it too. They feel pity for them self’s.

She also told us that her 17 year old boy is ashamed that he can't read. But they can't live if they don't work. She tells us about a normal day in their life. Her youngest boy goes to school at six am until eleven am. At four pm the three children goes to the dumpsite and don't return until eleven pm. After the seven hours in the dumpsite they are selling the garbage to a junkshop. They can get around 150 pesos for one day. They are eating two times a day, one time before they go to the dumpsite and then on the evening. The mother doesn't have any permanent job. Sometimes she babysits a whole day for 50 pesos. For the future she would like a job and education for her children and that they are getting a degree. She also wants a job for her sister. She would like a little store so she could support her children.

6.3.3 Governmental strategies

A government respondent told us that a law was passed in 2003 “and although the issue of child labor has been here for many many years already not so much action was taken that matter because there was not really a policy or law for the politician of this issue”. But now since year 2007, the Department of Labor and Employment have a national program against child labor but with a focus on Manila, that will end in 2015. The program is not limited to only child laborers, it also includes the street children as they see as children in risk. The program have three areas; protection, prevention and rehabilitation. They provide capital assistants and livelihood trainings for the parents so they can start their business instead of letting the children work. They also coordinate with the department of education to bring back the child to school. They also perform advocacy were they educate parents and the community, train them in this kind of work and make them understand that it's not good for their children to work. To work with this program they have a lot of partners mostly government agencies like the Department of Justice, the National Philippine Police, DSWD, the National Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Health. They also have some NGO partners and church base organizations. About the partnership she says;

We are happy they are with us. This is a positive side of put the child labor issue in the country. And then we are able to coordinate, you see when you look at the child, especially child labor, you see they have a lot of problem. Not only education it's not only money it's not only values, we cannot address, answer all of does. What we do is inter connect with our partners.

One problem that she was talking about is that if no one reports that a child is being abused there is no crime. So one of their strategies is to engage everybody in the community so more people know what to do. They are using the media and the newspapers so that the people get aware of where they can report this crime. She says “They can report it to us, to DSWD and **even** to the police because they are also a partner of the program”.

One protection program that all of our respondents were talking about is “rescue operations”. Rescue operations are something that the DSWD is doing together with the barangays and volunteers. They are arriving to some places, like some streets, to some bridges, along the sidewalk unannounced and rescue children in this field. They are also rescuing children from factories, children that work as domestic helper and on other workplaces where the children get physically abused. When they rescue the children from the streets they put the children into a van and take them to a shelter, center or institution for some days, for protective custody. One respondent says, “but it is good that we cannot see them now, we can only see few because the DSWD has a program for them. They have removed them from the streets”.

They have different centers in different parts of Manila where they take the children, for example in Mandaluyong where they have one for boys and another for girls. In these centers the children stay for three days while the social workers interview the children about their home situation and try to get contact information to the parents. In the centers they can have at most 25 children in time, but they say, “we can at least rescue ten a day, that’s the most we can rescue”. When we were there it was six boys, most children in conflict with the law. We spoke to an employee and she told us that they have different programs and services. They offer values information, educational assistants, livelihood training for both parents and children, and they have a teacher that teaches Filipino, English and math. The employee says, “that they go back to school is the most important thing for them to if not college at least high school so they can read and write. Like I said most of them are out of school, that will always be their problem”. But 90 percent of the day work goes to counseling, both for the children and their parents. During the summer they also have youth camp and they always have aftercare. She is telling us that most of the children will change but some are always coming back and if there is so, if a child is coming back two or three times to the center the child get referred to the institution where they have more structure programs, rehabilitation and everyday school.

In the institutions, one social worker explains, the children are given their basic needs like clothing, medicine, food and education. The children are staying in the institution until they

are emotionally, physically and psychologically prepared for the outside world. The children use to stay from three month to one year but sometimes when the parents can't provide anything for the children they stay up to five years until they become 18 years old. She tells us "actually in one institution it should be, the institution is catering at least 150 children but sorry to say it is more than 150 now. More or less I think when I was there we were catering almost 300 children, especially when we had our operation". In the institutions they have approximately 150-200 employees. The social workers are the prime persons that manage all the centers activities. First the child must undergo a medical examination or treatment, even dental. This to make sure that the child isn't sick or has been raped, to make sure that the child is physically well. The social worker says; "So that we are safe. In the admit of any moment will came up and any problem, we can say on the moment that we admit the child we see to it that he is not suffering from any diseases". The social workers will also be coordinated with the psychologist. The psychologist will take note if the child is meant for this particular unit. If the child is insane or if the child has physical disability they belong to a particular case for special children. In the institutions they also have houseparent's, nutritionists and teachers. One social worker explain "so after that protected custody we are closely monitoring the child not to return back to his previous job, so we see to it that the child while return to his family we are sure that the child is return back to school so and then we also monitoring the parents to do their responsibility".

One frustration a social worker expresses is when the child after many month of work returns to the old situation. She says that it's very common. She say; "we are not very successful especially maybe because our government cannot provide everything". She also mentions the parents as a problem, "they want more money, and then they go to the gambling". She also say that many children doesn't want to go back home, she explain "because sometimes in our unit they feel belong, they feel important, they feel something that I have the skill capacity as a person, not like in our home, they think of me like an breadwinner".

The child is the point of entry for the social worker to enter the family. So aside from rescuing or protecting the children from the maltreatment they look into the family to see if the parents need additional skills to get an enough budget or income. The social worker links them to other agencies that will help them improving their income, capabilities and skills. The DSWD is also working preventative, the DSWD is the prime movers but the work is performed in barangay level. The DSWD can invite the barangay leaders, the volunteers and the local government units for them to be aware of the particular issues regarding the

protection of children. The DSWD is giving them what they call inside training and give them preventative measure of what to do. She say “ I mean we are not that kind of agency within we will be solve the problems, we will also provide inside trainings for the community for them to be able to solve their own problems”. There are also a program in the DSWD were they do cash transfers. One social worker explains “we assist the parents for capital assistants maximum five thousands and minimum of two thousands so that the parents can start for a micro business, to start a small business for the family”. She also tells us that they have capital assistants for the children’s education. About the education there is more that are done. The Council of the Welfare of Children in coordination with the local government units and the UNICEF and ILO are doing a child friendly school research. This research is one strategy to find out if the schools are able to help child laborers. According to a respondent the teachers should not haze the children for being absent, they should instead be more considerate and help them cope up with their absences. The teachers we have been talking to says that they do support the children by talking to their parents, by home visits, if the child is absent from the school for a few days. They don’t have any further obligation, like report it to the social services.

Continued observation

After the meeting it is time to go back. We leave Smokey Mountain with the feeling that these people is living in a prison, unable to get out from there. The big houses feels like prison, the small apartments as cells. The persons have nothing to do, they sit in the big windows without glass, starring. The children are playing and it all looks surreal. We say goodbye to Mary, she lives here because she wanted to live where she works. We leave and buy water for us and a bottle of water to Rose, she has no money, working with this kind of organization doesn’t give any salary at all.

6.3.4 Non- governmental conditions

The UN agency ILO has a team called IPEC, International Program of Elimination of Child Labor. It is not a permanent program, it depends on if there is a need. In the Philippine they started the program in 2010 and will end in 2013. They are ten in the team, six in Manila and four in different provinces. The budget is covering the four provinces but they don’t use all the funds at once, instead they use the money as leverage. They tell the governor from a

particular province that they have one million pesos for the elimination of child labor and then the governor allocate another million and in that way they work together.

Gabriela is an umbrella organization that calls itself a people organization and works on grassroots level. The organization has approximately 1000 members, all women. They get their money from private donations and not from the government. SALINLAHI and ARCSEA are two people organizations under Gabriela and they together with 50 other organizations are working for the same thing. They say that they can't search money from the state but from funds and sometimes they get money from different parties in the congress. Most of the money comes from other countries. The membership in these organizations is free and all the people working in these organizations are doing it for free. They say their parents have a hard time to understand that they have chosen this way of life but in the same time they do understand that this is a much important job. Our respondents says that they get some money for the subway ticket and a little for food. They all talk about a government that doesn't approve their organization and even calls them their enemy. About the barangays, they say that some support them and some don't but they don't receive any money from them. About the corruption that we have mention the organizations even tells us that every president wants to get rid of their enemies. The government is killing the people that do resistance. They terrorize whole areas where they don't have support. They also get rid of resistance organizations. One respondent say, "The president has now said that he wants to eliminate the corruption but no one has been prosecuted".

6.3.5 Non- governmental goal

The goal for IPEC is to support the government and various stakeholders in achieving the goals of the Philippine program against child labor. Their mission is decent work, decent livelihoods and eradicating poverty because they are fully aware that child labor is rooted in the problem of poverty and vulnerable employments. Our respondent says "in ILO that is what we are doing also because once the violation of like the Philippines is a signature to the ILO convention, it is not working to implement the conventions here and that's why we are here. We can't say oops they are not doing their job, we have to really help them".

Gabriela's goal is to empower families in the slum areas and help them addressing their rights to the government. SALINLAHIS goal is to work for the empowerment of children and their participation in the movement for social transformation. They also work to unit and

strengthen organizations working for children towards systematic and vigorous sustained action for children rights and welfare.

Continued observation

Back in Manila city it is late afternoon. Some of the children on our street are now sitting with a box full of cigarettes and candy in front of them. They are working, some are still coming up to us, asking for money. It is the same children everyday. We walk towards the big mall to get some dinner. In a corner a small girl is sitting with a baby in her arms. When we come closer she stays up and goes towards us asking for money. It is common that people on the street loan each other's babies to be able to get more money. It is also common to drug the babies so that they won't yell. This girl was maybe a big sister, taking care of her smaller sibling, which is a normal sight in Manila.

6.3.6 Non- governmental strategies

Our respondent from IPEC was telling us that there is a very big need for their job in the Philippines right now. IPEC is working with four components that will increase the prospects for the government to fulfill their goal. They are working with the database, the knowledge management aspect of the work because the last major survey in working children was done in 2001. They intend to found a new survey to the national statistics office. They are also going to set up a internet based portal where all advocates on child labor will have access and be able to share resources, share instruments, laws, information, statistics, share good practices and models. It will even be possible to track the children that different agencies have reached so the children can be referred to the appropriate government agencies or NGO. The second component is to strengthening the national child labor committee. There is supposed to be regional and provincial child labor committees that are being linked with municipal councils for the protection of children. So the goal is to strengthen these structures, the councils for the protection of children at the community level because the best way to tackle it would be on the barangay level. The third component is a model they are working with, in four different provinces. They are demonstrating models where these committees are working together in collaboration in an integrating manor to address the problem of poverty and provide education service, health service, psychosocial service and legal service. The intention with the model is that once they establish successes they get shared in the internet portal, the first component. The final component is sustainability, where for example the

provincial level needs to lobby for legislation including budget allocation for the elimination of child labor among provincial governments. The respondent from IPEC means that they must work with a combination of removal and prevention. With removal he means that the child in child labor needs to be protected and go back to school by good interventions from the social workers. And with prevention, they identify those children that are in risk and that are usually a sibling of those who are child laborers already.

Gabriela works for women and children rights often through the women. They promote and conduct information and education activities to initiate socio-cultural transformation. They also organize actions aimed at eliminating unjust, unequal, oppressive and discriminatory structures that deter the full development of Filipinas as persons. But they also do children's activity, like teaching them their rights, for an example their right of going to school instead of working. The problem is, our respondent says; "the children in this area doesn't have afford with their rights". But they also try to work with the children's right to participate and in that way they believe that the children with that knowledge and empowering are going to address their rights. She says; "They know how to fight for it". Our respondent from Gabriela doesn't believe in NGOs that only serve the people food and money. She doesn't believe that that really helps the people in a long term. She doesn't see that the NGOs help the families to fight for their social rights, which are very important for Gabriela. Gabriela works in the slum with the people every day and the respondent is very critical to the social and health service. She says that the social service in the area isn't to any help, that they only want to collect money for the rents. The health service is also bad because they only have one doctor for three barangays with a population of 30.000 people. She says that the most cause of death in the urban poor areas is lack of health care.

ARCSEA is an international organization that is focusing on the Philippine right now. They are new in the Philippines but work sometimes a side with SALINLAHI, children rehabilitations centers, daycare centers and other organizations. ARCSEA work with children issues and rights and want to start projects in the Philippine. One project they have had and want to start again is a radio program anchored by children where they tackled issues, including child labor. Their focus in the Philippines is going to be urban poor children and indigenes children. SALINLAHI advocate the children's rights in different ways. They implement projects especially with the focus on participation of the child like Gabriela. They also believe that the children should be involved in the change for the better. The church also has programs for street children and child laborers. A social workers in Malate church tell us that they have food programs five days a week and school for the children. She says that it

often come around 20 children but that it is common that they drop out in the middle of the school year because they have to work instead.

Continued observation

On our way home it has turned dark. The children are now selling flowers, their mothers are standing behinds, smiling. We walk on one specific street every night to get home, the street is full of bars and outside every bar there are girls in provocative clothes. Some of them look so young, it is hard to believe that they are grownups and probably they are not. Back on our street we have to step over some people sleeping on the sidewalk. Some are awake, most of the children are asleep. They are still dirty and we see the boy we saw the same morning. His arm is again on the ground and his mother is moving him closer to the wall, to keep him safe during the night. We go in through our gate, knowing everything will be the same tomorrow.

Like our respondents have expressed, there are a lot of child laborers in Manila that risk both their education and their health, because they have to work. Because of this there are lots of organizations that work with the issue in different ways. Some expresses hope, with a relatively new law, a national program against child labor and that the ILO that now have a special program to support the government. Others are more critical and think that the government focus on the wrong thing and doesn't believe in change if the government doesn't provide job and education for all in the country. We will bring these subjects to our analysis.

7 Analysis and interpretation

Our analysis will mainly focus on our second and third research question which are, what risks can affect children in child labor and what protective factors can reduce a negative outcome? And what opportunities and obstacles have different organizations in their work against child labor in Manila? We have divided the analysis into two themes, the first is child development and society work and the second are the organizations opportunities and obstacles in their work against child labor. Our first research question has already been answered in the section of previous research and results and the question is not an analytical question.

We will here take the opportunity to remind the reader that we have chosen to use two theories in our paper which both are theories from West. This means that it can be difficult to apply directly on the Philippines because of the fact that it is developing county. We are aware that some risks in West don't have to be risks in South as well as some health factors and contrary.

7.1 Child development and society work

In the year 2006 there was almost 13 million children under the age of 15 living in poverty according to UNICEF. They don't just suffer from income poverty, they suffer from everything else that comes with it such as lack of food, shelter and education (UNICEF, 2010a). Living in poverty brings along lots of risk, one of them is child labor. The children have to work to contribute to the family income.

All of our respondents talked about the risks those children that works suffer from. The researches we have read have showed it too. The children in child labor are a very exposed group of different risk factors in their surroundings like the fact that they live in poverty, have a low school attendance and their parents are often uneducated or/and unemployed. It is common that they also come from big families with many siblings and almost all our respondents told us that even the parents could be a risk factor, that they often force the child to work. The children in child labor can also suffer from emotional, psychological and physical problems. The children who are working as prostitutes, as scavengers or vendors are risking their health. Children on the streets are always exposed to the polluted air that often leads to asthma, cough and headaches. They are always exposed to the heavy traffic and the children on the dumpsites risks being hit by the garbage trucks or hurt themselves on the garbage (Institute for labor studies, 1994, p. 52). According to Lagerberg and Sundelin (2000,

p. 213) you have to see risk factors in interaction with protective factors in the surroundings. The protective factors reduce the risk and examples of those can be good physical health, good family relations, success in school, good relation to a grownup or a talent in something, like a sport. The risks can affect children different, it can depend on the child's age, gender, earlier experiences and others. And every child can react differently. It also depends on the number of risk factors, it is harder to manage more then less of them. The cumulative risk can be a danger to the child's development and that's why the child should be provided with as many protective factors as possible (Meeuwisse et al, 2008, p. 192; Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2000, p. 218). As we can see in the study made by Maria Rosario Piquero-Bellescas (2009, p. 66f) many working children suffer from lots of risk factors at the same time. All of the children in her study come from families with many siblings, they had to work in hazardous environments and suffered from violence at home.

Many respondents see the risks as a result of poverty. One way for the families to handle that is for one or both parents to work over sea, abroad in other countries. In a study by Marie Joy B. Arguillas and Linda Williams (2010, p. 340) we can read that about eight and a half million Filipinos work abroad to make money for the family. The study showed that more children finished school if the parents work abroad but that they often suffer from psychological and emotional stress. The dilemma for the parents is that if they wouldn't work abroad the children would have to work to provide for the family. This is a great example to show that the context really matter and that it is important to understand people's life situation in their context. Although it is a risk factor for the child to be without its parents it could be more risky for the child to be with the parent. The child would have to work and be exposed to other risks. If the parents are abroad the child can go to school instead, which is one of the strongest protective factors (Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2000, p. 213).

One other problem that is tied to the context is that it is socially accepted for the children to work in the Philippines. Bronfenbrenner means that every individual has a specific role. A role is a set of activities and relations expected of a person occupying a particular position in the society (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 85f). For families in the Philippine society it is important to train their children to work because it is seen as an aspect of childhood socialization. Besides this it is expected that everyone in a family contribute to the family income (Institute for labor studies, 1994, p. 5). This mean Bronfenbrenner is an element of the micro system but has its roots in the higher-order macros system and its associated ideology and institutional structures (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 85f.). So even though they have laws that say one thing the society with their ideology says another.

The work expectation is there but at the same time we have read and heard from our interviewed organizations that it usually is really important for the parents that the child goes to school and get a degree. A normal outcome in these cases is that the child goes to school and work at the same time, like the boy we wrote about earlier from Smokey Mountain. This means long days, both in school and at work. These children are harder to find, the teachers in school do home visitations when the child is missing but in these cases they don't.

Because of the fact that it is hard to track children in child labor, because it is so many of them and because of all the risks they are exposed to it is important to work on all society levels. The ecological model of human development, developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner is a theory based on assumptions that the development of a child depends on the interaction with the ambient environment. The development process is affected by relationships in both the operating environments and greater social contexts (Havnesköld & Risholm, 2009, p. 21; Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2008, p. 19). Therefore it's important for the communities and the organizations in the Philippine to cooperate with each other for the best interest of the child. What they have to do is to find protective factors for children in child labor to compensate for the risk factors. The first level is the micro system as Bronfenbrenner refer it. This is the child's closest surroundings where we have the child's family (Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2008, p. 19f). In the micro system we also have the immediate neighborhood, friends, preschool and school and the system contains immediate contact between the individual and her immediately surroundings and relations (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 5). The second is the meso system, which is an interaction between different micro systems. The exo system is the different institutions in the community. The individual has or can have contact with these institutions but she doesn't act direct in this system. Examples can be, welfare institutions, childcare and media (Ibid. p. 25). The macro system is the system of laws, rules, values, economics and so on. These institutions give concrete expression in the other levels (Ibid. p. 26). It's important that the organizations are working in all these levels because every one of them has affection on the children's development. Bronfenbrenner also talks about a dyad, a two-person system in the micro system. The capacity for a dyad to develop is also dependent on the presence and participation of third parties. If third parties are absent, or if they play a disruptive rather than a supported role, the developmental process breaks down (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 5). An example of a third part that break down the development process could be persons in close relations to the child. Unfortunately it often seems to be the closest persons around the child that invite the child to work, as we can read from Piquero-Ballescás (2009, p. 31f) qualitative study. The children are talking about a neighbor, peers or

even the family members that offer them job. Apart from the expectation on the children Bronfenbrenner mean that the environmental events that mostly affect a person's development are activities that are engaged in by others in her presence. Active engagement in an activity, or even mere exposed to an activity, what others are doing often inspirers the person to undertake similar activities on her own (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 5). To the children's disadvantage in these situations is what studies have shown, that attitudes concerning children at work in the Philippines are ambiguous. This because of poor understanding and incomplete information about the phenomenon itself (Institute for labor studies, 1994, p. 22f). Acaroglu and Osmangazi (2010, p. 76) believe that there are the family's consciousness that is important when it comes to letting the child work or not. That is exactly what the people's organizations that we have been talking to have been critical about. They don't see that the government is helping the families to understand their situation so there can be a change. They however are working a lot with information about the children rights and with empowerment. The Department of Labor and Employment say that they do perform advocacy were they educate parents and the community, make them understand that child labor isn't good. But the Philippine did get criticism in the 1994s study that said that there is a weak link between existing programs on child labor and the public advocacy from the government (Ibid. p. 127f). We can't tell if it has changed when only one social worker mentioned that they do work preventative in inviting local governments and give them trainings and information about particular issues regarding the protection of children. If that information later gets to the families in the community isn't anything that we know of or anything the respondent said that they specifically works for. She said that the trainings are given so that the community can be able to solve their own problems.

According to the theory about psychopathology it is important to provide the children with as many protective factors as possible and it is positive if the providing starts in an early part of the child's life (Meeuwisse et al, 2008, p. 192; Lagerberg & Sundelin, 2000, p. 218). One protective factor is the family and when it comes to work with the families and to provide the protective factors the information about child labor seem to be deficient. Our respondents work however in different ways to help the families. Because the family also is seen as a risk factor it is important to work there. The main reasons for children to work are that they need to help the household and augment to the family income (Piquero-Bellescas, 2009, p. 67f). The organizations need a solution on that problem if the children should have the opportunity to go to school instead, which according to all our respondents and previous research is the main protective factor.

One way that the governmental organizations work is through rescue operations. When children get rescued, as they say, the children get brought to a center. The respondent from the center said that they do have programs not only for the children but also for the parents. They offer livelihood training that can result in a future income and they offer counseling for both the children and their parents. One of the social workers was also talking about the skills of the parents. They look into the family's situation and see if they need an additional skill to improve their income. If there is so, they link the parents to other agencies that can help with that. This is very important as Bronfenbrenner says when a member of a pair, a dyad in the micro system undergoes a process of development, the other does also (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 5). To reduce the poverty the DSWD also do cash transfers to poor families that need a monthly support. They also give family's capital assistants for the children's education. This is very important, as we already have mentioned since school is one protective factor for the children and all of our respondents seem to take the school attendance seriously. The Department of Labor and Employment coordinate with the Department of Education to bring back the children to school, on the centers they have school and saying that the most important thing is that the children must go back to school. On the institutions they also have every day school and when the children returns to their homes the DSWD is making sure that the children return to school and in the same time monitoring the parents to do their responsibilities. In many countries cash transfers to poor families have been tested successfully but not when it comes to abolish child labor (Huebler, 2008, p. 18f). This is why the NGOs that we have been talking to are so negative to the government and their strategies. And even if a lot of organizations work to get the children into school again, there is still only 78,5 percent of the poorest children that attend school (Huebler, 2008, p. 7). And as we have said before only a few graduate. The Philippines need sanctions against prolonged school absences that may reduce full time jobs of the children. In the school curriculum the society's goal to abolish child labor should also be integrated and the children need to be taught about their rights in all levels of the education (Institute for labor studies, 1994, p. 127f). This is exactly what the NGOs advocate. The NGOs are working more preventative which they mean will last longer.

Both the governmental organizations and the NGOs try to find protective factors for the exposed children in child labor. What we have noticed is that they all are focusing on the children and their school attendance and not on so many other protective factors except the families and their responsibilities. We are wondering if the lack of health factors depends on

the context, a poor country with already weak institutions and that they perhaps doesn't have the knowledge or the tools to work in other ways.

7.2 The organizations opportunities and obstacles in their work against child labor

The organizations that are working with the issue of child labor have a lot of obstacles against them. With already a big poverty in the country, unemployment, hunger and health problems, the populations still grows a lot every year and this of course affects the children of the poor (Piquero-Ballescás, 2009, p. 66f). But the organizations do also have opportunities when it comes to their work. An advantage is that there are laws in the Philippine that protect the children from child labor and that means that the government must work for a child labor free Philippine. The laws however can be tricky. They are saying that the child isn't allowed to work if they not attend school. The problem here is that a lot of children that work full time also go to school, which means that they are working legally even if it means that they are working two hundred percent a day.

One other obstacle is that no one seems to know how many child laborers there actually is in the Philippine, which can be negative when it comes to their strategies and budgets for the issue. The statistics from 2001 says that there were about two and a half million working children under 18 in the Philippines. The problem is that this is statistics from the government and most of the organizations that we have talked to find the numbers to low. In 2009 a survey showed that the number was about five million. In an interview with ILO they said four million in 2009. What the right number is are impossible to now because everyone are telling us different. Another problem is that all the NGOs and government organizations use the statistics from the latest investigation made by the government, the one from 2001. All of the organizations we have met agree on that it is a big problem, that they don't know how big the problem is for real.

One positive thing is that the problems with child laborers in the Philippines have become an international interest. The ILO is now in the Philippines because as the respondent said, "We can't say oops they are not doing their job, we have to really help them". Their job is to support the government and they have different projects for that, for an example to do a monitoring of the last national statistic survey on child labor. The government has also a program that started in 2007. The goal of the program is a child labor free Philippines. The program covers protection, prevention and rehabilitation. From that we have been told it seems to be a focus on protection, at least in the DSWD. They call it "rescue" program, were

they pick up children on the streets and if it's needed put them to an institution. On the institutions they offer the children cloths, rehabilitation, school and so on. A problem however is if we look on that focus is that there is common as a social worker is saying, that the children return back to their old situation. And if that's true, the problems are not being resolved.

We can see another obstacle and that is the budget for the program. The national program against child labor has a budget on twelve million pesos for a year. It sounds a lot but it's not more than two million SEK. With a number of let's say four to five million child laborers and a lot more children in the risk to become child laborers, the amount isn't anything to be proud of, as our respondent was from the department of labor and employment. There is also a big lack of social workers on the DSWD that is the main institution to handling social problems. In Mandaluyong they have only three registered social workers on a population of three and a half million. They rescued 199 street children in 2010. If the focus is on protection, the number isn't anything to be proud of. This shows that the lack of money and social workers is a big obstacle for the goal of a child labor free Philippines. In the DSWD NCR, the biggest and best according to our respondent they were seven social workers working with this issue. It's hard to understand how many children they have rescued because they didn't even know how big there population was. But because they are the biggest, they should have a larger number than Mandaluyong with their three and a half million.

One thing that may compensate a bit for the lack of money and social workers can be their big number of partners from both government organizations, national and international NGOs, the church and so on. Our respondents from the government organizations have talked very friendly about all their partners and how important that partnership is. The partnership between different instances is important according to Bronfenbrenner because the child affects by everything that happens on the different levels, in the different systems (Connolly & Harms, 2009, p. 158). One respondent was clear on that fact, they can impossibly help the families alone with all their problems, because as she said "it's not only about child labor, it's not only about poverty, it's not only about values, it's so much more and very complex". Therefore they need organizations in every level, in every aspect that involves the child. This is a big possibility for the government and their goal, that they admit that they need partners and that they do work hard to get more and more partners in the society. A question mark however is that the government talks very friendly about partnership while the NGOs that we have been talking to on the other hand is very critical to the government and their credibility. The NGOs talked about a health service that doesn't exist. This of course affects the poorest

children a lot because it's them that dies of diseases that they get from working in hazardous environments. The distrust goes further than that. There is a lack of trust even against the welfare institutions and its authorities. The mother that we talked to told us that she didn't get any help when her husband died and that resulted in that her children had to start to work. A child in Piquero-Ballescás qualitative study also said that she had no one to turn to for help (Piquero-Ballescás, 2009, p. 70ff). The people in the Smokey Mountain don't either trust the social services, as they say that they just arrive to collect money for the rents. The government organizations themselves also have distrust against the Mayors and their decisions that have affect the social services work in a negative way. The NGOs even talk about the government as an enemy, and about a government that kills people for not supporting them. The corruption is also an obstacle for the Philippine to develop. The Philippine as a country is not poor, but the money is going to the 25 most influential families in the county, according to the NGOs. The corruption has also resulted in refusal of foreign creditors to extend more financial assistants (Institute for labor studies, 1994, p. 16f). This of course is negative for the Philippines future development.

Except that the Philippines has laws and programs that support a child labor free Philippine there is also a need for a change in the education policy. In the Philippines they do value education, like the dream the mother we talked to have, that her sons would get a degree. But as they all say, even if the education is free there is still too big expenses for the equipment that is needed for the children to be in school. The NGOs also tell us about a lack of secondary schools, that they are not enough for all the children in the country. And if the children would like to go to the university they say, "good luck because there is not many university's in the country so only the absolutely best pupils will have the chance". Studies show that in the developing world, primary education is crucial to the achievement of an increase living standard, and a way there is making education truly free (Huebler, 2008, p. 2ff). The NGOs told us that the educational politics in the Philippine is going the other way. Instead of making the school free and increase their budget because of a growing population, they add two more years in the education. The NGOs think that extra two years on secondary school will be a bigger burden to the families and there is a big chance that the families will get an even bigger distrust to the government than they already seem to have. The NGOs is saying that the government is focusing on the wrong things. The government adds two years, they have cash transfers and like some other NGOs and the church, they provide food to poor families. Our respondents don't believe that this kind of action will help the people on a long term. They don't think that the government really understands what the people needs, like

better and more schools and job for the people. This is critical because as we have said, the school is an important protective factor for the children and the way to a life with better conditions. This should even be a big obstacle for the governmental goal that all children should be in school. The teachers that we spoke to however told us they do let their pupils come to school without uniforms, books, pencils and so on. They told us that their pupils are poor and that they understand their situation. Their school also had a food program to give the most malnourished children food. School feeding programs can serve as a further incentive for school attendance (Huebler, 2008, p. 21). But if the people don't believe in the government and the organizations and institutions doesn't believe in each other, the collaboration is not going to work and that will affect the children at all levels. Bronfenbrenner (1979, p. 5) points to the importance with a third part that is supportive. But in the reality, in the Philippine society they have a mistrust to the community and its institution, and many are instead talking about an absent of support and help.

8 Final discussion

Our wish was to come home after two month in the Philippines with a bigger global perspective. This we sure did. In the Philippines we both saw and experienced the difficulties a developing country can have after only 50 years in independency. We came to a country that is struggling against poverty and with the poverty, a welfare system that doesn't work. We could make that conclusion the first night when we arrived to the Philippines and for the first time had to step over people sleeping on the street. We could stay with that conclusion after two month as well. The country has a welfare system but it is weak with health centers without doctors, social departments with too few employees on populations of millions and schools but not for everyone. But in the Philippines they have bigger issues than a functioning welfare system because its takes more than just a good welfare system to make a significant change for the people. With the Philippines history, today's corruption and the competition from other industrialized Asian countries the Philippine seems to have a hard time to develop. But although it can feel hopeless when you have to step over small children sleeping on the street, we have felt that the organizations we have met really have a fighting spirit. And that is well needed.

The organizations have to manage to perform their work with very little money and few employees. The NGOs are also often working against the government and vice versa because they don't represent the same position and views. According to the governmental organizations they perform a very good work, something that we have questioned during our stay. The NGOs has an opinion that the government organizations doesn't do so much and that they put the money on wrong things. We are questioning if it is possible to have a good cooperation when the different organizations have so different positions and sometimes so bad thoughts of each other. We ourselves can agree with the NGOs when it comes to the government and their short-terms projects. It seems like the institutions put their time and money on protection, like rescue operations and not at all on preventative work, which should help more children in a long term. The respondent from the DSWD told us that most of the children that they rescue return to their old situation and that shows that their strategy for a child labor free Philippines not really work. It takes more than rescue operations to break the vicious circle. The government and their institutions did not either talk about a school policy that doesn't work, instead they talked about cash transfers to poor families for the education. And instead of being honest about the lack of jobs in the country, they are being proud that

they have a big number of employees abroad that is sending money to their families and into the country.

Another big problem is that the organizations constantly work against the wind. Because of the corruption the governmental organizations have to work in specific areas and with specific problems belonging to the voters of the different Mayors. The social work ends up in the outskirts of a system that wants to satisfy the right people. This according to one of our respondent is very common and it didn't seem like a secret or something that people doesn't know of, and with that knowledge is it not strange that the people have a lack of trust to the government. They are also working in a country where the population grows very fast and the problem gets bigger as the population grows. The government however has expressed concerns about this and they stand against the church that doesn't see this as a problem. This different view about the growing population creates problems between the two biggest instances in the Philippines and their problem affects the people and the organizations working for the people best. We as tourists in the Philippines were happy when we saw one store that was selling contraceptives, which of course is one way of solving the problem with the growing population. Also a couple of NGOs we have been talking to saw the lack of contraceptives as a problem. We have been told that the middle and upper class obtain fewer children than the poor which are the once that can't provide for the children which makes them work at low age.

It is hard to not see the consequences of the Philippines legislations, policies, religion, economy and of course their history. Their fight against child labor seems to be a quite new topic, as one of our respondent expressed, they have so many problems so if they are going to focus on a problem like that they need more pressure from other countries and international organizations. With a new law in 2003, ILO and their focus on the Philippines and a national program against child labor we still have a hope that the Philippines after the projects will end doesn't stop working for that goal. We hope this is just a start, a start that came to late but that still can change children's life. If the NGOs continue to educate poor families and their children and show them a way to fight for their rights we sure hope that the school soon will be free and that's a good beginning of ending the vicious circle. A child labor free Philippines, when will that be? Well our conclusion is, not today and not tomorrow.

9 Further research

We think it would be very interesting to do a further and deeper research about the distrust against the welfare system and the authorities in the Philippines. It seems like that's one quite big obstacle for the government and the people's organizations to work together and because the people's organizations are on the grass root and is the poor people's voice, it's a very important subject. We think it might be able to do a change, if a research went out and reached all the social workers on different levels. We also think it would be good if two researches and evaluations was done on both the ILO program in the Philippine and the Philippines own national program against child labor. It would also be interesting to make a comparative study between the Philippines welfare system and other developing countries that have had similar history. This to see how different developing countries have built up there welfare and to see which similarities or differences there have and why. This we think is interesting and a current subject because it was many people that got surprised in our country that the Philippines even have a social service, because it's a poor country. We think it is important to support the developing countries and there development especially when it comes to the social welfare but before that, we need to know why it looks like it does today and why it looked like it did yesterday. We also of course think it should be done more researches about child labor and its effect on the children and how the work should be done to minimize the risks for the children.

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10 Appendix 1

10.1 Information letter

Information for those who will participate in the interview

We would like to start by saying thank you for your participation!

We are two students from Ersta Sköndal University College that studies to become social workers. We read on the semester six of seven and we are going to write an essay to examine social work. The purpose with the essay is to examine what forms of child labor that are performed on Manilas streets and how different organizations work with the issue of child labor.

In this letter we want to inform you the following:

- The interview is voluntary. If you don't want to complete the interview, you have no obligations to.
- If there is any question/s that you don't want to answer, you don't have to do that.
- The collected data that we receive after this interview will only be used for this purpose.
- After transcription of the interview, we can send you the interview data for you to see and have the opportunity to give comments if you want.
- If you wish you can remain anonymous and the same applies to your workplace.

We would also like to ask for permission to record the interview on tape to facilitate our continued writing the essay. It will only be us who will have access to the material.

Thank you for your participation!

Åsa Ullén and Klara Eck

Ersta Sköndal University College

11 Appendix 2

11.1 Interview Questions

Background Questions

- How long have you been working in your organization?
- Do you have any special education?
- How many employees are there in your workplace? How many of you are working with child labor?
- How many inhabitants are in your work area?
- How is the organization structured?

What forms of child labor occurs in the streets of Manila?

How do you define the concept child labor?

What form of child labor occurs in the streets of Manila?

How many children are in child labor today in Manila?

How does the organizations work for children in child labor?

In what ways are you working with children in child labor?

What risk factors are the children in child labor exposed to?

In what ways are you working with the risk group?

What is the goal with your work?

What conditions have the organizations to accomplish their work?

How big is your budget per year, and how much for goes to child labor?

Do you have any partners that you work with to counter child labor?

Is there anyone else that working with the same purpose that you is?

What positive results have you seen from your work?

How could your work be improved?