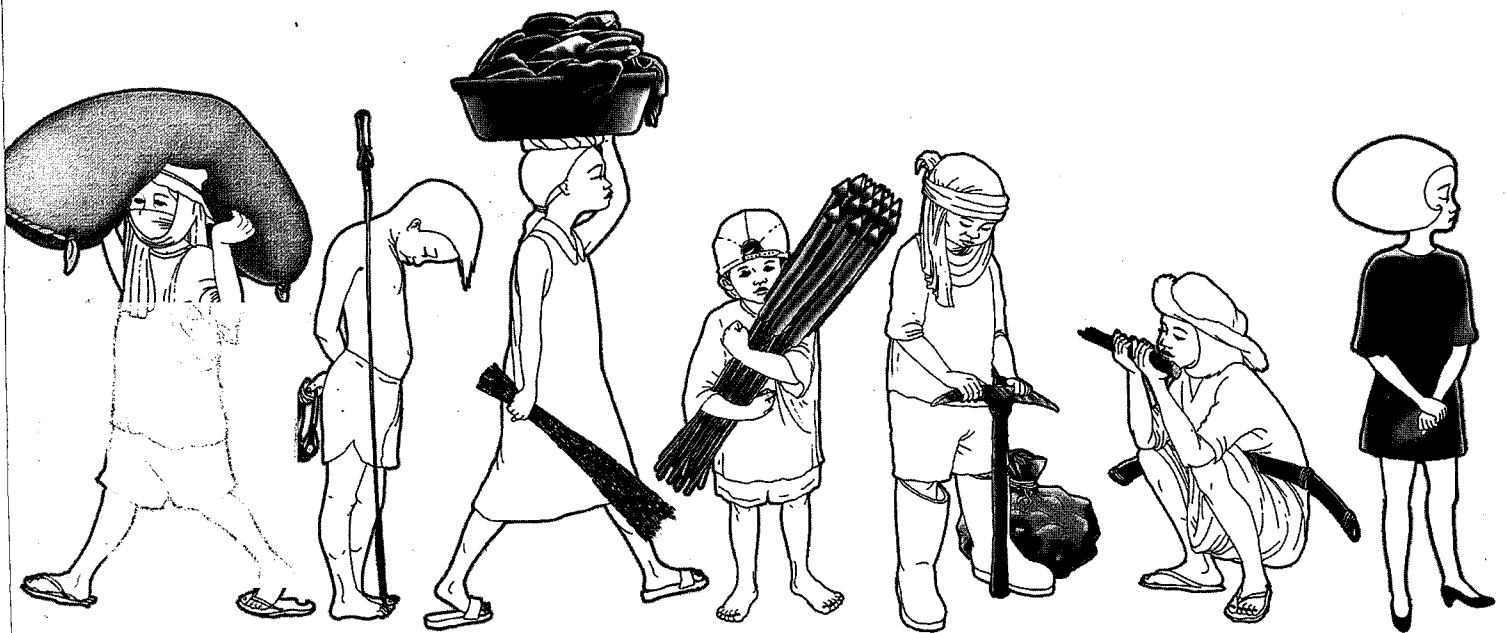
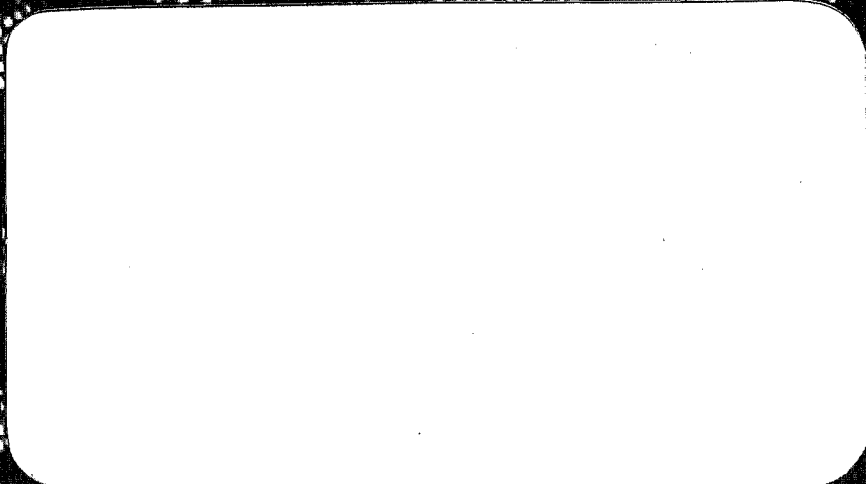


WORKING PAPER SERIES ON CHILD LABOUR
International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
Manila, Philippines



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WORKING PAPER SERIES

Child Labour in Southeast Asian Manufacturing Industries

*Focus on the Garments Industry
in the Philippines*

A COUNTRY REPORT

By

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Diliman, Quezon City

March 1996

International Labour Organization

International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour

Manila, Philippines

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Preface

Until a few years ago, child labour was viewed with a mixture of indifference, apathy and even cynicism. It was so widely practised that it was accepted by many as part of the natural order of things. For others, child labour was equated with child work, excused with the argument that work is good for children and a means for helping families.

Times have indeed changed. Child labour has become, in recent years, an important concern in the global development agenda. Here in the Philippines, one of the more striking developments in recent years is the emergence of a strong social movement against child labour, involving a wide range of programme partners from several sectors: the government, employers, trade unions, and nongovernment organizations. Together this movement is seeking to implement a comprehensive programme of action that substantiates the wide body of laws that the Philippine government has passed on child protection.

The International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) is one of ILO's largest global technical cooperation programmes operating in more than 50 countries. It was launched in the Philippines in 1994 with a Memorandum of Understanding between the Philippine Government and the ILO, and since then IPEC has been deeply involved in initiating and catalyzing action on child labour. It is currently working with more than 50

organisational partners in initiatives ranging from law and policy reform, advocacy and social mobilization, community organisation and empowerment, social services, tripartite workplace monitoring and capacity building through training, research, publications and management/coordination.

This study is part of a two-phased "Programme Development Work on Child Labour in Southeast Asian Manufacturing Industries" involving the countries of Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

In the Philippines, Prof. Rosario del Rosario of the University of the Philippines in Diliman prepared the study focusing on the garments industry. The project was jointly sponsored by IPEC and ILO-EASMAT/SEAPAT.

In publishing this paper as part of the *ILO-IPEC Working Paper Series*, it is our hope that the significant work will find an even larger audience and provoke productive discussions on this very topical subject. This should lead ultimately to the better understanding of child labour in the Philippines and its various dimensions.

Richard Szal
 Director, ILO Area Office Manila
 January 1999

The *IPEC Philippine Working Papers Series* is an effort to bring into sharper focus the many dimensions of the child labour problem in the Philippines. The working papers are often the result of the research components of ILO-IPEC's various action programmes in the Philippines. The publication of these working papers aim to reach a wider audience and contribute to the national dialogue leading to the protection of working children and the elimination of child labour in the Philippines.

The views of the authors are their own and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the ILO nor of the IPEC programme.

CURRENT TITLES, IPEC PHILIPPINE WORKING PAPER SERIES:

- *Defining Hazardous Occupations for Children and Young Workers below 18 Years of Age. A Country Report*, Dr. Ronald Subida, M.D. University of the Philippine Institute of Public Health, 1997 (first printing), 1999 (second printing).
- *1995-1997 Implementation Report. Initiating and Mobilizing Action Against Child Labour in the Philippines*, Ma. Alcestis Abrera-Mangahas, International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour, 1997.
- *The Child's Inner and Outer World: A Study of the Phenomenology of the Child in Prostitution*, International Catholic Child Bureau Asia, 1996.
- *To Learn and To Earn: Education and Child Labour in the Philippines*, Feny de los Angeles and Joanna Arriola, Community of Learners Foundation, 1995.
- *A Case Study of Young Workers in the Furniture Industry of Cebu*. Prof. Elizabeth M. Remedio, University of San Carlos, Cebu City, 1999.

OTHER IPEC PHILIPPINES SUPPORTED PUBLICATIONS:

- *Directory of IPEC Partners*, International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour, 1998.
- *A Comprehensive Situation Analysis of Child Labour in the Philippines*, Institute for Labour Studies, 1994 (first printing), 1997 (second printing).
- *Attacking Child Labour, An Indicative Framework for Philippine-ILO Action*, International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour, 1994 (first printing), 1997 (second printing)
- *Opening Doors: A Compilation of Laws Protecting the Filipino Child Workers*, Ateneo Human Rights Center, Ateneo de Manila University 1996 (first printing); 1997 (second printing).
- *Assessing Occupational Safety and Health for Children in the Pyrotechnics Industry*, Occupational Safety and Health Center, 1997.
- *Case Studies of Integrated Programmes for Street and Working Children*, Ruth Esquillo Ignacio, PULSO, The Institute of Church and Social Issues, 1997.
- *Training Guide for Specialized Training in Child Labour for the Philippine Labour Inspectors*, Bureau of Women and Young Workers, 1997.
- *Child Labour: Neglected Human Rights*, Philippine Association of Human Rights Advocates, 1996.
- *The National Survey of Working Children 1995*, National Statistics Office.

FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS:

- *The Survey of Child Domestic Workers in Metro Manila*, Bureau of Women and Young Workers, Department of Labor and Employment, Manila.
- *The Design, Management, and Evaluation of Child Labour Programmes*, Institute for Labour Studies.
- *A Situational Analysis on Violence and Violence-Related Working Conditions of the Domestic Helpers Employed in Metro Manila*, Priya Gopalen, Asian Institute of Management.
- *The Role of Community Education in the Prevention of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children*, End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and the Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes.

Acknowledgment

This study was funded by ILO-EASMAT/SEAPAT-IPEC, and is the product of the efforts of a team composed of the following:

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Executive Summary

The Philippine garments industry employs the most number of child workers, girls in particular. This study focuses on why enterprises hire them and why households allow children to work.

The survey conducted between 1995-1996 generates information on 23 enterprises in and around Metro Manila that produce garments both for the domestic and the international markets. Fifteen of these enterprises and 45 child workers provide in-depth data on child labour.

Enterprises that employ child workers vary in size of capitalisation and workforce. Child workers are found mostly in small and medium-scale enterprises that are subcontracted by large firms.

Eighty percent of the respondent child workers are between ages 12 and 14 years old. Eighty percent are female. The children come from households with an average size of six members. Their parents have low educational attainment and are engaged mostly in seasonal semiskilled work. These households are found in the same community as the garment enterprises. Respondent child workers belong to communities predominantly composed of low income households, with high unemployment and underemployment rates, and have a significantly large informal sector.

Children are recruited through friends, neighbours, and relatives. Most of the child workers go to school. They work during class breaks, after school, and during off-school months (April to May) when they work more often. Most are paid on piece rate, amounting to between ₱10 and ₱25 daily (or slightly less than \$1 daily). Their enrolment in school notwithstanding, children have narrowed aspirations in life. There are many cases of dropping out or temporary withdrawal from school. Many child workers are in grade levels below those of their peers.

Enterprise owners indicate that they recruit child workers because children are useful for fine finishing tasks and their labour is cheap. Should the enterprises be forced to stop hiring children, profits would neither decrease nor increase significantly.

Most parents of child workers indicate that they encourage their children to work for the experience and positive work values gained from employment. Those with higher household income say that their income will not be adversely affected should the children stop working.

Incidence of child work is directly related to the low income of the child workers' parents. Income from the children's work supplements the living expenses of the poorest households.

Given the small contribution of child workers to household income, most households will not be significantly crippled if such contribution were missed. On the contrary, the poorer 26% of households will be affected by the loss of a significant contribution to their income and will be pushed farther down.

An outright ban on child labour will not significantly decrease the profits of enterprises. Urgent efforts should be focused on the elimination of "stay-in" or overnight work arrangements involving female workers, which are prevalent in enterprises catering to the local market.

The outright ban on child labour should be preceded by interventions toward more livelihood opportunities for poor households. Furthermore, such a ban should not push children into more hazardous alternative work, nor peg them to the less regulated industrial homework under subcontracting.

Description of the Study

The study focuses on garments enterprises in Rizal and Metro Manila. Their real names have been changed to maintain confidentiality.

Fifteen of the 23 garment enterprises were selected for more in-depth study. Twelve are export-oriented: eight of them hire child workers, while four do not. Three enterprises serve the local market and hire child workers. The 15 enterprises are classified as large, medium, and small enterprises.

A total of 45 child workers, who are employed in the 15 enterprises selected for in-depth study, and the children's households were interviewed. Furthermore, 30 key informants from three communities where the households are found were interviewed.

The interviews were conducted using interview schedules prepared and furnished by the International Labour Organization (ILO) - East Asia Multidisciplinary Advisory Team (EASTMAT)/ the Southeast Asia and the Pacific Multidisciplinary Team (SEAPAT) and the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC).

OBJECTIVES

The general objectives of the study are:

1. gather information through interviews.
2. analyse the data gathered through the interviews in order to derive possible implications of child labour elimination on:
 - a. enterprise profitability and sustainability;
 - b. the children's well-being.
3. The study also aims to identify viable approaches to the elimination of child labour.

MAIN RESEARCH THEMES

1. The market (supply and demand) for child labour, specifically:
 - the relationship between child labour, household income, and adult employment
 - the relationship between child labour and schooling
 - reasons employers hire child workers
 - the factors that influence employers' demand for child workers over time.

Previous studies show a close link between child labour in the garments industry and low household income, the latter being a result of adult unemployment and underemployment (Del Rosario 1987:89, 91, 95; Veneracion 1987). Findings on the relationship between child labour and school tardiness, absenteeism, and poorer school performance are less conclusive (Tungpalan 1989). Data on why employers hire child workers in the garments industry point to the lower wages that the children command, the children's docility and suitability to specific garments operations such as trimming, and button holing/attaching (Del Rosario 1991).

2. The children's working conditions and welfare, specifically:
 - the allocation of tasks and the volume and difficulty of the tasks
 - terms of employment
 - system and level of remuneration,
 - work schedule
 - training and skills acquisition
 - physical working environment
 - welfare facilities and social services.

3. The practical interventions at the industry and community levels, namely:

- problems of implementing appropriate legislations on minimum age of employment in the industry
- implications for the household and the child worker of successful implementation at the enterprise level
- practical ways of improving working conditions and instituting welfare facilities
- alternative options at the community level for child workers and children at risk.

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The following tasks were carried out for the study, which began in August 1995:

1. organising a national consultancy team to:
 - a. develop survey instruments in Filipino for child worker respondents and for different types of key informant respondents. The instruments are based on those provided by ILO/SEAPAT/EASMAT and IPEC
 - b. conduct interviews with:
 - representatives of 23 enterprises
 - 45 child workers and their households in five towns in Rizal, namely, Taytay, Angono, Cainta, Binangonan, and Antipolo; and in Pasig City, Metro Manila
 - c. encode data
 - d. analyse the data and produce a draft final report with tables
 - e. finalise of the report

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

Establishing contact with respondent employers and enterprises was carried out smoothly because the interviewers are familiar with the communities in Rizal where various studies were conducted in the past. Several members of the communities referred the team to employers and managers. Many of the managers introduced the interviewers to other employers and enterprises.

Some employers were however wary as the interviewers were suspected of gathering information on behalf of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and also because of the enterprises' negative experiences on child labour inspection. The team took this elusive attitude into account in evaluating the reliability of employers' responses on child labour hiring and on the employers' financial status. Their responses, and the information gathered from the subcontractors and employees were compared and indeed, the employers are found to give a different picture of the situation.

Until the enterprises were properly classified into small, medium, and large establishments, the team could not proceed with identifying the 15 enterprises for in-depth analysis. The completion of this task was dependent on the availability of enterprises for interview.

Classification of enterprises by size had to proceed by trial and error. For example, some enterprises initially classified as "medium" turned out to be "large" after the interview. Final classification is based on the comparative size of capitalisation of the enterprises. The study is not able to adhere to official classifications of enterprises. None of the enterprises are "medium" or "large" by standards set by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI). DTI defines "medium" as those enterprises with assets of P15 M - P60 M; and "large" as those with assets of P60 M and above. None of the enterprises interviewed qualify for these criteria.

A different classification is set by the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE), which describes "large" garments enterprises as those with assets of P10 M and above. Garment firms are grouped into four categories:

1. cottage industries, with assets of P250 T or less
2. small-scale, with assets of P250 T - P4 M
3. medium-scale, with assets of P4 M - P10 M
4. large-scale, with assets beyond P10 M

Twenty garment firms have more than 1,000 workers and account for 46,646 or 31.9% of the whole industry workforce (*MOLE Document Series 28* June 1985).

Seventy percent of these firms are situated in Metro Manila; 18.54% in Southern Luzon, including Rizal, and 9.6% in Central Luzon, including Bulacan (Garments & Textile Export Board 1994).

Most garment firms fall under the first and second categories. The industry is "dominated by 19,813 micro and cottage industry-sized establishments, such as tailoring shops and backyard-type garment subcontractors," (*ITC Newsletter* Aug 1985). Many of these establishments employ less than 10 workers. The small-scale firms, which make up 99% of garment establishments, employ less than 100 workers (Pineda-Ofreneo 1989).

Only one of the establishments included in the study qualifies under DOLE standards. The establishment, with capitalisation of P14.5 M, falls under large-scale enterprises.

The selection of respondent children had to wait until the 15 enterprises were identified and from where the children were chosen. The research requirement of interviewing enterprises from "small" to "large" further delayed the interview of child workers, their households, and consequently, of key informants.

Difficulties are also attributed to the fact that some employers who admit to hiring child workers do not know or refuse to reveal the child workers' whereabouts or addresses. Some employers discouraged the interviewers from meeting with the child workers found at the workplace, particularly those who are "stay-ins."

Furthermore, some of the child workers with data on whereabouts no longer reside in their last known address. Thus, before a final list of child workers to be interviewed could be finalised, a process of matching the workplace and the community had to be made. Once settled, however the interview of child workers and their families was able to proceed smoothly.

The interview of key informants had to be deferred until the communities were identified. Furthermore, the number of key informants per community (total, 30) was also dependent on the total number of respondent households.

Review of Literature

THE PHILIPPINE GARMENTS INDUSTRY: A BACKGROUNDER

Since the late 19th century, and with more prevalence in the early 20th century with the manufacture of export-oriented embroidery under US colonial rule, Filipino children have been utilised in the traditional garment-producing areas in Luzon, namely, Sta. Ana, Parañaque, Rizal, Bulacan, Cavite, and Batangas.

By 1930 embroidered articles had become one of the country's top 10 exports, with most of the exporting firms being American. After a short disruption owing to the Japanese Occupation between 1942 and 1945, the garments industry was revitalised and reinforced by government policies allowing the operation of transnational corporations. Embodied in Acts, these policies facilitated international subcontracting.

In 1975 garments became the first nontraditional Philippine export product to reap in earnings of P100 M. Total garment exports reached their peak in 1981, but dropped due to worldwide recession in 1982. The export picture of garments improved slightly shortly thereafter, only to be threatened again by US protectionist moves. This situation is critical considering that the US is the country's top garments importer (Del Rosario 1987). During this period, garments was second to electronic components in terms of export.

From 1980-84 the garments industry grew by an average of 6.8% annually. In 1984 it posted a 20.5% share of total nontraditional manufactures (Garments & Textiles Export Board 1994).

Philippine garment exports include men's and boys' outer garments other than knitted and crocheted; knitted or crocheted undergarments; and materials, accessories and supplies imported on consignment for embroidery or for manufacture into finished products. The last top the list of garment exports with a share of 47% of total industry export earnings (GTEB 1984).

Philippine garments are exported to the US which shares 65% of total export volume; countries in the European Community, namely, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxemburg which account for 16% of total exports; Canada with 4%; and other nonquota countries such as Australia, Japan, Hong Kong, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Pacific. Exports of garments total \$2.3 B in 1993 (GTEB 1994).

The US market consumes about 80% of Philippine garment exports; the UK and West Germany, 8% (GTEB 1984).

The Industry Monitoring Unit of the Center for Research and Communication however points out that the Philippine garments industry holds only a small share of total world apparel exports (for example, in men's and boys' outerwear, only 0.9%). Product lines are dominated by Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore, Germany, UK, and France. Among the nonquota countries, Australia, Japan and Hong Kong dominate. Other countries joined the nonquota group in the mid-70s, specifically, the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Libya, Egypt), Latin America (with Panama as distribution centre), Asia, and the Pacific. Their share in the garment export market is however erratic, particularly during the recession in the early 80s. As a result the share of nonquota countries in total world apparel exports declined from 25% in 1981 to 13-14% in 1988 (Lim 1990).

In 1989 contracts for garments manufacture for the US and Western European markets "went to countries like the Philippines, where the impetus for export and employment expansion in the garments industry came mainly from outside... Labour-intensive operations were relocated to areas where manpower was cheap, abundant and preferably docile" (Pineda-Ofreneo:8).

The trend then was for transnational corporations (TNCs) to develop supplier or subcontracting firms in developing states such as the Philippines. The TNCs established branches or subsidiaries, embarked on joint ventures, or tapped independent local producers in said countries. The countries in turn performed the ancillary role of merely processing materials, or manufacturing and assembling items whose materials have been supplied by their foreign contractors.

Seventy percent of the raw material components of total garment exports are imported, processed, then reexported; and only 30% of the value of garment exports are actually net dollar earnings (GTEB 1984). This means that the local garments industry is foreign-controlled, and that overseas interests dictate fabric, machinery, design and volume (Vergara 1979; Del Rosario 1987; Pineda-Ofreneo 1989).

Such subcontracting in the garments industry is multilevel and reaches all the way down to the homes of adult and child—mainly female—workers, with decreasing benefits to workers at the lowermost rungs of the ladder (Del Rosario 1987; 1990; 1991).

The garments industry has been one of the largest employers in the Philippines, yet “a large part of the garments industry has always been invisible, irregular and unreported” (Pineda-Ofreneo 1989:3). In 1981 an official source cited direct and indirect employment of “about 450,000 to 500,000 homesewers on contractual basis and 214,000 factory and homeworkers (*Philippine Development* 1981).

In 1984 there are around 148,000 workers in 20,255 registered firms (DOLE 1984). Data from the National Statistics Office for 1995 cite a total of 2.02 M homeworkers and 14.8 M workers employed in the informal sector (based on the estimates from the 1993 listing of homeworkers, updated by the Survey on homeworkers conducted in February 1995). Among those employed in the informal sector, homeworkers make up about 13.7%.

A comparison of male and female homeworkers in five regions of the country (viz., National Capital Region, Regions III, IV, V, and VII) in 1993 shows that out of a total of 1.1 M homeworkers, 78.8% are female and 21.2% are male. For both sexes, the number of those engaged in garment production adds

up to 34.2%, with 10.1% male and 40.4% female. Garment manufacturing employs the most number of homeworkers in the five regions, followed by wood/cork manufacturing, then by hand weaving. Furniture manufacturing (including manufacture and repair of wood and rattan furniture) accounts for only 2.6% (Nat. Stat. Office 1993). Homeworkers below the age bracket 10-14 years old comprise about a little more than 25,000 (1.9% of all homeworkers), of whom 78.8% are female and 21.2% are male (NSO 1993). Among homeworkers, 2.1% are 14 years old and younger.

Subcontracting undermines the strength of workers in the formal sector to unite for better terms and conditions of work, largely because of the entry of outworkers who are unemployed and who are willing to accept pittance. With outworkers, employers do not need to worry about complying with requirements on minimum wage and conditions of work, nor about taking into account the rights of their employees.

What are the growth perspectives of the garments industry with the intensifying globalisation and trade liberalisation of the world economy? In 1993 some 1,553 active Philippine garment exporters in the country catered to 94 countries, generating about 700,000 jobs channeled through 2,418 subcontractors. These subcontractors are accredited by the Garments and Textile Export Board (GTEB 1994).

Donald Dee, president of the Confederation of Garments Exporters of the Philippines, observes that garment exports “grew at an ‘explosive’ 30% compounded annually” from the 1960s to the mid-1980s (excluding the years 1982-83 when the value of exports decreased due to the global recession). In 1992 however the Philippine’s share in the global quota market declined, and the garments export growth fell by 20%. The increase in garment exports amounting to \$2.3 B from 1992 to 1993 is therefore misleading. Of the 50 categories of garments quota in the US, only eight items are performing at a growth rate of 50% or higher (Dee 1993). The Philippine share of exports to the European Community and Canada has declined (GTEB 1994). Competitors such as Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and China are edging out the Philippines as a global garment exporter (Dee, op. cit.).

The reasons, according to Dee, are the following:

1. Increase in wages by over 20% between 1987-1992 without corresponding legislation to impose an increase in productivity.
2. Artificial buoying up of the peso-dollar exchange rate in 1991, hence preventing garment factories from becoming viable competitors in the world market.
3. Inflexibility of procedures, from booking orders to deliveries, compared with the more efficient system of competing ASEAN countries, Indian Ocean and Caribbean countries. This problem includes government-imposed regulations to contain smuggling, resulting in unnecessary inspections, tedious import/export documentation (requiring 36 signatures to release a shipment versus only five or six in Thailand), high interest rates, and lack of local textile materials for manufacturing.

With the growing competition represented by ASEAN and Latin American countries and the People's Republic of China (where wage levels are lower), Filipino workers are being paid less than before. They are put on rotation, are retrenched, and have had to deal with the reality of working under casual and contractual arrangements. Many are outworker or potential outworkers in the vast labour reserve of the unemployed.

Some economists maintain that despite the 5.1% growth rate of the economy in 1994 (which is still relatively modest compared with other ASEAN countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia), an economic bust is not unlikely, especially if this rate is not sustained.

Despite increased exports, the Philippine trade deficit keeps rising from \$4.5 B in 1992 to \$6.2 B in 1993, and on to \$8 B in 1994. Imports surpass exports by 4%. Philippine foreign debt totals \$38 B, an increase of \$8 B from 1992. Domestic debt runs to about P800 B. Foreign and domestic servicings account for about one-third of the annual national budget. Whatever modest growth benefits there are have not trickled down to those in the lower economic strata, to workers, farmers, fisherfolk, the self-employed, the informal sector, and the unemployed.

While encouraging certain favored areas for development (for example, export industries in industrial zones; the speculative market, that is, the stock market, the T-Bill market, and real estate; malls and duty-free shops), the government ignores those "sites of domestic industry and agriculture that are bearing the brunt of trade liberalisation, heavier taxation and power cost and debilitating interest rates" (Ofreneo 1995:4-5). This policy can only result in the decline or collapse of industries that are outside the government-sponsored "growth centres."

Furthermore, small and medium-scale industries are weakened because of limited government support and a confusing process of liberalisation. For example, the Philippines lowered its tariff rates ahead of the other countries complying with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). This move was taken "without due consultations with the affected sectors and without government-private sector cooperation on how to help those adversely affected" (Ibid.:11). "The...declining competitiveness of the garments industry owes much to the absence of the supporting industries such as a modern textile industry, petrochemical industry and cotton industry" (Ibid: 11).

The GATT and the World Trade Organisation mean more liberalisation, to the detriment of local industries. Pineda-Ofreneo and Ofreneo (1995) contend that among the obvious losers "will be the garments and textile industries," and that the impact on women workers who dominate the garments industry will take the form of:

1. displacement due to "the inability to compete with cheap food imports and cheaper exports from neighboring countries (e.g., China, Vietnam)"
2. less social protection, especially for non-regular and informal sector workers
3. increased labour migration among vulnerable and unprotected women workers
4. "More work burden for women in their productive, reproductive and community management roles, as they try to earn more, save more, and cope with decreasing basic services."

STUDIES ON CHILD LABOUR IN THE GARMENTS INDUSTRY

Employment of child workers is observed in the garments industry of Rizal and Bulacan—provinces that are recognised centres of garments manufacturing.

• ***GATCHALIAN ET AL. (1984)***

Garments enterprises utilising child labour have a capitalisation of less than ₱100 T each. These establishments are not registered businesses. They have an average life span of 5-9 years, with rural enterprises lasting longer, some for more than 10 years. Owners usually finance the operations from personal savings, with profits as their main source of income.

The study found that the employers live in communities where the establishments are situated. All of them are Filipinos, but many of the employers have foreign tie-ups. The enterprises act as subcontractors or agents for contractor-exporters. The latter supply the raw materials, while the Filipino entrepreneurs provide the machines and work area.

All workers are casual, and there is no written contract. Their employment depends on seasonal orders. Child workers are free to leave work whenever they so desire; however, their reemployment cannot be guaranteed. The children's participation is highly dependent on their mother's work participation.

Wages fall way below the legislated minimum for non-agricultural work; children in the rural areas are paid less than their urban counterparts; and pay is on piece rate.

There is inadequate working space to house the materials and equipment, and even tables and benches are sometimes not available. Products are scattered on the floor. The improvised chairs are without back rests. The materials are placed within the worker's reach, that is, on the floor between his feet, or on his lap.

The tasks assigned to workers are strenuous; some require quick activity; others are sedentary; some involve uncomfortable postures commonly associated with mass production; they exact a high level of concentration to minimise damage to fabrics as well as to prevent cuts or puncture wounds on oneself due to the sharp and pointed tools used. These tasks are a strain to child workers with their short attention span, and pose hazards because of their inexperience in handling tools.

• ***DEL ROSARIO (1987)***

In Angono and in adjacent communities in the province of Rizal, mothers, daughters, and sometimes even sons earn income through subcontracts for smocking on baby dresses. In Taytay children work in small and medium-scale enterprises as sewers, trimmers, packers, and button holers. Most child workers are domestic outworkers whose participation in both local and export-oriented garment enterprises vary depending on the work season, worksite, and market demand.

Child workers ages 12-14 years old often have to forego secondary education to work full-time in garment factories or at home. The child workers in factories work from 8-11 hours daily on weekdays, and sometimes even on Saturdays and Sundays. Working hours extend to 24 hours during peak periods in August to December. During the lean periods child workers do not report regularly in the factories. Pay is by piece. Net pay ranges from ₱15 - ₱150 a week, with deductions taken from pay for needles, threads and machine repairs. Earnings are more during peak periods.

If a child lives far from the workplace, he usually stays in the factory. Child workers in the factories complain of lack of sleep and fatigue, especially during rush periods. They also complain of frequent colds, coughs, headaches, finger and leg cramps, allergy to textile dust, and eye strain. They also report of such accidents as stitching or cutting one's own finger and bumping against glass windows due to their crowded work area. Both factory-based and homebased child workers say that they put off urinating whenever they work on rush orders.

Being young, they are often discriminated against. For example, the better skilled and older workers are given priority in the use of electric fans. The factories are cramped, they have poor ventilation, there are no comfortable chairs, much less medical provisions. The number of workers in each factory ranges from 10 - 100, composed mostly of female.

Factories hiring child labour are classified as "large" (from 51-100 workers); "medium" (from 11-50 workers; these are assemblage areas). Both large and assemblage-type factories are export-oriented. "Small" factories have from 1-10 workers. In export-oriented enterprises, child workers comprise about 5-10%; in local market-oriented enterprises, they number from 0-42%. In assemblage factories, the ratio of child workers to adults is 1:50. In small factories for export, the ratio is 1:5; in small local market-oriented factories, the ratio is 1:3.

The fathers of the child workers are construction workers, mechanics, drivers, electricians, farmers or vendors, all with unstable employment. Their mothers work as laundresses, vendors, sewers, and embroiderers, many of whom are homeworkers simultaneously responsible for child care and household chores.

The child workers belong to households of from 6-23 members, mostly kins. They live in houses made of light and usually scrap materials, and with only two rooms. They are found in depressed communities by the side of factories, near riverways or canals that are easily flooded during monsoon rains. Most of the child workers are in elementary and high school.

• **VENERACION (1987)**

In the farming communities of Bulacan, garment enterprises employ no more than 10 adult and child workers, with the latter constituting a minority. Whether child or adult, workers are "encouraged to produce more (quality) products for as long as they can, in order to meet the delivery date" (139).

The working child helps finance family expenditures for education. The child prefers sewing and embroidery to unpaid family labour in the farm. On the one hand, child workers are hardly considered as workers, rather as assistants to their mothers. On the other, and as parents admit, requiring children to work is a painful alternative to schooling. It is one form of training the children. The parents hope that later, their children would be able to study as "education is the only way to a better life" (45). Respondents in the study explain that, "If girls work, and should they marry young, they will have a skill with which to add to their husband's earnings" (144).

Except for one, child workers prefer schooling over working. The nearest school is quite far from the children's residence: to go to school requires using precious family money for transportation. Working children who can no longer go to school have a "tendency to experience an inferior status drawn from a sense of deprivation and lost opportunities" (150).

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

• **DEL ROSARIO (1989)**

In the towns of Taytay and Angono in Rizal, 40-45% of the population are 0-14 year olds; 47% are migrants; and unemployment/underemployment rate is placed at 84.31%.

Some 32% of the respondent child workers are in manufacturing. Of this figure, 2.94% in Angono and 28.23% in Taytay are in garment production. About 64% of these child workers in the garments industry started working at age nine.

Machine sewers earn from less than ₱100 to more than ₱150 a week; buttons attachers, ₱15 a day; garter attachers, ₱10 - ₱60 a day; and baby dress smocking workers about ₱15 a day. Some 23% of the Angono respondents and 25% of Taytay have more than one job at a time. The garment workers combine jobs in garments production and in silk screening.

The study also found that the children's work is generally similar to adult women's work than to adult men's. Women are into such occupations as sewing, making smockings, laundry, vending, doormat making, scavenging, selling, and duck dressing. Male children are into scavenging, selling bread, fishing, hauling, painting figurines, silk screen printing, and duck cooking. Girls go into sewing, duck dressing, doormat vending, most types of vending, and making smockings. Vending and machine sewing bring in more income. These two occupations are engaged in mainly by older children. Majority of household members are fisherfolk, craftspeople, rank-and-file employees, or unemployed. Only 2.94% of households have family members working overseas.

Eighty-seven percent of the respondents work on weekends. Working late at night or early in the morning is part of scavenging, selling bread, fishing, and sewing. Accidents are frequent in scavenging and garment production. About 14-28% of respondents report encountering accidents and encountering them more than adults. They complain of lower pay compared with the adults'. Some render unpaid labour.

Some 64% of child workers decided on their own to be employed; 22% are prodded to work by their parents; and 6% made the decision jointly with their parents. More than 90% have poverty-related reasons for deciding to work. Their aspirations indicate that they want to work to be able to study, which in turn will equip them to help the family, and eventually pull up themselves and the family toward a better life. Only 54.31% want to be professionals.

The garments industry is related to scavenging for scraps and doormat making. The scrap materials in export-oriented factories are gathered by scavengers. These are sold to dealers; woven as doormats; or sewn into car rags, t-shirts, and shorts for sale in the local market.

• **DEL ROSARIO (1991)**

The case-based study notes that enterprises with the highest capitalisation/net gain of from P8 T - P90 T also have the most number of child workers in their employ. None of those who hire 4 - 16 child workers have a net gain lower than P8,000 - P14,666. Entrepreneurs with college education hire fewer child workers (not more than 6); whereas 50% of those with only elementary and some high school education hire from 15-16 child workers.

Child workers as young as eight are employed as trimmers, packers, coders, and assorters, earning from P15 - P50 a day, and with free board and lodging for stay-in workers in local market-oriented enterprises. Stay-ins also perform household tasks for their employers, with no additional compensation.

Male child packers get more than female child trimmers. Younger workers (8-11 year olds) get lower wages than those aged 12-14. Child workers who make button holes and who are usually female and are younger earn P6 - P8 a day.

Wages are paid for each piece or unit produced. Children work from 8 -15 hours, with working hours extended during peak periods. Local market-oriented enterprises require less hours of work (8 -10 hours) than export-oriented ones which require from 8-16 hours on the average. The conditions of work in the enterprises are generally deplorable, although all have adequate lighting.

Of the total number of workers in the garment enterprises, 25.8% are children. Four employers report that child workers stay in their employ from two months to a year; the rest say that child workers come and go depending on the schedule and the availability of jobs.

Opinions of employers regarding child labour vary, but majority see it as positive.

• **DEL ROSARIO (1995)**

Key informants in Rizal observe an increase in the incidence of child labour. This is attributed to:

1. deepening poverty
2. influx of migrants from the Mt. Pinatubo areas and other provinces
3. parents encouraging their children to work
4. children's greater facility to learn skills
5. demand for child labour.

Respondents agree that parents/mothers should be given adequate opportunities for regular employment, capital for livelihood, and sufficient income, so that their children will not need to work.

• **INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES - DOLE (1995)**

"Looking at the trends, it would seem that child work is moving in stride with developments in the country's export-oriented industries. Child work was rather high in the early 1980s, dwindled around the middle of the decade and again picked up towards the end of the 1980s, on to the early 1990s around the same time when the export industry was experiencing boom and bust periods" (3).

Results of the Survey

PROFILE OF ENTERPRISES

Of the 23 enterprises in the study, 15 are included in the interview. Fourteen are registered businesses, while one is not.

• LOCATION AND MARKET ORIENTATION

Twenty-three garment enterprises were interviewed in five towns in the province of Rizal and in Pasig City, Metro Manila. The towns are composed of Taytay, Angono, Cainta, Binangonan, and Antipolo. Rizal is the country's main garment-producing area, although only 15% of garment firms are located in the province and 70% are found in Metro Manila (GTEB 1994). Many of the firms in Rizal are subcontractees of contracting agents in Metro Manila.

Twenty of the enterprises employ child labour while three do not. Eighteen are export-oriented and four are local market-oriented (Table 1 and 2, p.22). Fifteen out of the 23 enterprises identified are studied in detail. Their names have been changed for confidentiality.

• PRODUCTS

The respondent's (15 enterprises) product line consists of baby dresses, rompers, jackets, jogging pants and suits, sweatshirts, shorts, night wear, dresses, blouses and other ladies' wear, suits, pants and sports clothes. Export-oriented enterprises cater to markets in the US, Canada, United Kingdom, other Europe countries, and the Middle East. Local market-oriented enterprises produce for Baclaran and large department stores such as Gaisano in Cebu City. Fourteen are registered businesses, while one is not (Table 3, p.23)

• RANKING

To determine ranking according to size, the 15 enterprises are classified according to presence of child labour and market orientation. Then they are ranked according to capitalisation. To determine cutoff points between categories, the enterprises' value of production, number of workers, and number of machines are taken into account.

Among the export-oriented enterprises with child labour, four are classified as "large," with capitalisation ranging from ₱14.5 M - ₱4.6 M; value of production from ₱4.5 M - ₱33.8 M; 80-388 machines; 98-323 paid workers; and 8-21 years of operation. Two enterprises are "medium," with capitalisation of ₱1.5 M and ₱1.8 M each; value of production from ₱1.8 M - ₱4.6 M; 35-211 machines; 64-100 paid workers; and 5-21 years of operation. Two are "small," with capitalisation of ₱360 T and ₱60 T each; value of production from ₱326 T - ₱577 T; 8-24 machines; 20-45 paid workers; and 2-3 years of operation.

Among the local market-oriented enterprises, one is large with a capitalisation of ₱1.758 M; one is medium with capitalisation of ₱557 T; and another is small with ₱312 T. The value of their production ranges from ₱2.763 M - ₱4.740 M; 9-20 machines; 14-31 paid workers; and 2-9 years of operation (Table 4, p.23).

Among the enterprises employing child labour, two are large with capitalisation of ₱3.5 M - ₱3 M; one is medium with ₱2.2 M; and another is small with ₱1.56 M. The value of their production ranges from ₱518 T - ₱13.7 M; 24-297 machines; 22-776 workers; and 3-20 years of operation.

TABLE 1

Enterprises and child workers interviewed for the study

ENTERPRISES (N = 20)	NO. OF REPORTED/ OBSERVED CHILD WORKERS (101)	NO. OF CHILD WORKERS INTERVIEWED (45)	STATUS OF HIRING
EXPORT-ORIENTED			
ELNORA	5	4	daily, after school, weekends
RONA	20	14	school summer vacation
JAY	12	5	school summer vacation
LAURA	5	5	school summer vacation
MAGGY	20	7	school summer vacation
RAY	20	4	school summer vacation
STAR	1	1	school summer vacation
JAKE	3	N.A.B.R.	N.S.
EMMA	N.N.	N.A.B.R.	stay-in, "bonded"
CHERRY	2	N.A.B.R.	N.S.
SUN	N.S.	N.A.B.R.	N.S.
FRANNY	N.S.	N.A.B.R.	N.S.
POLLY	N.S.	N.A.B.R.	N.S.
ELIZA	N.S.	N.A.B.R.	N.S.
LOCAL MARKET-ORIENTED			
ABE	2	1	stay-in
SUZY	1	1	stay-in
JOMAR	5	3	daily, after school, weekends, school summer vacation (often overnight)
ROSE	1	N.A.B.R.	stay-in
MARY	2	N.A.B.R.	stay-in
BOBBY	2	N.A.B.R.	stay-in

NOTES

- Three enterprises (VINNY, CHARLES; ANITA) do not employ child labour
 - JAY is FRANNY's subcontractee
 - School summer vacation is from April - May
 - No wages are given to bonded labour; child works to pay back mother's debts from employer. Mother is former employee in the same enterprise.
 - EMMA used to hire child workers; no child workers currently in its employ, but plans to expand to Bataan and hire child workers again.
 - SUN is reputed to be on the top five in the production of a particular garment item
 - FRANNY is said to be on the top three in the production of the same product as SUN's
 - POLLY and ELIZA admit to hiring child workers but they do not say how many
 - Stay-ins at ROSE, MARY, and BOBBY also work as domestic help for the owners
- N.A.B.R. - child workers not available but are reported
N.N. - not hiring child workers now
N.S. - not specified

TABLE 2

Location and characteristics of enterprises

MUNICIPALITY	ENTERPRISES	LABOUR MARKET CHARACTERISTICS	DISTANCE FROM MANILA
Angono	ELNORA STAR ABE	- catchment area for subdivision residents - centre of workers engaged in making smockings in Rizal - centre of local artists - less industrialised and commercialised than Taytay and Cainta	three towns away from Metro Manila
Taytay	JAY LAURA CHARLES JOMAR	- one of two main centres of ready-to-wear garment production (and formerly, of wood sash) - commercial centre	two towns away from Metro Manila
Binangonan	RONA MAGGY RAY JAKE	- catchment area for many migrants - poor and lower to middle class subdivisions - source of labour for Cainta and Taytay - high unemployment rate	farthest town from Metro Manila
Cainta	EMMA SUZY	- most industrialised town in Rizal - site of many factories	nearest to Metro Manila
Pasig	VINNY	- industrial area - numerous commercial establishments	former capital town of Rizal, now a city of Metro Manila

TABLE 3
Products and markets of enterprises

ENTERPRISES	PRODUCTS	MARKETS
EXPORT-ORIENTED		
ELNORA	baby dresses	US, Canada
RONA	rompers, baby dresses, jackets, jogging suits	US, United Kingdom
JAY	jackets	US, Europe
LAURA	jackets, pants, shorts	US, United Kingdom
MAGGY	baby dresses, sweatshirts	US
RAY	shorts, night wear, baby dresses	US
JAKE	ladies' wear, baby dresses, jackets	US
STAR	night wear, baby dresses, sweat shirts	Middle East
VINNY	jackets	US
EMMA	baby dresses, pants, shorts	US
CHARLES	jackets	US
ANITA	jackets, jogging pants, dresses	US
LOCAL MARKET-ORIENTED		
ABE	ready-to-wear, baby dresses	Baclaran
SUZY	baby dresses	Baclaran
JOMAR	ladies' wear, suits, sports clothes, blouses	department stores (e.g., Gaisano in Cebu)

TABLE 4
Capitalisation, value of production, number of machines, number of paid workers, and number of years in operation

ENTERPRISES	CAPITAL (in pesos)	VALUE OF PRODUCTION (in pesos)	NO. OF MACHINES	NO. OF PAID WORKERS	YEARS IN OPERATION
WITH CHILD LABOUR					
EXPORT-ORIENTED					
ELNORA	14.5 M	26.635 M	388	323	10
RONA	6.1 M	33.808 M	80	98	8
JAY	5 M	6.501 M	160	187	8
LAURA	4.6 M	4.5 M	211	100	21
MAGGY	1.8 M	1.996 M	35	64	5
RAY	1.5 M	2.664 M	29	47	7
JAKE	.36 M	.326 M	24	45	3
STAR	.06 M	.577 M	8	20	2
LOCAL MARKET - ORIENTED					
ABE	1.758M	3.250 M	20	31	9
SUZY	.558M	2.763M	11	14	2
JOMAR	.312M	4.740M	9	24	7
WITHOUT CHILD LABOUR					
EMMA	3.5 M	3.39 M	52	94	13
VINNY	3 M	13.7 M	297	776	20
CHARLES	2.2 M	2.2 M	130	149	3
ANITA	.156 M	.518 M	24	22	5

NOTES

- For export-oriented enterprises, value of production is computed based on year-round production or 12 months; for local market-oriented enterprises, it is computed based on seasonal production or 7 months
- Paid workers include homebased and branch workers

• **SUBCONTRACTING**

All large enterprises that employ child workers are themselves subcontractees of larger subcontractors or contractors, and all practice subcontracting the labour of homebased workers. Among the export-oriented enterprises, three hire 20-50 homebased workers. One of them is said to have opened a branch in Morong, Rizal, with 40 workers in its employ, six of whom are child workers.

RAY, with the second highest percentage of child workers (42.55%) among export-oriented enterprises, says that it does not have homebased workers. MAGGY and STAR have 10 homebased workers each.

Among the local market-oriented enterprises, the number of homebased workers ranges from 2-15. JOMAR reports the most number of homebased workers (15), followed by ABE (7); and Suzy (2).

Among enterprises that do not hire child labour, VINNY reports 50 homebased workers; EMMA, 30; ANITA, 12 and JULIE, 6. CHARLES does not report any.

• **BUSINESS CONSTRAINTS**

Seven enterprises say there are labour-related constraints to their business' growth possibilities. Five of these respondents cite the problem of quick labour turnover which they link to:

1. the workers' demands for increased wages
2. their lack of loyalty
3. competition among companies in recruiting workers
4. workers' refusal to accept low wages for similarly low-cost job contracts obtained by employers.

Five enterprises point to such constraints as shortage of skills and lack of technical knowhow among workers on the use of some machines. They note the trend towards overseas employment among skilled workers, hence resulting in shortage of skilled labour locally.

Four enterprises identify the following market-related constraints:

1. limited market
2. the value-added tax (VAT)
3. lack of government protection from competition with other countries such as Sri Lanka and the People's Republic of China
4. 20-30% decrease in orders from old buyers.

VINNY claims that production decreased by 30-40% because some former buyers no longer place orders. JAY says that orders have decreased because FRANNY, its contracting garment firm, lost many buyers. One local market-oriented enterprise fears that the importation of Thai and Indonesian ready-to-wear garments (which are cheaper than locally produced ones), will cripple local garments production. JAY says that local market-oriented enterprises are in a more difficult situation than their counterparts in export, and that setbacks have been felt progressively since the late 80s. Two enterprises mention infrastructure-related constraints, including lack of production space. One cites competition with other factories as a problem.

All 15 enterprises consider the lack of assistance from government as a major constraint. Below are some of the forms of government support proposed by export market-oriented enterprises:

1. increase and standardisation of labour contract cost
2. capitalisation and loan assistance
3. marketing assistance
4. consultation with employers before increasing wages
5. skills training for adult garment workers.

Local market-oriented enterprises suggest the following government support:

1. increase and standardisation of labour contract cost
2. ensure security, peace and order so that contractors and customers will not hesitate to deal with local manufacturers.

• GROWTH

The constraints notwithstanding, all 15 enterprises report an increase in orders in 1995 of from 5% - 40%. Forty percent claim a 15% increase; 20%, a 20% increase; 13.33%, a 12% increase; and 6.66%, A 5%, 10%, 30%, and 40% increase respectively.

Based on these figures, the enterprises are growing. The value of their production also shows that only three enterprises (LAURA, JAKE and EMMA) produce less than the size of their capital; four (MAGGY, CHARLES, JAY, and RAY) are a little over breaking even; and the rest (ELNORA, ROSE, SUZY, VINNY, RONA, RAY and JOMAR) have a productivity to capital ratio of from 1.84% - 15.19%.

At least 54.33% of the enterprises are on the upswing, especially those in existence from 2-8 years. Enterprises that fall under this category are local market-oriented whose productivity ratio surpass that of export market-oriented enterprises, except RONA whose productivity ratio exceeds all others. Two of the local market-oriented enterprises employ stay-in child workers. JOMAR, which operates for the local market, has the highest child labour utilisation ratio; followed by RAY and RONA, both export-oriented enterprises.

PROFILE OF WORKERS

There are 1,769 workers employed in the 15 enterprises in the study: 92% are in production, 3% in service, and 5% in managerial work. On the average, these workers put in 8-9 hours a day, except for trimmers and button attachers who work 8-10 hours a day in export-oriented enterprises, and 8 - 12 hours a day in local market-oriented enterprises. (Table 5, p. 26)

• PAID PRODUCTION WORKERS

There are 1,624 full-time production workers in the study. Large enterprises have from 44-640 such workers, and small and medium enterprises have 7-34. Ninety-one percent of the full-time workers are 18 years old and above, 3% are 15-17, and 6% are below 15. About 30% are males. (Table 6, p. 26). These workers are employed as sewers, trimmers, bundlers, line leaders, button holers, button attachers, quality controllers, finishers, packers, revisers, and feeders.

SEWERS

There are 12 young workers (4 male and 2 female) who work as sewers. In export-oriented enterprises, 19.24% of the sewers are male. There are no male sewers in local market-oriented enterprises. Sewers work from 8-12 hours a day on piecework basis, with wages paid weekly. They earn from P300 - P500 a week during regular production periods, and P700-P800 a week on peak periods.

TRIMMERS

Trimmers are 25 years old or younger. There is only one male trimmer reported, in the age bracket 15-17 years old. Trimmers work from 8-10 hours a day in export-oriented enterprises and have a weekly rate of P230 - P400. In local market-oriented enterprises, they work 10 -12 hours a day at P800 - P1,000 a month.

QUALITY CONTROLLERS

There are three young workers (ages 18 years and above) who are employed as quality controllers. They work from 8-9 hours a day on piece rate. Weekly average pay is P510 (for those 18-25 years old), and P780 (for those 25 and above).

FINISHERS

There is only one finisher, male, in the age bracket 18-25.

PACKERS

There is no packer younger than 18, and 70% of them are female in the 25 and above age bracket. They work from 8-9 hours a day in export-oriented enterprises. Paid on piecework, they earn an average of P540 per week.

REVISERS

There is only one female reviser (bracket 25 years old and above). She works 8-9 hours a day and receives P500 a week.

FEEDERS

The two feeders are male, between 18-25 years old, working eight hours a day and receiving P300 - P500 a week.

BUNDLERS

There are no child workers among bundlers. Of the five bundlers, three are male. Bundlers work 8-9 hours a day, with a weekly rate of P540.

TABLE 5

Number of workers and employment status

ENTERPRISES	PRODUCTION WORKERS	SERVICE WORKERS		MANAGERIAL WORKERS	
	FULL-TIME	FULL-TIME	PART-TIME	FULL-TIME	PART-TIME
EXPORT-ORIENTED					
ELNORA	270	22	1	6	none
RONA	44	2	1	1	none
JAY	119	3	none	3	1
LAURA	44	3	1	2	2
MAGGY	33	none	none	1	none
RAY	48	none	none	1	none
JAKE	34	none	none	none	none
STAR	9	none	none	none	none
VINNY	640	22	none	64	none
CHARLES	146	1	none	2	none
ANITA	9	1	1	2	none
EMMA	55	none	none	2	none
LOCAL MARKET-ORIENTED					
ABE	23	none	none	1	none
SUZY	12	none	none	none	none
JOMAR	7	none	none	none	none

TABLE 6

Age distribution of full-time production workers

ENTERPRISES	WORKERS (BY AGE RANGE)		
	18+	15-17	BELOW 15
EXPORT-ORIENTED			
ELNORA	270	none	5
RONA	44	none	20
JAY	109	9	12
LAURA	44	none	5
MAGGY	33	none	20
RAY	48	none	20
JAKE	29	2	3
STAR	7	1	1
VINNY	640	none	none
CHARLES	130	16	none
ANITA	47	8	none
EMMA	47	8	none
LOCAL MARKET-ORIENTED			
ABE	15	6	2
SUZY	11	none	1
JOMAR	5	1	5

NOTE

All production workers are full-time workers paid on a regular basis or on piece rate

TABLE 7

Number of child workers interviewed, gender, age, and activity

ENTERPRISE	NO. OF CHILD WORKERS INTERVIEWED	GENDER		AGE RANGE	ACTIVITY
		FEMALE	MALE		
EXPORT-ORIENTED					
ELNORA	4	4	0	12-14	trimming
RONA	14	9	5	8-13	trimming
JAY	5	5	0	12-14	trimming
LAURA	5	5	0	12-14	trimming
MAGGY	7	5	2	10-13	trimming, attaching buttons
RAY	4	0	4	9-13	attaching buttons
JAKE	none	none	none	none	none
STAR	1	1	0	13	trimming
LOCAL MARKET-ORIENTED					
ABE	1	1	0	14	trimming
SUZY	1	1	0	15	trimming
JOMAR	3	3	0	13-14	trimming

TABLE 8

Number of unpaid enterprise workers by age, gender, and identification

ENTERPRISE	NO. OF UNPAID WORKERS	AGE RANGE	GENDER		IDENTIFICATION
			FEMALE	MALE	
EXPORT-ORIENTED					
ELNORA	5	25+	2	3	2 owners, 3 kins
RONA	4	25+	2	2	owners
JAY	3	13-14	1	none	kins
		25+	1	1	kins
LAURA	4	18-25	none	2	kins
		25+	1	1	owners
MAGGY	2	25+	1	1	owners
RAY	2	25+	1	1	owners
JAKE	2	25+	1	1	kins
STAR	2	25+	2	none	kins
VINNY	2	25+	none	2	kins
CHARLES	1	25+	1	none	kins
ANITA	2	25+	3	1	kins
EMMA	2	25+	1	1	kins
LOCAL MARKET-ORIENTED					
ABE	2	15-27	none	1	owners
SUZY	3	25+	1	2	owners
JOMAR	2	25+	1	1	owners

BUTTON HOLERS

Button holers are male, above 18. They work from 8-9 hours a day and receive P540 - P930 a week.

BUTTON ATTACHERS

One button attacher is younger than 18 years old. Of the total, 62.5% are male. In local market-oriented enterprises, button attachers work from 8-12 hours a day on piecework. Average weekly pay is P300 - P500 a week. Among those paid monthly, the 15-17 year olds get P800 and the 18-25 year olds get P1,200. In export-oriented enterprises, button attachers work from 8-10 hours a day, with average weekly pay of P200 - P800 computed on piece rate basis.

• PAID SERVICE WORKERS

MANAGERIAL WORKERS

A total of 87 full-time managerial employees are employed in nine enterprises. For purposes of this study, *managerial* positions refer to such *confidential* employees as supervisors, accountants, personnel managers, secretaries, and payroll clerks. Some 87% of them are female, ages 18 years old and above. Managerial employees earn from P840 - P900 a week for 8 hours of work a day; or P4,000 a month for 8-10 hours of work a day. Accountants earn P4,200 a month for 8-9 hours of work a day; clerks P540 - P828 a week for 8-9 hours a day; and secretaries P600 a week for 8 - 9 hours of work a day.

RANK-AND-FILE SERVICE WORKERS

There are 54 full-time service workers employed as mechanics, electricians, guards, janitors, utility persons, warehouse personnel, and drivers. Of the total, 64.5% are female, 18 years old and above. Only the large export-oriented enterprises hire child workers for this line of work. Mechanics and electricians earn P930 - P960 a week or P3,200 a month for 8-9 hours of work a day. Guards earn P3,000 a month for 8-9 hours of work a day; janitors get P460 - P826 a week for 8 -10 hours a day; warehouse personnel have P840 a week for 8 hours of daily work; and drivers receive P840 a week for 8-10 hours of daily work.

PART-TIME WORKERS

Only 4% of the total number of workers across enterprises are part-time. They are employed as bookkeepers, mechanics, and accountants. Sixty percent of them are males. Large enterprises hire part-time workers except. Only one small enterprise (with no child workers in its employ) has part-time employees. Bookkeepers earn P500 a week for a total of 16 hours of work, or P1,000 a month for one session a week. Mechanics earn P420 a week for 8 hours of work; accountants get P1,500 working on the tax records of the enterprise; and electricians receive P180 a day for 8-9 hours of work, at an average of three working days a week.

UNPAID WORKERS

There are a total of 45 unpaid workers reported in the 15 enterprises. They are either owners of the enterprise or family members. Majority are 25 years old and above. Only JAY has unpaid workers below 15 years old. Of the total, 51.11% are males (Table 8, p.27).

PROFILE OF CHILD WORKERS

• NUMBER OF CHILD WORKERS

A total of 144 child workers are employed by 18 enterprises. Four of these enterprises hire children and young workers ranging from 12-20 years old. Eleven hire from 1-5 children. Sixty-five percent of children and young workers are female.

Fifteen enterprises were chosen for interview. Out of the 15, 10 enterprises hire child labour. The estimated number of child workers employed by each enterprise in 1995 ranges from 1-20. The 10 enterprises have hired about 101 child workers during the said year (Table 1, p.22). Forty-five respondents were chosen from the 101 child workers, and their households were likewise selected for interview.

• AGE AND GENDER OF CHILD WORKERS

Age range is from 8-15 years old. Thirty-four (75.55%) are female and 11 (24.44%) are male. Nine (20%) are below 12 years old, and 36 (80%) are from 12-14 years old. Export-oriented enterprises employ 88.88% of the child workers interviewed, while local market-oriented enterprises hire 11.11%.

There are no child workers younger than 12 years old in local market-oriented enterprises; all of their child workers are female. In export-oriented enterprises, 29 are female and 11 are male. Nine are below 12 years old, while 31 are from 12-14 years old. Only the Binangonan-based export-oriented enterprises (RONA, MAGGY, and RAY) hire child workers younger than 12 (Tables 5, p.26 and 10, p.30).

• TYPE OF WORK

The child workers interviewed for the study work as trimmers and button attachers. Trimming is a common task assigned to child workers by 9 out of 10 enterprises. One enterprise also assigns children in button attaching, while one limits children to pure button attaching. Male and female child workers perform either of the two tasks (Table 8, p.27 and 9, p.30).

• SCHEDULE OF WORK

Among export-oriented enterprises, RONA, JAY, LAURA, RAY, and STAR hire children to work during the school summer vacation, that is, from April-May. ELNORA has children working every day, after school and during weekends. MAGGY employs them every day, after school, on weekends, and during the summer break.

Among local market-oriented enterprises, ABE and SUZY hire children on stay-in basis, and sources say that the children are also made to work as domestic help of their employers. JOMAR has child workers reporting every day, after school, and on weekends. During peak seasons and rush periods, JOMAR hires them on semi stay-in basis (that is, the child stays overnight at the workplace).

In summary, in 1995, 90.48% of child workers have been hired during vacations or during school summer intervals; 4.76% on a daily basis as stay-in workers; 2.38% daily, after school, and on weekends; and 2.38% during the school summer vacation, after school hours, and during weekends (Table 1, p.22).

• WAGES

Wages are paid on piece rate, averaging ₱10 - ₱29 a day.

For a day's work, 27.5% receive wages between ₱10 and ₱15; 22.5% with ₱26 and ₱30; and 12.5% between ₱20 and ₱25. The highest wage of ₱50 a day is received by a male worker age 12. No child below 11 years old gets more than ₱24 a day. The 12 and 14 year-olds (except the one who receives ₱50) are paid from ₱5 - ₱44; 13-year-olds from ₱10 - ₱44 (Tables 10 and 11, p.30).

Except JAKE, all enterprises pay child workers in cash. The child in JAKE's employ is working in her mother's stead. The mother is a former employee who fell ill and was not able to work to repay the cash advances she took from JAKE. Thus the daughter has been obligated or "bonded" to pay her mother's debts. EMMA, an export-oriented enterprise, is similarly reported to have one child worker on a stay-in "bonded" arrangement.

• AVERAGE WAGE RATES, BY MARKET ORIENTATION

In 50% of the cases, payment is made directly to the child worker; 37.78%, given to the mother; and in 7.7%, given to the grandmother.

Most child workers (56.8%) keep their wages for themselves. Of this number, 40.9% use the money for school expenses, household needs, food, clothing, and leisure; 22.73% for school expenses; and 18.18% for food. According to household heads, 56.82% of the children's wages are spent for the children's personal needs, while 25%, on household expenses.

Eight enterprises give a uniform piece rate to children and young workers. Those who pay children less explain that they do so because children have less skills and experience.

TABLE 9

Age and gender distribution of child workers

AGE RANGE	EXPORT-ORIENTED ENTERPRISES		LOCAL MARKET-ORIENTED ENTERPRISES	
	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE
below 12	5	4	none	none
12-14	24	7	5	none

TABLE 10

Daily income of child workers

AGE	INCOME (in pesos)
below 11 years	24 and below
12 years	5 - 50
13 years	10 - 44
14-15 years	5 - 39

TABLE 11

Average wage by market orientation

ENTERPRISE	AVERAGE WAGE (in pesos)
EXPORT-ORIENTED	
MAGGY	10
RONA	12 - 15
RAY	12 - 15
JAY	12 - 15
ELNORA	22 - 26
STAR	22 - 26
LAURA	22 - 26
LOCAL MARKET-ORIENTED	
SUZY	22 - 26
ABE	31 - 38
OMA	31 - 38

TABLE 12

Number of child workers, percentage of child workers to total paid production workers in 1995

ENTERPRISE	NO. OF REPORTED, OBSERVED CHILD WORKERS	NO. OF PAID PRODUCTION WORKERS	PERCENTAGE OF CHILD WORKERS
EXPORT-ORIENTED			
ELNORA	5	275	1.85
RONA	20	64	31.25%
JAY	12	130	9.3%
LAURA	5	52	9.6%
MAGGY	20	53	37.7%
RAY	20	47	42.55%
JAKE	3	25	13.6%
STAR	1	9	11.19%
EMMA	no data available	55	no data available
LOCAL MARKET-ORIENTED			
ABE	2	23	8.7%
SUZY	1	12	8.3%
JOMAR	5	11	45.5%

TABLE 13
Age of household members

HOUSEHOLD MEMBER	AGE RANGE	PERCENTAGE
Children	21-29	8.88
	15-19	20
	14 - below	71.11
Father	50-64	18.41
	30-49	76.26
	20-29	5.26
Mother	50-64	9.31
	30-49	86.05
	25-29	4.65

TABLE 14
Education of child workers and their parents

HOUSEHOLD MEMBER	ELEMENTARY	HIGH SCHOOL	COLLEGE	VOCATIONAL
Children	55.82% graduate	18.61% 2nd-3rd year	-	-
	25.58% grades 2-5	-	-	-
Father	44.74% graduate	36.84% graduate	10.53% graduate	2.63% -
	-	-	5.26% undergraduate	-
Mother	53.49% graduate	30.23% graduate	4.65% graduate	2.33% -
	-	-	9.3% undergraduate	-

TABLE 15
Characteristics of households of child workers

CHARACTERISTICS	AVERAGE	MINIMUM	MAXIMUM
Size of household	6	3	9
Number of siblings	3	none	6
Average age of siblings	12 years	-	28
Father's age	43 years	20 years	63 years
Mother's age	40 years	27 years	52 years
Father's monthly income	P 6, 367	P 1,000	P 26,000
Mother's monthly income	P 3,725	P 300	P 17,000

• HOURS OF WORK

About 31% of the children work 8-9 hours a day; 17.24% for 10-11 hours; 17.24% for 5-6 hours; 13.79% for 7-8 hours; 6.9% for 6-7 hours; and 3.45% for 14-15 hours. Those in export-oriented enterprises work for an average of 4-10 hours; while those in local market-oriented enterprises, an average of 7-14 hours or more. The stay-in workers at ABE also work as domestic help but without additional pay.

• REST PERIODS

Child workers can rest any time, so say 32.26% of them; 22.58% claim they only have a lunch break; 12.9% say they have rest periods in the mornings and afternoons, and during lunch break; 9.68% have rest periods in the mornings and afternoons; 9.68% have afternoon snack break only; and 9.68% have two breaks.

• CHILD LABOUR UTILISATION

Child labour utilisation ratio refers to the ratio of total number of child workers to total number of employees per enterprise. Child labour utilisation ratio ranges from a high of 45.5% to a low of 1.8%.

Of the four large enterprises operating for export, ELNORA (based in Angono), and JAY and LAURA (based in Taytay), have the lowest child labour ratio of 1.8%, 9.23% and 9.6% respectively. ABE (large) and SUZY (medium), based in Angono and Cainta respectively and catering to the local market, have lower child labour utilisation ratios at 8.7% for ABE and 8.4% for SUZY. The two small enterprises for export, JAKE in Binangonan and STAR in Angono, have a child labour utilisation of 13.6% and 11.1% respectively. (STAR is a subcontractee of a large enterprise by the same name.) RONA, a large export-oriented enterprise in Binangonan, has the third highest ratio at 31.25%. MAGGY and RAY, the two medium-sized enterprises in Binangonan, have the highest child labour utilisation ratio among export-oriented enterprises at 37.7% and 42.55% respectively. Taytay-based JOMAR, small and producing for the local market, has the highest child labour ratio at 45.5% (Table 12, p.30).

Medium and small enterprises apparently have the highest child labour utilisation ratios. Furthermore enterprises in Taytay and Binangonan, compared with those in Angono, Cainta, and Pasig, have higher ratios of child workers to total production workers. (Table 12, p.30).

• EDUCATION

SCHOOL

Of the total number of child worker respondents, 71.43% are or were enrolled in public schools and 28.57% in private schools.

ENROLMENT STATUS AND GRADE LEVEL

There are 95.56% child workers currently enrolled, while two (4.44%) are not studying and are working stay-in instead. Those in first and second year high school constitute 44.19%; those in grade 6, 27.91%; and those in grades 2-4, 11.93%.

SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

In terms of grades, 60.47% got grades of from 80 - 84%; 23.26% from 75 - 79%; 13.95% of from 85 - 89%; and 2.33% of from 90 - 94%—all relatively above average ratings.

PERCEIVED DIFFICULTIES IN SCHOOLING

Asked about their problems in school, 36.36% of the child workers say that they have difficulties in their academics; 15.91% say they lack money for books and project materials; and 13.64% say they have peer problems.

SCHOOL INTERRUPTIONS

Most child workers (82.22%) have never dropped out of school. The rest dropped out 1- 4 times while at grade levels 1, 2, 4 and 6.

TARDINESS

A little over half (54.76%) claim that they have never been tardy in school; 30.95% are rarely tardy or were tardy just once; and 14.28% have been tardy 2-5 times or more. Reasons for tardiness include: waking up late (26.19%); no clothes ready; food not prepared, and no identification card (9.52%); waited for friends (4.76%); difficulty in getting a ride to school (2.38%); and need to help in household chores (2.38%).

ABSENCES

A total of 37.21% working children have never been absent in school; 39.53% were absent just once; 11.63% have been absent 2-3 times; and 11.63% have been absent 4 or more times. Reasons for absences include: illness (37.21%); to keep house and take care of ailing family member (13.96%); waking up late (6.98%); needed to finish trimming at the workplace (2.33%); no pocket money for snacks in school (2.33%). In all cases, the schools are no farther than 3,500 meters from the children's homes.

ASPIRATIONS

Eighty-nine percent dream of becoming professionals; 11% have lower aspirations. One wants to be a sewer.

PROFILE OF CHILD WORKERS' HOUSEHOLDS

Ninety-one percent of child workers are Tagalog speakers, all born in Rizal, while 9% were born in the Visayas, and speak both Tagalog and Visayan.

• COMPOSITION

The child workers' household members (45 of them) living in the towns of Taytay, Cainta, Angono, and Binangonan were also interviewed. The average household size is 6. Out of 45 households, 82.3% have both parents living with them, while eight households have neither parent or just one parent living with them. There are brothers and sisters in 84.44% of the households; other members such as grandparents live in 8.89% of the households; and brother/sisters-in-law in 2.22% of the households.

Seven households have more than one child worker. They are broken down as follows: two households have 3 child workers each; five households with 2 child workers each. Child workers who live with one or both parents comprise 91.12% of all respondents. Those who live with their grandparents comprise 4.44%; and those living with their employers, 4.4%.

• AGE PROFILE

Fathers between 30-49 years old constitute 76.26% of total number of respondent fathers; 50-64 year-olds, 18.41%; and 20-29 year-olds, 5.26%. Mothers between 30-49 years old constitute 86.05% of total number of respondent mothers; 50-54 year-olds, 9.31%; and 25-29 year-olds, 4.65%. Among the children, 71.11% are between the ages of 3 and 14 years old; 20% between 15 and 19 years old; and 8.88% are above 20 but below 30 years of age. The average age of children in the households is 12 years. On the whole, parents are relatively young (below 40), and their children mostly 14 year olds or younger (Table 13, p.31).

• EDUCATIONAL PROFILE

All fathers finished elementary grades. High school graduates constitute 36.84%. Some of them (2.63%) underwent some vocational training. Similarly, all mothers finished elementary: 30.23% of them are high school graduates and 4.65% are college graduates. Some mothers (9.30%) have some college undergraduate courses; and 2.33%, some vocational training. Among the children, 25.58% are in elementary; 5.88% have graduated from elementary; 18.61% are in high school; 10.53% have graduated from college; and 5.26% have taken or are taking college courses (Table 14, p.31).

• OCCUPATION

Fathers are employed in the following lines of work: construction (32.4%); services such as driving (29.7%); manufacturing, for example, cabinet making, welding, making upholstery, handicrafts production, and blacksmith work (21.62%); selling scraps, market vending, and other forms of self-employed trade (10.8%); and transportation, for example, as seamen and taxi drivers (5.4%).

Mothers are engaged in the following activities: garment production (40.9%); pure household chores (25%); industrial homework and vending (18.2%); and services, for example, as laundresses, domestic help, and chambermaids overseas (15.9%).

• INCOME

Average monthly income among fathers is ₱6,367 (from a minimum of ₱1,000 to a maximum of ₱26,000). College graduates earn from ₱3,000 - ₱26,000 a month; those with some college education earn ₱3,000 - ₱13,000; high school graduates earn from ₱6,500 - ₱12,200; those with elementary education earn ₱1,200 - ₱10,800; and those with vocational training earn ₱15,600.

Average monthly income among mothers is ₱3,725 (with a minimum of ₱300 and a maximum of ₱17,000). College graduates earn from ₱3,000 - ₱11,000; those with some college education earn ₱1,000 - ₱7,000; high school graduates earn from ₱300 - ₱10,000; and those with elementary education earn from ₱500 - ₱6,428. Mothers who are engaged in sewing earn from ₱2,000 - ₱4,000 a month. Those engaged in trimming/making smockings earned from ₱500 - ₱1,600 a month (Table 15).

Total monthly household income is set at ₱3000 - ₱8,000 for 46.66% of the households; below ₱3,000 for 26.66%; ₱20,000 - ₱38,525 for 13.33%; above ₱10,000 but below ₱20,000 for 6.66%; and ₱8,000 but below ₱10,000 for 6.66% of the households.

The highest monthly income is ₱38,525, reported by an overseas contract worker; the lowest is ₱839 earned by a female garment worker.

Nineteen households (42.2%) are involved in one way or another in the garments industry, usually through mothers who work as sewers. Monthly income of "sewer-households" ranges from a low of ₱839 to a high of ₱20,100, with 15.79% earning below ₱2,000; 31.574% households with ₱2,145 - ₱5,000; 36.84% have ₱5,020 - ₱8,515; and 15.79% with ₱9,000 and above. Households earning above ₱9,000 have income from garment-related work and from the father's occupation as company drivers, overseas contract workers, mason, and helpers.

Three of the households with the lowest income of ₱839 - ₱1,900 have either no father living with them or no parents altogether, with only one or two grandparents as household heads.

Most mothers who work regularly in garment enterprises belong to households with monthly income of ₱4,647 and above. Mothers earning less than this amount are found among homebased garment workers, single parents, or those with husbands working part-time as taxi drivers, carpenters, hollow block makers, or blacksmiths.

The child workers' income represents from .04% - 42% of household income. For most, it is not a significant contribution, but for some 26% of the households—the poorer ones with income way below the poverty threshold of ₱8,000 for a family of five—it is significant. Two children belonging to such households are stay-ins in the enterprises; two work regularly after school, on weekends, and during Christmas and summer vacations. About seven children work at RONA during school intervals and weekends. During the peak season, these children often work overnight.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

Following are data gathered from key informants on the employment, underemployment, and income of households in the communities.

ANGONO

Of the total number of households, 11.11% are located in Angono. The key informants gave the following profile:

1. Older men are factory workers, office workers, agricultural workers, overseas contract workers, and soldiers.
2. Younger men are factory workers, agricultural workers, drivers, handicraft painters, pedicab drivers, fishermen, and trimmers.
3. Older women are sewers, vendors, laundresses, factory workers, and office workers.
4. Younger women are sewers, trimmers, salesladies in Manila, overseas domestic help, and dancers in Japan.
5. Female children work as trimmers, smocking makers, workers in assembly lines for Christmas lights, sewers, sanders of figurines, vendors, domestic help, and laundresses on weekends.
6. Male children work as sanders of figurines; pedicab drivers; helpers; trimmers; construction help; fisherfolk; vendors of bread, newspapers, and cigarettes; handicraft painters; and factory workers.

TAYTAY

Of the total number of households, 20% are located in Taytay.

Key informants composed of a teacher, health worker, and *barangay tanod* (community guards) gave the following profile:

1. Older men are carpenters, helpers, construction workers, masons, plumbers, tricycle drivers, and security guards; sash factory workers; real estate representatives; sellers of machines and garments; dealers of scraps; sewers of rags; fishermen; and fish vendors.
2. Younger men work in factories; join their fathers in construction; work in fastfood chains as waiters, scavengers, and water fetchers; engage in fishing; and sell rags.
3. Older women are sewers, embroiderers, laundresses, vendors, Avon cosmetic product dealers, and overseas domestic help.
4. Younger women work in nearby factories; sell rags, vegetables and bread; and work in fastfood chains as waitresses.
5. Female children are vendors of rice cakes, garlic, and bread; trimmers; hem stitchers; button attachers; machine sewers; domestic help; and rug makers.
6. Male children join their fathers in construction.

BINANGONAN

Of the total number of households, 57.78% are found in Binangonan.

Key informants composed of a social worker, teacher, health worker, lay church worker, barangay captain, and president of a nongovernment organisation gave the following profile:

1. Older men are factory workers, carpenters, welders, office employees, fishermen, agricultural workers, jeepney and tricycle drivers, and businessmen.
2. Younger men are fishermen, agricultural workers, barbecue stick makers, painters, pedicab drivers, and overseas contract workers.

3. Older women are sewers, homebased embroiderers, harvesters of corn and vegetables, fish vendors, office employees, teachers, and storekeepers.
4. Younger women work as domestic help (local and overseas), laundresses, fish vendors, entertainers in Japan, and salesladies.
5. Younger men are overseas workers in Saudi Arabia and workers without valid working visas in the US.
6. Female children are sewers, trimmers, smocking makers, embroiderers, and vendors.
7. Male children are fishermen, construction workers, painters of handicraft, pedicab drivers, and trimmers.

From the responses of the key informants, it seems common for people in the communities to borrow money from friends, relatives, ethnic Indian usurers (called *Bombay*), stores, and employers; less often from rural banks, local credit scheme (*paluwagan*), private financiers, local officials, and cooperatives. They borrow money for basic needs such as food, clothes, and appliances. For other problems, people approach the barangay captain and the town mayor.

Key informants agree that unemployment is high, and that the few jobs available usually go to adult men. Most jobs are seasonal. Women rarely get employed, their work is usually homebased (as garment workers or vendors). They also do most of the housework, together with their children, female children in particular. They are always busy, unlike men who after work are free to rest at home. The ones who get work easily are the young teenage girls who become domestic helpers, salesladies, and dancers in Japan.

• **REASONS FOR ALLOWING CHILDREN TO WORK**

Based on household interviews, 44.44% of household heads say that they allow their children to work so that the children could augment the low income the family has; 42.22% say work is good training, a stepping stone to getting higher wages later on; and 13.33% say children work because work brings in pocket money, out of curiosity, out of a desire to work, and because of peer influence.

• **LOW FAMILY INCOME**

Key informants say that the income of child workers are spent for the following:

1. basic needs, for example, for the siblings' school fees
2. food and other household expenses
3. the children's personal needs

One key informant believes that if children do not work, their family will go hungry.

The Barangay Captain and teacher in Binangonan report that 20% of the population are unemployed, thus, child labour is a big help in paying debts, paying for tuition fees, and buying the children's personal needs. The lay church worker in Binangonan observes that the nearby lake used to be abundant and was sufficient source of income for fisherfolk. Now that the lake is polluted, fishing has not been a lucrative form of livelihood. Children have had to work so the family could survive.

• **MIGRATION**

The Barangay Captain in Taytay observes that migrant communities have high incidence of unemployment, and there are more child workers found among them. The social worker in Taytay says that most of the unemployed are those who have low educational attainment and skills training, and do not know the right people who can help them. Most of them are migrants.

The teacher informant in Taytay notes that child labour has been rampant for many years now, but particularly in the 1960s -70s, when she herself was a child worker in garments production.

• **EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN GARMENT ENTERPRISES**

At the municipal level, the opinions regarding the incidence of child labour are varied. In Taytay informants say that parents introduce children to the garments industry, as there are many garment factories in Taytay and garments work is easy to learn. The garments industry provides 30-40% of employment opportunities in the community. The demand creates the supply of child labour.

Informants say Binangonan is *not* a garments-producing area. Although provincial statistics in 1994 show that there are 61 garment firms in Binangonan (*Profile of Binangonan* 1994), only 10% of the population work there and the rest seek work outside the municipality. Informants attribute the presence of child labour to lack of local employment for adults and low income levels.

Similarly, in Angono, a member of the subdivision advisory council says that there are many child workers because there is poverty, especially among the migrant squatter communities near factories that produce handicraft and garments for export. A member of the clergy qualifies that child labour is not widespread, and exists only in areas where there are handicraft and garment factories operating for export.

At the provincial level, opinions on child labour incidence are likewise varied. A member of the Garments Subcontractors' Association of Rizal observes that child labour is not widespread in Rizal, and exists only near factories producing garments, woodwork, and handicraft. Another informant says that poverty pushes children to work, particularly in the garments industry. However, a provincial planning and development coordinator observes that there are more child workers in scavenging, vending, and other services than in garments production.

• **SOCIALISATION**

Informants say that no special training is given to child workers at home, confirming findings of previous studies that training on garments production starts during socialisation among children, especially among girls. In enterprises, other than on-the-job training, there is no formal training provided.

• **SCHOOLING AND TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES**

There are elementary schools in the communities. With the exception of two stay-in child workers, all the child workers interviewed are enrolled in school.

In Taytay out-of-school youth constitute 16.5% of all children of school age for the elementary level and 35.5% for the high school level. Based on the 1994 Socio-Economic Profile of Rizal, most out-of-school children (elementary level) are found in the squatter communities or depressed areas where "accessibility to schools is more of a reason [for] being out of school".

• **LOW PAY FOR UNSKILLED LABOUR**

Several employers mention the need for skills training in the communities as a way to curb child labour. Skilled adult sewers go abroad to work (in Hong Kong, Malaysia, and even as far as Nicaragua), leaving behind the less skilled and slower sewers—those who need training.

They also cite the problem of "finishing" processes which no adult worker wants to accept because of low compensation. One enterprise notes that the industry in 1980 mechanised the monotonous process of hemming and button holing. However, no such mechanisation has been applied to trimming and button attaching—finishing processes that are usually assigned to child workers.

Hemming and button holing—jobs usually assigned to child workers—have become mechanised. Small factories now pay large factories for the use of machines to hem and button hole. These two tasks are no longer assigned to child workers, as seen on the present survey, but they were in previous studies, for example, in Del Rosario 1987 and 1991.

CHILD LABOUR RECRUITMENT

• **INFORMATION FROM EMPLOYERS**

Child workers are recruited through their relatives, say 47.36% of the employers; through spot recruitment, 10.52%; through a training institution, 10.52%; through referrals from adult sewers, 10.52%; through the child's mother, 5%; through a recruiter, 5% (JAKE); and through labour contractors, 5%.

Employers recruit children because:

- children do well at work and are better than adults in trimming
- they have flexible working hours and do not require overtime pay
- they are docile and easy to supervise
- they accept lower wages and produce more than adults
- they command less cost because they do not enjoy such benefits as paid leaves and social security, and they are not covered by wage increases
- employers can always hire them when no adult worker wants to take the job available on account of low wages
- they are easy to lay off and pose no resistance
- they have more stamina and do not get tired easily
- they are clean and neat.

Many employers quip: we hire child workers so we can help their parents.

Most enterprises say that they are satisfied with the performance of child workers, except JAKE who complains that child workers are undisciplined, unproductive, prone to tardiness, and lazy; they require close supervision and are not appropriately skilled. In particular JAKE says that female child workers lack dedication, concentration, and organisation.

• **INFORMATION FROM CHILD WORKERS**

Of the total number of child worker respondents, 26.66% say they were recruited through friends and classmates; 24.44% through relatives; 24.44% through neighbours; 15.55% through their mothers; 4% through their sisters; and 4% say they applied by themselves.

• **INFORMATION FROM HOUSEHOLDS**

A total of 55.56% of household heads say child workers are recruited by townmates, friends and neighbours; 28.89% through the children's mothers, fathers, or sisters; 13.33% through other relatives; and 2.22% through co-workers.

• **INFORMATION FROM KEY INFORMANTS**

According to key informants, the following enterprises hire children:

- small employers who want to save on cost of production
- employers who produce for garments and handicraft for export. In Taytay, employers hire child labour for trimming; in Angono, for painting handicraft
- construction firms
- employers who are distant relatives of the child workers, or foreigners such as Koreans, Taiwanese, Indians, and Japanese.

The reasons for hiring children are:

- children are cost effective; they accept low wages, agree to trim and attach buttons in exchange for little pay, and do not have to be given social security
- they work faster, learn more easily, are docile, and are not demanding
- they have adequate skills in garments "finishing" such as trimming and button holing
- they contribute to the pool of employable labour.

Analysis

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TRENDS IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILD LABOUR

Employers realise the benefits of employing child labour. Except JAKE, employers who hire child workers admit that child labour helps them cut costs. As JAY notes, six child workers are equivalent to ten adult workers in finishing.

Employers hire child workers depending on the possibilities and constraints faced by their enterprise. JAY minimised child labour recruitment in 1996 (compared to 1995), because of buyer pressure on quality control. LAURA decreased the number of child workers in the Taytay factory and has moved its operations to Morong, Rizal where labour is cheaper.

Workers, both adult and children, who work at MAGGY in Binangonan, observe that there are more child workers in the summer of 1996 than there were the previous year.

JAY, LAURA, FRANNY (in Taytay), and EMMA (in Cainta) say they no longer hire child workers or have reduced the number of child workers in their employ. LAURA and EMMA will however continue hiring children if they can and in other places.

The future trend to use child labour seems to depend on the location and on the cost of labour available in the area. This also seems to depend on constraints imposed by buyers (strict quality control), and on experiences relating to the implementation of laws against the employment of children.

However, what employers say may not be what they actually do. JAY says that it has decided to hire fewer child workers, and that luckily, there are more adults

available and willing to do finishing jobs in the summer of 1996. Could this have been a result of the layoffs in the garments industry following a decrease in orders? Indeed JAY is aware of at least 20 enterprises that have closed down for the last two years. Most of these enterprises hired workers on a daily basis, rather than on a piece rate basis, and therefore, were hard put to stay afloat. To remain in operation, JAY reduces its workforce by 50%.

Does this mean that with the number of unemployed increasing, adult workers will be more willing and available to do finishing jobs, and if so, will they eventually replace child workers in finishing? This will be an area for further research.

Global competition has affected the kind of orders placed by foreign buyers in the Philippines. Cheaper labour for garments production in India, China and Vietnam has increased competition. Many former buyers no longer place orders. This has led to closures, cutdowns, layoffs, transfers, and new work arrangements in the garments industry.

Enterprises like RONA and MAGGY which are in communities with readily available cheap labour, will correspondingly accept cheaper contracts and will likely continue to employ child labour; while those like JAY, who prefer to "play it safe," will decrease their child labour utilisation, believing as they do that this is one move to ensure product quality.

Granting that there is a trend to rationalise operations and stop hiring child labour, evidence still indicate that child labour will not disappear and will in fact continue, perhaps in homebased work arrangements where wages are lower; or, child labour will spread to more exploitative and hazardous tasks, for example, tin craft (LAURA's case).

ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF CHILD LABOUR TO EMPLOYERS

• EFFECTS OF ELIMINATING CHILD LABOUR

The two largest enterprises say that if they were forced to stop hiring child workers, production cost will increase. Another large enterprise says that replacing child workers would be difficult, as children do well as trimmers. Four enterprises say that refraining from hiring child labour will have no adverse effect on them. One says that children are expendable.

Employers suggest the following as means to eliminate child labour:

1. raise wage rates for trimming so adults will be enticed to take the job
2. make trimming a part of the adult's job process (already done by several enterprises)
3. refuse orders that require trimming and button attaching (already practiced by several enterprises)

CASE ANALYSES: EFFECT OF CHILD LABOUR ELIMINATION ON PROFIT

In order to assess the effects of a stop in hiring child labour, the financial statements of three enterprises were examined. (Case Analysis A, B, C, and D and Tables 5 and 6). The study finds that despite the reduction in profit due to the replacement of child workers with adult workers (2% reduction for JAY; 6.5% for LAURA; and 7.3% for RONA, all large-scale, export-oriented; and 2.2% for ABE, large-scale, local market), the enterprises could very well afford not to hire child workers.

• LAURA: EXPORT-ORIENTED

Sales	<u>₱4,000,000</u>
Expenses	
Raw materials	2,025,000
Repairs	90,000
Overhead	596,000
Depreciation	450,000
Labour cost (52 adults and 5 child workers)	675,000
Gross Profit	<u>₱3,386,000</u>
(Sales-Expenses)	664,000
Reduction in labour cost of child workers at a maximum of ₱30/day, assuming children work daily for 3 months during summer	3,500
Labour cost of 3 adults, assuming they are equivalent to the cost of 5 children	39,150
Net increase in labour	25,650
Gross income will fall by ₱25,650 (or 4% of gross profit). This is not a significant decrease in profit.	
Conclusion: LAURA can afford to stop hiring child workers.	

• ABE: LOCAL MARKET-ORIENTED

Sales	<u>₱3,250,000</u>
Expenses	
Raw materials	966,900
Overhead	263,700
Depreciation	1,000
Other expenses	52,740
Labour cost (23 adults, 2 child workers)	210,960
Gross profit	<u>₱1,495,300</u>
(Sales-Expenses)	1,754,700
Reduction in labour cost of 2 stay-in child workers, at an average of ₱1,000/month, children work daily for 7 months	14,000
Labour cost of 2 adults, assuming they are equivalent to the cost of 2 children, at minimum wage of ₱145/day for 26 days/month, 7 months	52,780
Net increase in labour	38,780
Gross income will drop by ₱38,780 (or 2.2% of gross profit). This is not a significant decrease in profit.	
Conclusion: Abe can afford to stop hiring child workers.	

• **RONA: EXPORT-ORIENTED**

Sales	<u>₱33,808,000</u>
Expenses	
Raw materials	
Overhead	4,056,960
Depreciation	1,000
Other expenses	4,395,040
Labour cost (44 adults and 20 child workers)	18,584,400
Gross profit (Sales-Expenses)	<u>₱27,047,400</u> 6,760,600

Reduction in labour cost of 20 child workers, at a maximum of ₱30/day assuming children work daily for 3 months during summer

Labour cost of adults, assuming they are equivalent to the cost of 20 children, at a minimum wage of ₱145/day for 26 days, 12 months

Net increase in labour

Note: Labour cost in Binangonan is reportedly lower than in Taytay.

Gross income will fall by ₱496,080 (or 7.3% of gross profit). This is not a significant decrease in profit.

Conclusion: RONA can afford to stop hiring child workers.

• **JAY: EXPORT-ORIENTED**

Sales	<u>₱4,000,000</u>
Expenses (annual)	
Raw materials	324,000
Overhead cost	270,000
Depreciation	1,000
Utilities (gas)	21,000
Labour of 187 workers at ₱82,500 per week: 119 full-time garment workers, 12 child workers, 56 other home-based workers	2,970,000
Total	3,586,000
Gross profit (Sales-Expenses)	<u>₱3,586,000</u> 2,915,000
Reduction in labour cost of 12 child workers	58,300
As percent of gross profit	2%

Notes on JAY:

- Sales = value of production for 1995 (9 months)
- Depreciation cost is only ₱1,000 because as subcontractor, machinery/equipment are supplied by the contracting garment company (FRANNY)
- Labour cost is computed for nine months of operation. Wages are paid on piece rate basis.
- Child workers are paid ₱15 per piece for trimmers, the same as adults, according to the employer and owner of the enterprise. Employers say that the productivity of 6 children is equal to that of 10 adults. If the employer stops hiring children, profit will be reduced by 2%.

Conclusion: Jay can afford to stop hiring child workers.

COMPARISON OF WAGES BETWEEN ENTERPRISES WITH CHILD LABOUR AND THOSE WITHOUT CHILD LABOUR

A comparison of the wages paid by enterprises that employ child labour and those that do not shows that the latter pays higher by 11% - 19% for trimmers, and 21% - 28% for button attachers (Table 16, p.42).

Working hours are longer in enterprises with child labour than in those without child labour (Table 17, p.42).

COMPARISON OF PRODUCTIVITY

• **ENTERPRISES WITH CHILD LABOUR AND THOSE WITHOUT CHILD LABOUR**

Average productivity per worker is higher in enterprises with child labour (Table 18, p.42). It can be concluded that the employment of child workers is positively related to productivity, and that export-oriented enterprises with child workers have more than twice the productivity of those without child workers. There are, however, other factors to consider, such as type of work contracts (for example, daily wage and piece rate arrangements) and labour problems.

Enterprises that pay workers based on an agreed daily wage rather than per piece are more vulnerable to bankruptcy as reported by JAY. The workers' strike at VINNY had adverse effects on the enterprise's productivity.

• **EXPORT-ORIENTED AND LOCAL MARKET-ORIENTED ENTERPRISES**

Worker productivity is higher among local market-oriented enterprises. Children seem to be made to work more intensively in these enterprises. Large enterprises (both export and local) also make children work longer hours than medium and small enterprises (Table 21, p.43).

TABLE 16

Average daily wage in enterprises with and without child labour

WORKER	WITH CHILD LABOUR	WITHOUT CHILD LABOUR
Sewer	P 50 – 133	P 73 – 167
Trimmer	P 33 - 83	P 50 - 148

TABLE 17

Range of working hours in enterprises with and without child labour

WORK OPERATION	WITH CHILD LABOUR		WITHOUT CHILD LABOUR
	EXPORT	LOCAL	
SEWER	8 - 12	N.R.	8 - 10
TRIMMER	8 - 10	10 - 12	8

TABLE 18

Average productivity per worker ratio in enterprises with and without child labour

LARGE ENTERPRISE	MEDIUM AND SMALL ENTERPRISE		
WITH CHILD LABOUR			
EXPORT-ORIENTED			
RONA	344,980	MAGGY	31,187
ELNORA	82,461	STAR	28,850
LAURA	45,000	RAY	56,680
JAY	34,765		
AVERAGE	<u>126,861</u>	AVERAGE	<u>38,906</u>
LOCAL MARKET-ORIENTED			
		JOMAR	197,500
ABE	101,562	SUZY	197,357
		AVERAGE	<u>197,428</u>
WITHOUT CHILD LABOUR (ALL EXPORT-ORIENTED)			
VINNY	17,655	ANITA	23,545
EMMA	36,000	CHARLES	14,765
AVERAGE	<u>28,827</u>	AVERAGE	<u>19,155</u>

CONCLUSION

Employment of child workers is positively related to productivity. Export-oriented enterprises with child workers have more than twice the productivity of export-oriented without child workers

TABLE 19

work intensity of children and adult workers

• Average hours of work per day

ENTERPRISE	TRIMMERS		BUTTON ATTACHERS	
	YOUNG ADULT	CHILD	YOUNG ADULT	CHILD
EXPORT	8 - 10	7 - 10	8 - 10	5 - 10
LOCAL	10 - 12	10 - 14	8 - 12	none

• Average number of days per year

ENTERPRISE	TRIMMERS AND BUTTON ATTACHERS	
	YOUNG ADULT	CHILD
EXPORT	312 days/year	170 days/year
LOCAL	182 days/year	182 days/year

TABLE 20

Worker, capital, and productivity ratios

NOTES

- Capital to worker ratio =
Value of capital /
Number of regular workers
- Productivity to capital ratio =
Value of production /
Value of capital
- Productivity to worker ratio =
Value of production /
Number of workers

ENTERPRISE	CAPITAL TO WORKER RATIO (in pesos)	PRODUCTIVITY TO CAPITAL RATIO (in pesos)	PRODUCTIVITY TO WORKER RATIO (in pesos)	
			REGULAR	HOMEBASED
EXPORT-ORIENTED: WITH CHILD LABOUR				
ELNORA	47,855	1.84	87,904	82,461
RONA	89,706	5.54	497,176	344,980
JAY	36,496	1.30	47,452	34,765
LAURA	76,667	0.98	75,000	45,000
MAGGY	33,333	1.11	36,963	31,187
RAY	31,915	1.78	56,681	56,681
JAKE	14,400	91	13,040	7,244
STAR	5,455	9.62	64,111	32,055
EMMA		97	59,526	39,000
LOCAL MARKET-ORIENTED				
ABE	70,320	1.86	135,417	101,562
SUZY	39,857	4.95	230,250	172,687
JOMAR	39,000	15.19	26,667	206,087
EXPORT-ORIENTED: WITHOUT CHILD LABOUR				
VINNY	4,132	4.57	18,870	17,655
CHARLES	14,765	1	14,765	14,765
ANITA	15,006	3.32	51,800	23,545

TABLE 21

Intensity of children's work hours (annual)

NOTE

Total Child work hours =
Number of child workers X
individual work hours,
estimated per number of
months worked in 1995

CONCLUSION

Children are made to work
more intensively in local
market-oriented enterprises
where workers individually are
more exploited.

MARKET	LARGE ENTERPRISES		MEDIUM AND SMALL ENTERPRISES	
	Enterprise	Annual Work Hours	Enterprise	Annual Work Hours
Export	RONA	2,123	MAGGY	1,824
	LAURA	1,705	STAR	52
	ELNORA	686	RAY	567
	AVERAGE	2,568	AVERAGE	814
Local	ABE	5,040	JOMAR	2,217
			SUZY	5,040
			AVERAGE	3,629

ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF CHILD LABOUR TO HOUSEHOLDS

Of the 45 households in the study, 31.11% have more than one child worker, 4.44% more than three. The child workers' income represents from .04% - 42% of household income. For most, it is not a significant contribution, but it certainly is for the poorer ones (26%) who live below the poverty threshold of ₱8,000 for a family of five. Two children belonging to such households are stay-ins at the workplace; two work on a regular basis after school, on weekends, and during Christmas and summer vacations. About seven children at RONA work during school breaks and on weekends. During the peak season, the children often work overnight (Tables 1 and 5).

It appears that higher education and overseas contract employment are positively related to higher household income. It is also apparent that of the households engaged in garments production, 84.19% earn income of ₱839 - ₱8,515, or below the poverty threshold. Households with the lowest income are headed by a single parent, or have no parents, or with grandparents as guardians. The households with mothers engaged in homebased garments production, as well as those with fathers on part-time work, earn income below ₱4,647. Among the mothers who are into garments production, those who earn least (between ₱500 - ₱1,600) work as trimmers and smocking makers. They are also involved in homebased work.

Higher incidence of child work is directly related to the low income of the child workers' parents. In households with income above poverty level and up to ₱38,525, the contribution of child workers is insignificant. In the poorer households (one third of total household respondents), income from child labour supplements the family budget for living expenses. Should the children stop working, these households will be deprived of a significant contribution to their income, and will thus be pushed farther down.

Asked how child labour elimination will affect them, 74.36% of household heads say that the move will have no major effect on the household, while 5.84% say that their living standards will certainly decline.

• WORKING CONDITIONS

It is evident that the work conditions of children who work on a regular basis, either as stay-ins or after school and on weekends, are exploitative and are detrimental to the child workers' health and school performance. (Children working under these conditions belong to poorer households.)

Below are the conditions cited by child workers (26.67%) who say that their work is hazardous:

- dust pollution from thread and cloth which irritate the nose and eyes
- fatigue
- anemia
- going home late
- disorderly surroundings; foul smell
- accidents.

Other children complain variably disliked the following:

- unpaid wages
- their work is often rejected
- lack of ventilation and foul smell in factories
- disorderly and crowded work places
- heavy work load
- overtime work
- deductions from their earnings
- delayed payment of wage
- reprimanded (scolded) by superiors
- lack of materials to use (for example, scissors)
- lack of sleep
- competition among workers
- lack of time to play and watch television
- fatigue
- back cramps
- lack of socialisation.

WORK ENVIRONMENT

Seven of the enterprises' work areas are either house extensions or former residences. Five of the enterprises (RONA, MAGGY, CHARLES, SUSAN, and STAR) are fetid, noisy, disorderly, and cramped. Except MAGGY, they all lack ventilation. There are no security guards in the premises.

ELNORA has a separate working area for child workers in another part of the community. The guards are wary of interviewers: the latter are prohibited from entering the premises without a company guide. There are posters on company rules displayed on the walls.

JAKE, unlike the rest, is neat, spacious, and adequately ventilated.

Four of the enterprises (VINNY, JAY, ABE, and RAY) are not converted residences but factory buildings or part of a building designated for production. The workplace is generally well-organised and spacious. VINNY requires workers to wear special slippers at the work area. JAY has a separate finishing/trimming area of about 45 square metres containing a square table and long benches around it. It has high ceilings, with adequate lighting and ventilation, but without electric fans. While the adult workers' area has a toilet with water, the children's area has none.

In LAURA trimmers sit on benches surrounding a 6' x 6' table. The trimming area is a huge roofed garage separate from the sewing area. There are no electric fans. It also houses the company store and two parked vehicles. Trimmers are not allowed to enter the sewing area where the toilet is found.

Below the sewing area is another workplace for the manufacture of tincraft for export. Almost all of the 18 or so workers making tin toys and decors are children. They sit on stools and work on tables. There is no ventilation and the smell of paint and gas is too strong.

ACCIDENTS

Seven enterprises say they have first aid kits in the premises, but no employees are trained to use them. LAURA has had eight accidents in 12 months; JAY, six; ELNORA, four; MAGGY, three; and RAY, one. The number of workers injured per enterprise is from 1-2. Only cash advances and not medical benefits are given to workers in case of accidents.

About 73% of the child workers say that their work is not hazardous; 27% say otherwise. Of the children who claim that their work is hazardous, 13.33% say they have had such accidents as cuts and wounds; and 20.45% had injuries and illnesses (12.5% of the cases are said to be work-related). Other complaints are going home late at night from work (11%); headaches and cramps (11%); blisters (4%); dizziness due to lack of sleep (4%); difficult work, for example, attaching buttons (2%); poor ventilation, foul odour at the workplace, lack of backrests (6%); difficulty in using scissors (2%); and fear that they might damage the cloth they are handling (2%).

Asked what they consider to be the worst aspects of the children's work, 22.22% household heads say that long working hours and health hazards are a concern; 6.67% say child labour is a deterrent to education. Eighty percent say the children have not suffered any ailment. Those with children suffering from illnesses cite anemia, colds, and asthma. In all cases, the parents, not the employers, paid for medical services.

Based on the interviewers' observations, 44.7% of the child workers interviewed were thin and appeared sickly; 39.47% are of average build; and 15.79% looked quite healthy. Among those who appear sickly are the stay-ins, those who work regularly, and those who work overnight.

WORKING HOURS

The average number of working days per week is six days. None of the enterprises require work shifts. JAY, ELNORA, MAGGY, and ABE allow 12 hours of overtime each week; RONA and LAURA, 9 hours; JOMAR, 6 hours; SUZY and STAR, 4 hours; and RAY, 15 hours. Reasons for requiring overtime work include meeting orders, compensating for downtime during brownouts, and reworking rejects. Overtime pay is higher than the regular piece rate.

Only ELNORA pays the required overtime rate. Also, among enterprises employing child labour, only ELNORA complies with the legislated minimum wage. Peak periods for overtime are usually from March to September, when workers are required to render 16-24 hours a day.

CHILD WORKER-EMPLOYER RELATIONS

Sixty-nine percent of the child workers consider their employers kind; 24.44% consider them mean and ill-tempered.

WORST CASES OF CHILD LABOUR

Based on the interviewers' assessment of the cases of child labour that surfaced in the study, the following can be considered the worst cases:

• THE CHILD AT ELNORA

ELNORA is a large export-oriented enterprise. It has the biggest capitalisation and the highest number of workers among those hiring child labour.

The child belongs to a family of six. Her mother is a single parent. Her sister is a trimmer like her, two of her brothers are studying, and the youngest brother is not yet of school age.

The child is a working student. She dropped out of school twice in order to earn; the first time was in grade 4. She got a general average of 78% for school year 1994-95. Often she goes to school without eating breakfast because there is no food available; at times she does not go to school at all because she would be too hungry.

She cannot remember how many absences she has incurred; there are too many. She is always tired, because apart from going to school and working, she also performs household chores. She usually sleeps at 10:00 p.m. (after work) and does her homework in school. She goes to bed at 12:00 midnight and wakes up at 5:30 a.m. to go to school. During vacations, or whenever there are no classes, she wakes up at 8:00 a.m. to do the household chores.

She works up to 9:00 p.m. daily after school. On weekends, she is at the factory the whole day until 11:00 p.m. Her mother got her to work as trimmer in 1992. She is thin and looks weary.

• THE STAY-IN CHILD WORKER AT JOMAR

The child is a stay-in at JOMAR, a local market-oriented enterprise. She does not get enough sleep, work exhausts her, and she has anemia. The only assistance given by her employer when she became sick was advance pay to cover her medical expenses. At the workplace when she would be too weak to continue, her supervisor (a neighbour) would nudge her and make her finish attaching buttons on garments.

The child had dropped out of school at grade 4 because she always had no money for school projects; later she enrolled again. She has six siblings. Her mother is a sewer, also at JOMAR and her father is a carpenter with no permanent source of income.

At age 13, in grade 6, she decided to leave school again. She knew she could not enrol the following year for lack of money. At the end of the school year, during the summer break, she began working. Her schedule was from 7:00 a.m. - 12 noon; 1:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.; and 8:00 p.m. - 11:00 p.m. During peak periods, she worked up to 4:00 a.m.

The child later resumed her studies and she now combines school and work. Initially, she would work after school from 5:00 p.m. - 11:00 p.m. Sometimes she would work overnight. She eventually got sick, and in August 1995 her father pulled her out from work at the factory. However, she continues to attach buttons for JOMAR, but as a homebased worker. She finds attaching buttons more difficult now that the spots where the buttons are supposed to be attached are no longer marked.

• THE CHILD WORKER AT SUZY

This child dropped out of school when she was in first year high school due to an illness. She has not resumed her studies since then.

The child is a paid apprentice at SUZY. She and her father (whose work as a cabinet maker is not regular) are the only earners in a family of eight. Four of her siblings who are of school age are out-of-school as well. Her mother, who used to be a garments worker, can no longer work because of an illness resulting from an abortion. The child works as button attacher. Sometimes she works overtime from 5:00 p.m. - 3:00 a.m.

• THE CHILD WORKER AT ABE

The child and two of her sisters work at ABE. They were recruited by a neighbour, who is a supervisor at ABE. They all dropped out of school at grade 4. They are stay-ins with free board and lodging at ABE. Their parents live in Bulacan where their father is a scrap iron dealer. Their mother keeps house.

The child has anemia. She works an average of 15 hours a day, with frequent overtime work from 9:00 p.m. - 5:00 a.m. As stay-ins, she and her sisters are required by ABE to work as domestic help.

Conclusions

Not all child workers work for the money. For many, they work to gain experience, and they can afford to resign from work any time. However, children who must work because their families need the money have had to thrive on very difficult working conditions. They render long working hours especially during rush work.

Some female child workers fill in for their mothers. When at home, the child worker at ELNORA looks after her three siblings ages 8 months - 6 years while her mother works as laundress for a living. The mother earns P50 more than her daughter. Equally serious is the case of the "bonded" child worker at JAKE who is not compensated for her labour because she is paying back her mother's previous cash advances. Five percent of employers report similar instances. Child labour utilisation in the garments industry therefore tends to aggravate female oppression.

Most of the child workers are enrolled in school and do not work full-time in the enterprises. They work during school breaks, after school, or on weekends. From JAY it was gathered that the peak season for exports is mid-February - October. Samples are usually produced at the start of the season, from mid-February - April; and regular orders for these samples come in afterwards.

Children are utilised to work on these sample orders during their summer break, from April - May. From June to October the children can work only after school, on weekends, or whenever there are no classes. Some children work more often than others, depending on various factors such as the household's need for additional income.

It is clear that employers can rely on child labour for regular production work. Even with the fast labour turnover, employers are assured of ready supply of child labour. In this situation, exploitation is more clearly comprehended by viewing it cumulatively in terms of its importance to employers and communities, rather than in terms of its contribution to household income or what it exacts from the child.

Children are tapped for "finishing" work because their labour is cheaper, they are more docile, and are widely available. Female adults seek higher wages, are more demanding, and have less time due to baby sitting. Thus, employers prefer children. However, buyers' demands are considered in the choice of workers who will perform finishing tasks. There are evidence of employers deciding not to employ children for finishing jobs because children are not as reliable as adults. The quality control imposed by foreign buyers compels employers to be more careful in their production, even if this would mean spending more for finishing. JAY says that in finishing, the value ratio of child workers is 6 children to 10 adults—a 2% decrease in profit.

DEMAND FOR CHILD LABOUR

Following are the factors that influence employers to employ child labour:

1. the desire to cut down costs
2. young workers are faster, docile, obedient, more alert
3. young workers accept the low-paying finishing jobs that adults are reluctant to take
4. the feminised socialisation and gender division of labour.

Specifically, the following factors influence the enterprises' utilisation of child labour:

• MARKET ORIENTATION

What is clear from the study is that child labour exists, whether production is for export or for domestic consumption. However, among local market-oriented enterprises, even though they hire fewer child workers than their export-oriented counterparts, child labour utilisation exacts more from each child in terms of longer hours of work, unpaid labour for domestic help, setbacks to the child's education, and health hazards.

In export-oriented enterprises it is difficult to determine the extent of child exploitation, unless a case study of specific child workers is made over a year or at least for the length of the production season.

- **SIZE**

Large enterprises are formal enterprises. They take advantage of subcontracting arrangements to the maximum. Thus, large firms with a capitalisation of above P10 M and with a workforce of 1,000 workers do not usually employ child labour. (The study had a difficult time finding a large enterprise that hires child labour.)

Small and medium enterprises which are usually subcontractees of large firms tend to employ child workers.

- **EMPLOYERS' OPINIONS ON CHILD LABOUR**

Not all medium and small enterprises hire child labour. CHARLES and ANITA refuse to hire child labour, and JAKE, which hires one child worker, considers child workers undisciplined. Those who hire child labour opine that children's wages are cheaper, they work fast, learn easily, docile, and readily available. They are unlike adult women who are burdened by their responsibilities as mother and wife, are often absent, and complain a lot about the low pay for "finishing" processes.

- **ETHNIC ORIGIN**

Employers with the most number of child workers are of Indian and Taiwanese origin.

- **LOCATION**

Enterprises in areas with a large population of children and where income is low tend to hire more child workers. RONA and MAGGY which are located in Binangonan (a catchment area for employment-seeking migrants and subdivision dwellers), hire more children than others. LAURA will eventually transfer operation in Morong, Rizal; and EMMA to Batangas where labour of children and adults is said to be cheaper.

- **INDUSTRY PRACTICES**

- SUBCONTRACTING**

Most export-oriented enterprises utilise subcontracting arrangements where industry players tend to exploit all possible sources of cheap labour, including children. In such a system, it is difficult to delineate or define an enterprise. ELNORA, FRANNY, and VINNY are contracting agents of foreign buyers like Reebok. In turn, they subcontract production to enterprises like JAY, at the same time that they have their own production areas for specific orders or aspects of orders. Here, child labour may be utilised and paid on a per piece arrangement. Their subcontractees like JAY have smaller workplaces, where child labour is also utilised and paid on piece rate.

Almost all the enterprises studied subcontract the labour of homebased workers, including children. The home is not only the repository of reserve labour, it is also a work area, a "dirty kitchen" where wages are lower, conditions of production are more demanding of workers, and work atmosphere is more likely to be less regulated and possibly more hazardous, although more flexible. Homework is the entry point of child workers to the world of work, as well as their fall back when no longer employed at the factories.

- PAYMENT OF WAGES**

Enterprises vary in terms of payment of wages. Some are paid on a daily basis based on a fixed wage; others on piecework, that is, a corresponding amount for every piece or unit produced. Child labour is hired on piece rate, often with a daily quota. JAY opines that those paying fixed daily wages are more predisposed to fold up than those paying on a per piece basis.

BUYER DEMANDS AND FEWER ORDERS

The large enterprises are vocal about the effects of fewer orders, with buyers tapping other producers with cheaper labour elsewhere in the Philippines and in other countries. There seems to be a trend among employers to minimise reliance on child labour for the last few years. LAURA, which was interviewed in 1991, claims that it had fewer orders than in previous years. FRANNY says that the enterprise has scaled down the hiring of child labour after a German buyer cancelled its orders when it discovered numerous child workers at the factory. FRANNY and SUN say they hire child workers only during the school summer vacation. JAY, an exclusive subcontractee of FRANNY, claims that it has minimised recruitment of child workers during the year for fear that the children would not be able to handle the delicate materials properly. The children are perceived to be not as careful as adults when at work.

Orders placed by buyers have decreased, says FRANNY who now gets orders only from the US and Canada. These buyers are quite strict about quality control; they even require air conditioning at the workplace. They want the factory clean and they require that workers wear special shoes at the workplace. In 1995 JAY lost some P150,000 because of rejects. It is now extremely careful that such experience does not happen again. EMMA, known to hire many child workers in 1991, has temporarily stopped employing them due to few orders. However, it plans to transfer operations to Batangas, where it expects to find cheaper labour, including child work.

• EXPERIENCES RELATED TO CHILD LABOUR

FRANNY is said to have transferred its factory from a town in Rizal to another location after the former was closed down by the Department of Labor and Employment who found many child workers in the premises during an unannounced inspection at the factory. FRANNY is also now wary of child labour, specially after a German buyer cancelled its orders upon discovering the presence of many child workers at the factory.

• NEW PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS FOR "FINISHING" TASKS

Some enterprises prefer to subcontract finishing tasks to other enterprises. Sources say that some enterprises have become subcontractors themselves doing specialised finishing jobs for other enterprises. JAY, FRANNY's sole contracting agent, is said to operate a recruitment agency that also provides workers for FRANNY's subcontracts of finishing jobs. Some enterprises, LAURA for instance, say that they no longer accept trimming jobs. Large enterprises, like VINNY which has computerised its production operations and which does not hire child labour, may have more modern techniques for finishing. Child labour is usually employed for finishing which is the last stage of garments production. Closest to the deadline, this last stage requires rush work. Such a situation jeopardizes product quality.

To check the proliferation of child labour, enterprises must encourage adult workers to accept such finishing jobs by increasing compensation. Enterprises are reluctant to do this because it is precisely a reduction in labour cost that the enterprises want to achieve. Given stiff competition in the international garments market, an increase in wages is perceived to be a main factor that will edge them farther out of the market.

JAY reports that for the past two years the garments industry has had to deal with serious difficulties. More than 20 garment enterprises have folded up. JAY downsized its workforce by 50%. LAURA has moved to Morong, Rizal where labour is cheaper. VINNY shifted from paying fixed daily wages to piece rate following a labour strike at the establishment. JAY reports that garment employers observe a progressive decrease in orders from former buyers who now prefer India and Vietnam where labour is cheaper. Local market-oriented enterprises are in a worse situation as they have practically been edged out of production by imported ready-to-wears that are much cheaper.

The study's analysis of the financial statement of four garment enterprises however reveals that the enterprises can afford not to hire child labour, even if this means increasing adult workers' compensation for the finishing jobs currently done by children (Case analyses, pp.40-41).

SUPPLY OF CHILD LABOUR

Following are the factors that influence households to provide the market with child labour:

• **HOUSEHOLD INCOME**

Households below the poverty threshold desperately need additional income. Their poverty is a result of a combination of several factors:

- unemployment/underemployment
- cheap wages
- lack of access to income opportunities
- lack of education and skills
- increasing costs of living and education. While tuition for the elementary and high school is free, families are short of money to pay for the children's pocket money, transportation, school supplies, and projects. Some children report of days when they could not go to school because they have had nothing to eat or have no appropriate clothes. Through employment, child workers are able to save up for these expenses, thus freeing the family from the responsibility and from the pain of not being able to fulfill such responsibility. Child workers are also able to assure their parents and themselves that by acquiring work experience, better jobs will come in handy in the future.

• **GENDER DIVISION OF LABOUR**

The vast majority of garment workers are female. Mothers and daughters carry multiple burdens in and outside the home. This double burden has adverse effects on their capability to work and to bargain for better terms and conditions of employment.

• **FEMINISED SOCIALISATION**

Socialisation of children reflects gender tracking. Children, particularly daughters, learn the same skills their mothers practice, such as garments production. Women enterprise workers usually encourage their already trained children to work in the same factory where they work or refer the children to employers.

• **ROLE OF KINS**

About 45% of child workers, 42.22% of household heads, and 52% of employers say that child workers are recruited by relatives.

• **PRESENCE OF GARMENT WORKERS AND ENTERPRISES IN THE COMMUNITY**

The presence of garment enterprises in the child workers' community is a determinant of employment. The study shows that 24.44% of child workers are recruited through neighbours and 26.66% through friends and classmates who are also workers in garment enterprises. Among household heads, 55.56% say that their children were recruited by townmates, friends and neighbours. Employers (10.52%) say that child workers are referred to them by adult sewers.

• **OUT-OF-SCHOOL CHILDREN AND THEIR AVAILABILITY FOR WORK**

In local market-oriented enterprises, child workers who are out of school work full-time. Children who are studying at the same time work during summer breaks, on weekends, after school, or whenever there are no classes.

Because out-of-school children can devote more time for work, employers tend to prefer them over adults for finishing jobs. Children who are out of school are found both among homebased workers and among factory workers.

• **DESIRE TO GAIN WORK EXPERIENCE**

Many household heads cite work experience as a factor that motivates them to encourage children to work. Several child workers cite the same. Work experience is viewed as an investment for future employment.

While previous studies show that about 50% of the child workers in Rizal are migrants (Del Rosario 1989), and key informants for this study stress that migration is a determinant of child labour incidence, 41 of the 45 child workers interviewed are natives of Rizal: they are not migrants. Is it possible that at the time of the interview for this report, migrant child workers were not around? (This is true for several child workers identified for the study.) Would the presence of migrant children have increased the incidence of child labour?

Recommendations

Child labour should be eliminated in enterprises, but the approaches must also be seen in the context of:

1. Adult unemployment and low wages. About 50% of the households, with an average size of six members, earn less than ₱5,000 a month.
2. Women's and female children's multiple burden, that is, of working in and out of the home, at the factory, and in their households.
3. Women's and female children's socialisation, which previous studies show predisposes children to enter the garments industry (Del Rosario 1995).
4. Subcontracting which reinforces homebased economic activity as an alternative to enterprise-based employment. Subcontracting, because it is unregulated, erodes the standards of employment. It is often the entry point of child labour to enterprise work, as well as the enterprise's "dirty kitchen."
5. Traditional attitudes on child labour that consider it as having positive effects on the family income and on the child who is perceived to develop skills and responsibility both for himself and his family.
6. The available alternative work opportunities for children such as tincraft, figurine sanding, and overseas contract work as entertainers or domestic workers. Should the children lose their present employment, they may be pushed toward these even more hazardous work.
7. Global trends affecting the garments industry resulting in dislocation among garment enterprises, layoffs, lower wages, and poverty.

As stressed in previous studies made by the University of the Philippines (Ballescas 1989; Boquiren 1987; Del Rosario 1987; Veneracion 1987; Torres 1991), the structural context of child labour in the Philippines must be taken into consideration in eliminating child labour, whether in or outside the enterprise, taking care that whatever interventions are introduced will not backlash by further engulfing the Filipino families in poverty, and children in more hazardous undertakings.

Specifically, the study recommends the following:

1. MOST URGENT

Child labour should be eliminated and most urgently in arrangements that require full-time work (stay-in, overnight, and regular). Children in such conditions characteristic of local market-oriented enterprises suffer from a host of negative effects. Many children are out-of-school or have dropped out of school several times. Not a few, who should be in grade 6 or in high school, are only in grade 2. Many lose interest in studying, perform poorly in school, and have low aspirations. Many work from 8 - 14 hours or more each day, and double as unpaid domestic workers. Such child labour is supplied by the poorest households in the survey—those with cumulative income below the poverty threshold.

The health conditions of full-time child workers are found to be deteriorating. Their poverty and concomitant malnutrition are aggravated by their working conditions where they are allowed very little sleep. This should be seen in view of the child's age which is usually at the stage of puberty when hormonal changes and growth spurts occur. The study found 44.7% of child workers thin; four child workers are anemic.

2. OTHER MEASURES

The following recommendations are based on the findings of the study and the roundtable discussion on the draft report for the same study:

- Provide regular and adequately paid employment for adults; provide technical training for adults.
- In the case of women who are expected to perform multiple responsibilities, provide services to ease their burden and conduct adult male-female gender-sensitive education for more equal division of labour at home and to help women attain a status where they can take advantage of better livelihood opportunities.

- Provide alternative support systems in terms of livelihood (for example, loans), skills training, and educational assistance (for example, learn-and-earn scheme). Caution should be taken when providing informal livelihood opportunities for the unemployed as these alternatives tend to draw families toward subcontracting, which in turn encourages cheaper wages and unregulated labour conditions. Moreover, subcontracting tends to increase the multiple burden of women. Guidelines on subcontracting should be reviewed.
- Rehabilitate natural sources of livelihood, such as the waters in Angono and Binangonan.
- Strictly enforce the 8-hours-a-day schedule, minimum wage, overtime pay, and all other workers' benefits as provided by law; and take other practical steps to improve working conditions.
- Strictly enforce the law prohibiting the employment of children 14 years old and below. Since subcontracting is resorted to by medium and small enterprises, the approach to prohibition of child labour in the home should be more strictly but realistically enforced than as envisioned in RA 7658.
- Strengthen the prosecution system.
- Implement more realistic education programs for poor communities and for the Department of Education, Culture, and Sports (DECS) to spearhead this move. Take steps to reduce the number of out-of-school children by providing families of five members with monthly income lower than ₱5,000 with complete educational subsidy (for uniforms, books, notebooks, pencils, project materials, snacks, and transportation allowance). Such a program should be administered through public elementary and high schools. Similar scholarships given by nongovernment organisations should be encouraged.
- Strengthen the Department of Labor and Employment's (DOLE) inspectorate program on child labour and illegal recruitment for overseas employment.
- Step up gender-sensitive education on child labour through the media and at the national, municipal, and local levels. This is to increase awareness on child labour issues and to advance cause advocacy. More programs such as the following should be launched: examples of the comprehensive community-based programs UNICEF-funded UP-DOLE-DECS-Department of Social Welfare and Development Breaking Ground for Community Action on Child Labour, with its multi-pronged approach of community organising for participatory advocacy, livelihood and alternative culture for parents and children; the ILO-IPEC project to institutionalise approaches to the elimination of child labour through nongovernment organisations like PATAMABA, a women's homeworkers' organisation; and the rescue operations of Kamalayan with the Philippine National Police, National Bureau of Investigation and DOLE, which involve community participation in their strategies.
- Incorporate in the DECS curriculum a gender-sensitive module on the dangers and prevention of child labour for teachers' training as well as in the regular elementary and high school programs.
- Mainstream information about child labour and its dangers in the vision, mission, goals and information materials of government departments such as the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), DOLE and the National Economic and Development Planning Administration (NEDA).
- Closely monitor the movement of child labour in the garments industry through periodic researches that will help in the enforcement of child labour prohibition and child protection.
- Strengthen the database on the socioeconomic factors that cause children to work, as well as on content and methodologies regarding child labour.
- Support the export and local market-oriented garments industry, which are sources of adult employment, by:
 - (a) rationalising and giving them a competitive edge, not through cheap labour avenues, but through the development of more viable, creative and alternative ways that will counteract the negative effects of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) on their competitiveness, without necessarily displacing/marginalising adult workers;
 - (b) facilitating capital credit and market information; and
 - (c) providing cheaper sources of raw materials for garments manufacturing.

- Reduce the incidence of child labour through community consultation, formation of cooperatives, consciousness/awareness raising on child labour issues. Strengthen organising efforts in the community.
- Institute protective measures such as the improvement of peace and security in the community; creation of day care centres; skills building for alternative livelihood; education of parents, children, employers and the community on the rights of children, value formation, hazards of child labour, and resource management.
- Allocate a bigger budget for welfare services.

POLICY RESEARCH AND IMPLICATIONS

1. INSPECTION AND IMPLEMENTATION

Philippine law clearly prohibits the hiring of child labour in enterprises, but its implementation has been problematic. It is rare that enterprises are penalised for having hired child labour. In fact, a DOLE participant in the Round Table to discuss this report believes that child workers are not usually found in the factories inspected by DOLE which have more than 10 to 20 workers; only in those with less workers, or in the home. Thus her suggestion for intervention was to focus on advocacy and campaign for parents and the community so they would be able to police themselves against such exploitation.

This study clearly shows however that all but one enterprise interviewed is registered, and that none of them have less than 20 workers, child workers included. In fact, child labour is found even in enterprises that have from 100 to 323 workers. There is little reason not to implement the law in such cases, particularly in view of the fact that such enterprises can very well afford not to hire child labour. The study shows clearly that the regular employment of child workers, particularly on a stay-in basis in local market-oriented enterprises, and on an overnight basis in almost all enterprises with child labour, is extremely exploitative. In such a case, child labour should be banned immediately.

The Philippine Labor Code contains no specific provision prohibiting night work for young persons, although Policy Directive No. 23 issued in 1977 prohibits night work for young persons under the

age of 16, in the interval between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. the following day. Employers do not deny that they hire child labour, and almost all openly admit to the practice. It would therefore not be difficult for labour inspectors to dialogue with these employers on the possibility of abandoning practices prohibited by law. The labour inspectors just have to be more visible. A process of phasing out of child labour would involve information dissemination to employers on children's rights and the prohibition of child labour in enterprises. Legal sanctions and actions could be the last resort.

2. REPUBLIC ACT 7658

Implementation is more problematic in about 50% of the enterprises that are house extensions or former residences. Some workers and their families reside at the workplace. Republic Act 7658 which bans child labour in the home as well nevertheless allows it under certain conditions, for example, child work under the supervision of a parent or legal guardian, and provided that the activity does not impair the education, health and morals of the child. The problem is how to approach the situation of child workers who study and live in or near the enterprise, and whose mothers work with the child in the same enterprise. In this case, the law has to defined more clearly.

3. INFORMATION CAMPAIGN ON CHILD LABOUR

The responses of employers are not much different from the responses of some parents who view child labour employment as positive. They opine that working keeps children out of trouble, equips them with skills, affords them experience, and helps them augment household income. But the government has a definition of child labour that contradicts the employers' stance. Attitudes to child labour remain equivocal among local government and community workers. Until parents, employers, local government officials, teachers, and other concerned parties are able to agree on the definition and attitude to child labour in the context of their households and communities, the campaign against child labour will remain nondefinitive.

4. GOVERNMENT SUPPORT TO INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYMENT

It is apparent that while garment enterprises have generally satisfactory financial balances, global competition is negatively affecting them. The downtrend in the industry is evident, although not strongly felt at this time in the 15 enterprises studied. Various readjustments are being resorted to by enterprises in order to remain operational and competitive. Most enterprises interviewed fear losing out in the face of global competition. Their worker productivity ratios tend to show that child labour is positively related to productivity. The case analyses however indicate that refraining from hiring child labour would not be considerably undermine gross profit. JAY clearly says that only 2% of its profits will be lost should child labour be abandoned. JAY has reduced its workforce by 50% in order to lessen overhead costs. LAURA and EMMA will seek cheaper labour (including child labour) elsewhere in order to continue operation.

To stay competitive, the president of the Nationalist Economic Protectionist Association (NEPA) exhorts employers to find their own niche in the world market, particularly as about three quarters of the garments industry is actually floundering. He suggests such options as technology upgrade, rationalising, and specialising (Interview 1996).

The case of the enterprise VINNY shows that despite not hiring child labour, and paying minimum wages, giving regular benefits, and using modern equipment, it is able to maintain a gross profit at 13% of its value of production. It should be noted however that VINNY has a large network of subcontractees to whom it provides about 58 machines. Thus, even if child labour is banned in enterprises, it may still use the back door of subcontracting, where legal sanctions against child labour in the home, as contained in RA 7658, have many loopholes.

5. COMMUNITY CONSULTATION AND COORDINATION

After several experiences in attempting to eliminate child labour, many practitioners in the field realise that the task is not easy, considering the presence of subcontracting and the tendency of children to move from one type of labour to another, sometimes to more hazardous ones, if banned from the enterprise. Given the situation, the more realistic move has been community-based approach that takes into consideration the different manifestations of child labour in the structural setting where it is found.

The experience of KAMALAYAN, an NGO that uses community organising as a strategy to rescue children in bonded labour situations, is a good example of what community coordination between an NGO and the different local government agencies concerned as well as the media can do stop child labour at the community level. Experiences with the UNICEF-funded Breaking Ground for Community Action on Child Labour (BGCACL), which employs a coordinated participatory community organising approach to raising the level of consciousness of parents, local officials, children, community organisations and employers on children's rights, gender-fair division of labour and parenting, have shown that community consciousness and action can make a difference in (a) discouraging parents from pushing their children to work; (b) raising children's aspirations for education and culture; (c) invigorating government action against labour in the community; and (d) helping make the employers more aware of the losing proposition of hiring child labour.

Since child labour in the garments industry is closely connected to subcontracting, community advocacy will also help in curbing the excesses of subcontracting and in changing the parents' views regarding the exploitation of children in their own homes. Efforts by PATAMABA to raise the consciousness of home workers on the dangers of child labour in homework are to be noted and encouraged, as these will institutionalise advocacy against child labour, so that the efforts already taken will not be lost. Given that women, especially mothers, are closely associated with the children's predisposition for and exposure to work, the PATAMABA efforts to eliminate child labour, which has a potential for involving thousands of women homeworkers, becomes invaluable.

Furthermore, for the poorer households that factor in the income earned by the child in their survival coffers, the community-based approach becomes a viable way of instituting viable safety nets and alternative income-generating schemes.

The PATAMABA experience shows that a credit cooperative has been very helpful, and plans for a scholarship fund with ILO support are being set in place. It has been shown that when children work on a regular basis, they are forced to drop out of school. If they work after school on a regular basis, their grades and aspirations suffer, or they get sick and eventually drop out, either permanently or temporarily. This situation delays their educational development and marginalises them from their peers. Given the seasonal and intensive work involved in garments production, children are hard pressed in combining working and schooling. This is even more difficult for girls who comprise the majority of child workers in garments production and who are already overburdened by substituting for their mother in housework, child care, and industrial homework. What they need is a genuine educational support that can steer them away from child labour.

6. NEED FOR FURTHER SPECIFIC RESEARCHES

Community-based research

A government-sponsored community-based information system to monitor child labour in the industry should form part of the regular population information of local governments and the Country Program for Children (CPC). This should involve local government agencies, NGOs, and people's organisations.

The present study on child labour in garments enterprises has been a difficult undertaking, particularly in view of the complexity of gathering child labour data and the limited period of research allotted. Community contacts helped greatly in facilitating the preliminaries of entry and access to employers, child workers and their households in the communities. Any study on child labour in the Philippines should probably need more time to undertake research.

Child labour and subcontracting

Since child labour in garments enterprises can easily be detoured to child labour in homework where wages and conditions of work are more exploitative, a study of child labour in enterprise and its relationship to homework should be conducted. It has been difficult to account for the number of child workers at the enterprise because those who are studying (and perhaps, migrant workers) were not at the enterprise at same time of research. The timing of the research must take into consideration the seasonal work in garments production. To capture child labour at the enterprise (or in the community), a thorough study of its movement should be year-round.

To arrive at a total picture of child labour at the enterprise, a study the subcontracting of adult and child labour is necessary. It is not clear from the data whether the children who are subcontracted and who work in the enterprise premises are actually hired directly by the enterprise; or whether those who work at home are formally linked to an enterprise.

Child labour and young workers

The study of child labour should be pursued as a continuum and integrated with the study of young workers. What actually happens to children who labour in enterprises? Do they become the regular adult workers of these firms? A deeper study would be able to bring light to these questions, and should yield more information on upgrading the lot of the garment workers as well as data on child labour supply and demand.

Action research

Strategies to eliminate child labour at the enterprise should employ a research-action strategy, as information from sources greatly depends on different subjectivities and motivations based on future calculations as well as on current positionalities. This strategy should be employed hand-in-hand with the improvement of the industry and the job opportunities found within the industry.

Child labour and globalisation

A future study of enterprises should take up the following: a comparative study of enterprises and their contractors/subcontractees/buyers; the movement and adjustment of enterprises in relation to child labour in the face of global trends in the garments industry; and a study of child labour in homework and its relationship to garment enterprises.

Children shift work from garments to tin craft following the employment provided by enterprises that plan production according to buyers' orders. Orders by foreign buyers shift from Rizal to Batangas or Laguna, or from the Philippines to India, Vietnam or China on account of cheaper labour. Enterprises are affected, cut costs by laying off workers, or paying them less. Skilled female sewers seek employment overseas owing to unemployment and low wages in the home country. Migrant Vietnamese labour in Australia, for example, includes child labour which is utilised by garments enterprises that pay children cheaper wages. The approach to the elimination of child labour can obviously not be confined to the understanding of a particular town or country alone. In the face of such local and global movements resulting in the dislocation of industries, communities and households, workers can only be assured of a bleaker future. Will this increase or decrease child labour at the enterprise, or for that matter child labour in general? What new manifestations will child labour take? Only close monitoring can tell.

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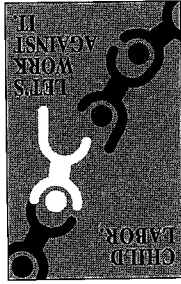
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International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)

Child labour is almost invisible to most people, but the numbers of child workers are increasing in many parts of the world. Many children suffer, and may only barely survive, the long hours of work, the heavy burdens, the dangerous tools, the poisonous chemicals. A number cannot escape bonded labour or prostitution. The strongest will go on, forever bearing the physical and emotional scars of early work. At a time when they should be at school and preparing for a productive adulthood, young boys and girls are losing their childhood and, with it, the promises of a better future.

IPEC, the International Labour Organization's technical cooperation program on child labour, works towards its progressive elimination by strengthening national capacities to address child labour problems, and by creating a world-wide movement against it. Current priority target groups are bonded child laborers, children in hazardous working conditions and occupations and children who are particularly vulnerable, i.e., very young working children and working girls.

IPEC's Philippine Working Paper Series is an effort to bring into sharper focus the many dimensions of the child labour problem in the Philippines. The publication of the working papers is intended to contribute to the national dialogue leading to the protection of working children and the elimination of child labour in the country.



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