Child Labor, Poverty and School Attendance:
Evidences from the Philippines by Region

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ABSTRACT

The study examined the relationship between poverty and child labor in the Philippines by region. It investigated how school attendance of working children relates to poverty incidence covering the period 2008-2012. The study utilized data from the Bureau of Labor and Employment Statistics (BLES) and the National Statistics Coordination Board (NSCB) to determine the relationships among poverty, prevalence of child labor and the number of working children not attending school. Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was employed in the analysis. Findings revealed that poverty incidence and prevalence of child labor were strongly correlated. Similarly, poverty incidence strongly associates with the number of working children not attending school. Poverty displaces these children from school. School children are enticed to participate in the labor force because of short-term income opportunities. There is, however, no relationship between prevalence of child labor and the number of working children not attending school. Empirical data revealed that CARAGA, ARMM and Zamboanga have high percentages of poor individuals compared with other regions of the country with large number of children not attending school. It is evident that children have taken on the responsibility of augmenting the household incomes and of providing the needs of their households. There is enough evidence that conclude that poverty pushes children to participate in the labor force for them augment household income. It is recommended that the government, aside from ensuring free basic education, should provide and construct schools close to poor communities so that all children who cannot pay transportation costs are able to attend school.

Keywords: Poverty incidence, child labor, working children, school attendance, correlation analysis, Philippines

INTRODUCTION

The International Labor Organization (ILO) (2014) defines child labor as the work situation where children are forced to work and prematurely leave school depriving their opportunity to get formal education, or when children are required to combine schooling and working at the same time (ILO, 2014). Further, child labor occurs when children are exposed to mental, physical, social and moral harm and danger. To address this issue, the ILO has promulgated two (2) fundamental conventions where all member countries have to “respect, promote and realize,” including those states that have not ratified them yet (ILO, 2014). ILO Convention No. 182 refers to the worst types and forms of child labor and has been in place since 1999, while ILO Convention No. 138 pertains to the minimum age of admission to employment (ILO, 2014).

Until the present, child labor remains a great cause of concern among
governments and international organizations particularly in developing countries, like the Philippines, where many children are exposed to impoverished living conditions and deficient social welfare. Whereas in the West and advanced countries, these conditions have been almost eliminated and addressed. There are types of child employment activities that are not considered harmful and, in fact, contribute to children’s positive development since they do not stop children from attending school. These are activities involving children helping their parents at home on domestic chores, and helping out in the family business during holidays and vacations.

Education and poverty alleviation are among the government’s top priorities. Various international agencies have provided funding and aid, whether they are monetary or in-kind, to the country in order to implement projects that will cater to education and poverty alleviation, among other issues. As such, child labor is one of the pressing issues that needs to be addressed the soonest possible time. This issue naturally co-exists and goes together with poverty. What makes this issue worse is the vulnerability of children to further neglect. The inability of these children to accumulate knowledge might result in a future Filipino labor force that is deficient in skills and competencies. The global scale of commerce and trade, and the intense competition for cost efficiency and productivity require higher skill set, competencies and performance, causing a threat to the future of the Filipino labor force, and, in turn, the businesses, if such child labor issue is left unattended.

Solving the issue on child labor does not only benefit the children but also the businesses and industries. The huge potential of the Philippines lies on its competent and skilled work force. The human capital is not performing optimal productivity due to sub-standard quality education training makes the Philippine labor force lose its world-famous competent and skillful workers. The Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWS) are the country’s greatest “export,” for lack of better term, to the world, and their remittances positively stimulate the economy. Business, both foreign and domestic, will lose the potential productivity and efficiency rendered by a skillful Filipino labor force. Foregoing this issue creates opportunities for other Asian countries with known low labor cost environment such as Vietnam and Bangladesh to catch up and capture businesses, such as business process outsourcing (BPO) and manufacturing firms, which could have continued to grow in the country. Child labor is a threat to the long-term business atmosphere in the country.

The cost of education is often considered to be a hindrance in getting the children in the school and out of workplaces. Even if there are public schools, more often than not, families would still have to shell out considerable amounts for their children's transportation, food and school supplies. Returns achieved by educating the children may be too low relative to the opportunity costs of such education whereby future net returns of education are considered to be lower than the wages offered in the market (Aldaba, Lanzona and Tamangan, 2004). The lack of foresight on the endogenous growth theory, given the lack of education of the household head, leads to using children as “hedge against risk and uncertainty (Jacoby
This study is anchored on the endogenous growth theory advocated by Lucas (1988) in his third economic development model which puts emphasis on human capital investment through schooling to attain economic development. In this essence, the government needs to invest in the education of its human capital for economic development to come by. Human capital is defined to be the “stock of competencies, knowledge, habits, social and personality attributes, including creativity, cognitive abilities, embodied in the ability to perform labor so as to produce economic value” (Simkovic, 2013). The government plays an integral role to deliver and provide quality education environment as long run economic investment on its human capital resource beginning from children to adult education mechanisms.

![Figure 1. Theoretical and Conceptual Framework](image)

Essentially, Romer (as cited in Hamid and Pichler, 2011) identified other determinants of endogenous growth which include capital, labor and technology level index with human capital as the most fundamentals for endogenous growth model. Further, the theory holds that human capital contributes about “two thirds” of growth performance (Hamid and Pichler, 2011) among the world’s advance economies. Several studies (Kendrick, 1956; Denison, 1967; Baumol, 1986; Romer, 1990; Rebelo, 1991) revealed parallel findings with Hamid and Pichler (2011) in this respect. It is argued that human capital accumulation contributes to the positive relationships between scale and productivity, and this prevails over the effect of diminishing returns (Hamid and Pichler, 2011).

Consistent with this theory, education is an action of investment on the part of both the family and the government to build and increase the human capital, henceforth, the value of the children. When children accumulate cognitive abilities, competencies and knowledge, they are bound to render output of great economic value upon their participation in the labor force. The earlier children stop in accumulating human capital, the lesser of the cognitive abilities, competencies and knowledge they get. The impact of endogenous growth to the future of the Filipino labor force is often overlooked, with education always the first casualty in times of crises.

This study attempted to examine and explain the trend and association between poverty and child labor in the Philippines from 2008 to 2012 by region. Specifically, the study determined the relationships between poverty and child labor, between poverty and school attendance, and between child labor and school attendance. It is hypothesized that
there is a significant relationship between poverty and child labor in the Philippines.

**Literature review**

The Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) is responsible for the implementation of Batas Pambansa 70, commonly known as the Labor Code of the Philippines. The DOLE ensures that the welfare of laborers, children included, are given priorities and their rights upheld. It also conducts initiatives to place the unemployed in employment opportunities through job fairs, and fosters development of skilled workers and aspiring entrepreneurs through the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA). These initiatives do not necessarily and directly eradicate child labor; however, they try to mitigate the effects of unemployment and poverty, which are two factors related to child labor.

Lim (as cited in Aldaba, Lanzona and Tamangan, 2004) reported that child labor would result to a reduced value of human capital, lower number of skilled and educated labor, lower number of healthy and productive labor, and a lower quality of the labor force by reducing socialization and interpersonal skills. Amassing emotional and psychological damages, costs of foregone education and the lack of skills acquisition would have negative effects on the current and future efficiency and productivity (Aldaba, Lanzona and Tamangan, 2004).

There appears to be a general consensus among economists and even institutions that having a big family size causes a negative impact in the over-all welfare (Orbeta, 2003) of the household. In fact, 57.3 percent of families with seven children were in poverty and that a meager 23.8 percent of families having two children were living below the poverty threshold (Orbeta, 2003). Among the many results in the study were (1) the decrease of 12 percent – 16 percent on household welfare due to having an addition of a child aged 1 year and under to a family and (2) the increase of 26 percent -32 percent on the per capita income, in relation to the poverty line, when a household member joins the labor force (Albert and Collado, 2004).

Short-term needs of income generation in times of crises become a vicious cycle of continuously neglecting education in order to earn meager incomes for the household. It is further assumed that the longer the hour children spend in working, the seemingly bigger output they contribute to their household income. Iqbal and Zahid (as cited in Hamid and Pichler, 2011), confirmed that Pakistan and the Philippines share more or less the same conditions on child labor issue, macroeconomic growth over the period 1959–1960 to 1996–1997. They noted that Pakistan attained some success in human capital investment through education and openness of trade.

Child labor and school enrollment were found to be complementary and not mutually exclusive in developing countries (Patrinos and Psacharopoulos, 1997; Ravallion and Wodon (as cited in Gunnarsson, Orazem and Sanchez, 2004). Some evidences of stronger child labor markets lowering school enrollment are provided by Rosenzweig and Evenson (as cited in Gunnarsson, Orazam, and Sanchez, 2004). The issue on child labor has not resolved the debate on whether or not child labor includes working at home (Gunnarsson, Orazam, and Sanchez, 2004). Exclusion of the figures of
children working at home, in contrast to the universal understanding that child labor strictly encompasses industrial employment, “understate(s) the actual incidence of child labor, particularly for girls who are more likely than boys to be engaged in housework” (Gunnarsson, Orazam, and Sanchez, 2004).

The problem with child labor is the short-sighted perception of income generation. A study on child labor in Bangladesh, a country that shares the same problem with the Philippines on employment of working children, mentioned the trade-off between the current earnings of children and the children’s growth by means of “accumulation of human capital through education” (Khanam and Ross, 2005). When parents fail to see the importance of education in increasing the “learning achievements” of their children, the incidence of child labor is probably higher (Khanam and Ross, 2005). In another study (Rahman and Khanam, 2012), it was determined that child labor is particularly abundant in the Asia Pacific. Further, family size and birth order have become determinants of child labor, such that, parents have the tendency to make their older children earn a living as “the earning schedule goes up with age” (Rahman and Khanam, 2012).

The demographics shows that there is higher prevalence of child labor in the rural areas of developing countries as there is an acceptance in the traditional social and cultural norms to have children work (Neumayer and De Soysa, 2005, as cited in Rahman and Khanam, 2012). Poverty seems to be cyclical in nature in the case of child labor. Child labor is then a consequence of intergenerational poverty, where it is determined in this case that parents of the working children were also working and exploited for labor during their youth (Rahman and Khanam, 2012). In the business point of view, children are seen to be cheap labor and they are always easily manageable due to their youth, blind obedience and ignorance of their rights (Rahman and Khanam, 2012). As such, children are paid cheaply for duties that are supposedly fit only for adults’ capabilities; the resulting consequence of this is the less bargaining power for adults to demand for fairer wages (Rahman and Khanam, 2012). The employment of children pushes wages to decrease (Rahman and Khanam, 2012).

The Philippines has a huge labor force at approximately 61,775 thousand people, with a labor force participation rate of 63.8 percent (NSO, 2014). This enormous human capital potential carries a high functional literacy rate of 86.4 percent, as of 2008 (NSO, 2014). Nevertheless, there remains poverty, and with it a couple of issues such as unemployment and child labor, of varying degrees from one region to another. Poverty Incidence is the “proportion of families/individuals whose annual per capita income fall below the annual per capita poverty threshold” (NSCB, 2014). Consequently, poverty threshold is defined as the “minimum income required or the minimum amount to be spent by a reference family to satisfy the nutritional requirements (2,000 calories) and other basic needs NSCB, 2014).”

In the Philippines, there is a higher possibility for males to drop out more than females (Maligalig, et al., 2010). It was indicated in Maligalig, et al. (2010)’s study that “lack of personal interest, high cost of education, and employment” are the major reasons behind secondary school students’ non-attendance in school. Males have been
cited to lack that personal interest in pursuing education, while their female counterparts are shied away by the cost (Maligalig, et al., 2010). Department of Education (DepEd) has had programs to mitigate the effects of dropping out. Among these programs is the Alternative Learning System (ALS), where assessment and equivalency programs create opportunities for students to integrate back to the formal education system (Maligalig, et al., 2010). The out-of-school youths are given nonformal type of education and literacy classes (Maligalig, et al., 2010).

In the Philippines, a conditional cash transfer program has been in place since 2007 and has been under the helm of the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). The Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps) is currently in operation in 79 provinces covering 1,484 municipalities and 143 cities in all regions of the country, and has 3,996,967 registered households (DSWD, 2014). As program implementer, the DSWD requires conditions before households qualify to get cash assistance which, also address the pressing problem of school dropouts. It is required that children ages 3-5 should be enrolled in a day care program or pre-school program and maintain a class attendance rate of at least 85 percent per month (DSWD, 2014). Households having children ages 6-14 are required to have these children enrolled in elementary and high schools, and maintain a class attendance rate of at least 85 percent per month (DSWD, 2014).

In the promulgation of policies that, at the very least, mitigate child labor, the Philippines can learn from Mexico and Bangladesh. The conditional cash transfer programs of Mexico (Oportunidades) and Bangladesh (previously Food-for-Education) have positively stimulated the school enrollment and retention of working children (Khanam and Ross, 2011). In Mexico, the Oportunidades program has been effective as it not only attracted children back to school but it also reasonably compensated the forgone potential incomes of children who would have worked (Schultz, 2004, as cited in Khanam and Ross, 2011). Bangladesh turned to some sort of food aid programs previously, then went to the course of the conditional cash transfer. The problem with some conditional cash transfer programs is its unrealistic and unreasonable measure of compensation to be given to the families. It is imperative in this case that the cash, or any aid for that matter, would at the minimum match the incomes that the households would have earned from having their children work. The case of the conditional cash transfer matching the incomes forgone to have the children study instead of work is cited in the study of Khanam and Ross (2011), also alluding to the well-designed program of Mexico’s Oportunidades.

METHODOLOGY

The study employed data mining technique in generating the secondary data from the Philippines’ Bureau of Labor and Employment Statistics (BLES) and National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB) databases. The data were processed and analyzed as bases in the assessment of child labor scenarios of the country covering the period 2008-2012. Quarterly data on household population of children ages 5-17 years old are central to the study with only regional level disaggregation. Since poverty survey data are not on annual basis, some annual data had been projected through

This study is limited to investigating poverty and child labor data which are disaggregated at the regional level since no provincial level data are available from government data sourced agencies for the years under study. Multiple correlation analysis was carried out using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient (Pearson \( r \)) to determine significant associations among the study variables. Descriptive and inferential statistical analysis were done and results were descriptively and inferentially interpreted and comprehensively discussed substantiated with implications of findings. These formed the bases for the drawn conclusions and the policy recommendations put forward for considerations.

For this paper, the household data refer to “the characteristics of the population residing in private households as provided by any knowledgeable and responsible member of the sample households” (BLES, 2014). The poverty variable concerns with the percentage of Philippine individuals in poverty threshold whose data are sourced from the NSCB’s poverty incidence among population report (2006, 2009 & 2012). The ratio of children who are in the labor force to the total children household population is referred to as the “working children”. Those working children not attending school pertains to the percentage of reported working children not attending school.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The percentage of working children ages 5-17 is derived by getting the percentage of children ages 5-17 working out of the total population of children ages 5-17. Figure 2 shows that Northern Mindanao (Region X) has the highest percentages of working children, followed by CARAGA Region, CAR and Eastern Visayas (Region VIII). Provincially disaggregated data on working children are not available hence the descriptive analysis are limited to regional level statistics. The high percentage of working children in these two regions stem from the fact that most school children participate in the labor force as they assist their farm working family members during their free time. Notably, these are predominantly agricultural regions and endowed with large agricultural farmlands and rich fishing marine waters. Working children in these regions participate where their parents are working, doing agricultural farming and related activities. The Cordilleras Autonomous Region (CAR) presents similar attributes whose main economic activities as farm based. The Ifugao and Igorot cultures have a tradition anchored on farming, with the Banaue Rice Terraces traditional farming. Farming is integral to livelihood and
sustenance whereby children are part of the labor force who are left with no choice but to combine both schooling and farm labor.

In Figure 3, Northern Mindanao (Region X) registered the highest number of working children in the country. Behind it are Bicol Region (Region V), Western Visayas (Region VI), Central Visayas (Region VII) and Eastern Visayas (Region VIII). The Cordillera Autonomous Region (CAR) has the least number of working children notwithstanding having the large percentage among working children in the country. Figures 2 and 3 suggest two scenarios which require policy driven concerns. Regions with high percentage of working children have issues on over-all human development, particularly on the lack of schools in the rural areas and the presence of haciendas proliferating in sugar plantations in Panay and Negros Occidental (Western Visayas region), the rice fields in Bohol (Central Visayas), and mining companies in Camarines Norte (Bicol Region). These regions largely employed children for unskilled hard labor. Regions with huge working children population face the crucial challenge of minimizing their parents’ dependence on children for income generation.

Figure 4 indicates the percentage of population living within the poverty threshold. CARAGA, ARMM and Zamboanga Region (Region IX) have the highest percentages of poor individuals in the country. Apparently, ARMM and Zamboanga Regions, particularly Maguindanao, Basilan, Sulu and Lanao del Sur, have always been the battleground of war and armed conflicts between the Moro rebels and the government. In Maguindanao, rampant corruption manifests a wide gap of economic conditions among the ruling class and the poor residents. It is noted that ARMM is marred by conflicts among warring political clans. All these factors put behind economic development in these areas to low priorities which imply that resolving political conflicts gets more bearing. In effect, productive economic initiatives and educational development endeavors are neglected and left to stagnate. The frequent turnover of local government elected officials creates changes in local government administration prohibiting sustained focus of poverty alleviation programs. In effect, the national government finds it difficult to intervene in the dominating cultural and political
behavior in the rather sensitive region of ARMM.

Meanwhile, the NCR, CALABARZON (Region IV-A) and Central Luzon (Region III) hold the lowest percentages of Filipinos in the poverty threshold. These are the regions with high living standards, high literacy rates and higher wage standards. They are also the regions with high costs of living since they are within and around the highly urbanized Metro Manila. Addressing the problem of education services delivery in these regions is tricky because the government must deal with the biggest gap of education expenditures. Large and expensive schools are found in these regions, while there is also a huge number of poor children in these areas such that there is a need for a highly “customized” education service delivery ensuring that the poor children get the government subsidy, not those who only claim to be poor.

The study found that the percentage of the population within the poverty threshold is strongly associated with the percentage of working children and those not attending school (Table 2). The significant correlation in Table 2 suggests that when there is higher poverty incidence, there is also a high percentage of child labor (Pearson $r = 0.667$, $P$-value $= 0.000$) and high percentage of working children not attending school (Pearson $r = 0.567$, $P$-value $= 0.000$). This confirms the research study hypothesis of strong relationship between poverty and child labor. Similarly, low poverty incidence translates to low rate of child labor. The findings confirm the argument of Rosenzweig and Evenson (1977) and Levy (1985), as cited in Gunnarsson, Orazam, and Sanchez (2004), that child labor markets complements school enrollment. Children’s education becomes the sacrificial lamb when families, especially when household breadwinners cannot provide basic food needs and sustenance. The children are forced to leave school to help bring ahead the household survival.

It is evident that dropping out from school is such a heavy decision to make, and there must be compelling reasons for the households to take children away from school. Culturally, Filipino households put high value on education. But often poverty outweighs this valued priority and the opportunities of working children to continue their school become a huge risk because of the temptation to earn better income when children become employed “full time” acceptable to their family or household members.

Figure 5 reflects the downtrend in the number of children not attending school over the span of four (4) years, this in spite of the burgeoning population pattern of the Philippines. The regions of CALABARZON (Region IV-A), Central Luzon (Region III), NCR and ARMM have the largest population of children not going to school while the distinction of fewest children not attending school is found in the Cordillera Autonomous Region. CALABARZON, Central Luzon and NCR are among largely and densely populated regions of the country. These regions
have a huge number of industries where children can get employed. The presence of affluent residents and middle-class families provides an opportunity for children working as domestic workers like store attendants, maids, family gardeners and baby sitters. ARMM, on the other hand, has been under the surge of political conflicts. As a consequence, there are some displacements of families from their localities which disrupt the normal flow of children going to school and secondly, classrooms becomes evacuation centers for displaced people caught in the crossfire between the government and Moro rebels.

Figure 6 depicts the percentage of children not attending school. The ARMM, Zamboanga Region (Region IX), Davao Region (Region XI) and SOCCSKSARGEN (Region XII) registered high percentages of children not attending school, while CAR and NCR have the lowest. Again, ARMM and Zamboanga Regions are battleground of warring action between the government and the Moro rebels, wherein the high percentage of working children is worsened by these external factors. Similarly, there is a downtrend in the percentage of children not attending school over the years.

Zamboanga, Davao and SOCCSKARGEN are agricultural regions with bounty fishing industries. It could be that the high volume of workers needed for these big agri-industries can provide long term solution for families, when they could not see their children’s future in going to school and getting the returns of their investment on education. It is noted that CAR, having a high percentage of working children, has the second lowest percentage of working children ages not attending school. This remains consistent to the

### Table 2. Association between variables using Pearson r

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Pearson r</th>
<th>P-Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poverty and Working Children Not Attending School</td>
<td>0.567**</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty and Working Children</td>
<td>0.667**</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Children and Working Children Not Attending School</td>
<td>0.142**</td>
<td>0.194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** - highly correlated at α= 0.01
ns – not significantly correlated

Source: BLES-CLS database

**Figure 5.** Philippine population of working children ages 5-17 years not attending school by region, 2008-2012
observation that agriculture is more of a tradition and not of an effect of poverty. Children in the Cordilleras are able to combine diligently their education and the need to continue their tribes’ agricultural tradition.

The higher the poverty incidence rate, the higher drop-out rate would be for working children. Believing the wrong hindsight that future net returns of education are considered to be lower than the wages offered in the job market, children go to work because they think they can earn rather than spend their time and resources for education (Aldaba, Collado and Tamangan, 2004). These children, most especially their families, know the value of education, but are in the unfortunate circumstance of having no other alternative but for the young workers to contribute to the meager household income. This is where 4Ps program of DSWD comes in. To entice the heads of households to send their children to school, conditional cash transfers are made. While the program is not the most holistic of all and that it takes no amount of cash to motivate the households to provide education to their children, it nevertheless creates the first step in making these less-privileged families understand the value of education. It is saddening, however, that education has become a privilege, instead of a right, in the country among especially for those household and families within and below the poverty threshold.

One of the reasons that children drop out could also be the family size, wherein one or a few school children in the family drop out to let the remaining school children to attend school or possibly to join their parents in work. While education, like other physiological needs, is valued unconditionally, it also comes with opportunity cost. That is why it is usually the first need to go, while the physiological needs remain naturally.

There was no significant correlation between working children and children not attending school attendance. This could be due to the fact that, while there were many who dropped out from school, there were still those who continued studying and working at the same time. The quality of cognitive learning that working children get while working cannot be ascertained. Nonetheless, it is imperative to assess whether the working children who go to school provide the same output and cognitive abilities as those who study “full time.” There also a need to know if school attendance would have held more importance than the quality of knowledge and cognitive abilities that children possess. School attendance is still important, side by side with quality to be prioritized.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is concluded that dropping out from school by working children takes effect when the income is not enough. Children under this study are forced to take on the responsibility of augmenting and providing the income needs of their households. Child labor does not only threatens the quality of labor force, but also encourages a vicious cycle of using children as insurance against future crises. Households lose foresight of alternative opportunities to increase income without having to exploit children to labor. The endogenous growth theory of Lukas (1988) holds true for this study where education plays the crucial role as long term solution to eradicating child labor and poverty.
In the light of the findings and conclusion of the study, the authors recommend programs and policies, which government and policy makers owe to consider, ensure a balance of providing working children education and work opportunities without sacrificing one for the other especially those at the elementary school level. The government, through the Department of Education (DepEd) should construct and provide schools in propinquity to poor communities thereby eliminate transportation costs for children whose parents cannot afford such costs. As discussed, walking long distances due to the inability to pay transportation is one contributory factor for children to dropout from school.

Bridging programs in primary schools for working children should be taken into consideration. The DSWD’s 4Ps program scope can be expanded to cover more Filipino households. The conditional cash transfer program is not the end-all solution to poverty and child labor, but it commences the government drive to put working children back to schools. The 4Ps program can be more holistically compelling if it also includes hands-on participation of parents in getting their children to achieve acceptable levels of cognitive abilities and knowledge. A study on how 4Ps increases school performance of children, particularly those in the work force, is imperative to create an assessment of the feasibility of such program to mitigate or reduce the effects of poverty in school attendance.

Finally, further exploration on child labor and poverty seems potentially fruitful avenue for further research. It is important to have empirical evidences on the particular age or grade level that school children drop out, and to assess the quality of cognitive learning and abilities that working children possess. Further and in-depth studies on working children can also be conducted utilizing provincial level disaggregated data which, in this study, are not yet statistically available. Studies on these subjects will make the government better assess the issue and appropriately respond to sensitive issues on poverty and child labor in the Philippines.

REFERENCES


