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YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the extent and nature of children and youth employment in the Philippines during the 1960s and the 1970s. Countries like the Philippines are in transition from a subsistence agrarian economy to industrial capitalism. Viewed in this perspective, the role of children in production becomes primarily a function of the existing mode of production. As work takes place away from the home involving other non-family members, the sharing of the total output is likely to be detached from the major consideration of the needs of those who contribute to production. Unorganized, easily intimidated and exploited, children with hardly any bargaining power can be a source of cheap labor.

The literature on child and youth employment in the Philippines cites the poor working conditions of child labor such as their low wages, long hours of work and poor work surroundings. The study describes the labor force participation, employment characteristics and educational background of the 10-14 year olds during the period 1961 to 1976. It also includes a case study of a sample of firms, apprentices and their parents/guardians in Metro Manila in 1979 which establishes basically the same work pattern characterized by low wages and poor working conditions of working minors, as described by earlier studies.

A review of the evolution of legislation concerning the employment of children and the youth show that in 50 years, from the 1920s to the 1970s, the legislation that took shape emerged to be most comprehensive and adequate. The problem lies in the grossly inadequate enforcement of these laws protecting minors implying therefore the great possibility of rampant abuses and exploitation of the working youth.

The paper ends with a set of recommendations to promote child and youth welfare which gives emphasis on the great potential of government intervention towards: 1) economic development that leads to a more equitable income distribution since children work primarily because of poverty; 2) providing educational opportunities to children; 3) strengthening the apprenticeship and learnership programs; 4) the serious enforcement of laws protecting working minors; and 5) influencing labor unions to take on guardianship of working minors.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

by

Rosa Linda P. Tidalgo and Virginia A. Teodosio*

INTRODUCTION

The neglect and exploitation of children have recently been given more attention, especially with the United Nations' proclamation of 1980 as the "International Year of the Child". The use of child labor has persisted. However, the role of child labor has varied with the transformation of societies. Most less developed countries find themselves in a transition stage from subsistence agrarian societies to industrial capitalistic societies. This transformation brings about changes in the use of different types of labor resources and the potential for exploitation of such labor group. Children can be a source of cheap labor which can be easily exploited during this transition.

This study intends to describe the extent and nature of children's economic participation in the Philippines and identify areas in need of active government intervention to protect the children's welfare. The study is divided into six major sections.

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The first gives a framework with which to view child labor in most less developed countries. The role of children in production is considered a function of the existing mode of production.

The second reviews the literature on child and youth employment in the Philippines. Only a few studies deal with the reasons for working, work conditions, educational background and home environment of working minors.

The status of youth employment in the Philippines during the period 1961-1976 is examined in the third section in terms of the labor force participation, employment characteristics and education background of the 10-14 years age group.

Section four summarizes a case study of apprenticeship in a sample of Metro Manila firms in 1979. The survey looked into the characteristics of the firms, the hiring and termination practices of management, and the fringe benefits given to apprentices. A sample of young apprentices and their parents or guardians were interviewed to cull information on their socioeconomic background, job history, expectations, and attitudes towards children's employment.

The fifth section discusses the evolution of Philippine legislation on child and youth labor. It covers the 1920s when the first child labor law was enacted until the 1970s with the passage of the Labor Code and the Child and Youth Welfare Code. It also describes the various

programs for child and youth welfare by different institutions. The extent of enforcement of child and youth labor laws is also assessed.

The paper ends with a summary and a set of recommendations to protect child and youth labor which focuses on the need for government intervention in a number of policy areas.

In the long-run when the transition is over, we can expect a decline in child labor, especially with more progressive labor legislation, an adequate supply of youth and adult labor and a more progressive attitude towards the formal training of children in schools.

I. CHILD LABOR: AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK^{1/}

The role of children in production is best explained by the existing mode of production. The mode of production may be defined as the "pattern of social relations of production and distribution combined with related development of the forces of production." Child labor as a phenomenon existing in less developed countries will have to be viewed in the context of the mode of production characterizing these countries. They may be experiencing the transition from pre-capitalist mode of production to a capitalist or socialist type. The less developed countries were (some, still are) basically agrarian societies. During the twentieth century, many (including the Philippines) have been moving towards industrial capitalism.

In subsistence agrarian societies, the basic unit of society, the family or the extended clan, undertakes all the necessary production in order to subsist. Every member of that societal unit contributes to production according to one's ability, usually determined by physical capability which is mainly a function of age and sex. In fact, the roles of different members of the unit are determined by these two factors. The children therefore tend to take on lighter work, most likely more time-intensive, and closer to the home, as opposed to the

^{1/} This section draws heavily from G. Rodgers and G. Standing, "The Economic Roles of Children in Low-income Countries: A Framework for Analysis," ILO-WEP Working Paper No. 81, October 1979.

the adults who take on physically heavier work which might take them farther from home, hence exposing them to more danger. The children like the rest of the household or clan members are considered producers. Their possible production role and exploitation may be based on socially sanctioned age, sex and kin relationships. As producers, they may be viewed within a conventional model of the family, i.e., the parents bringing up children as forms of investment to support them in old age, or parents producing children who can possibly work at an early age.

In subsistence, agrarian societies there is no formal schooling or training separate from the home. The training component of schooling as we know it today is acquired through apprenticeship to an elder family member knowledgeable in a craft or crafts.

It would be very difficult to establish the existence of exploitation in such a situation. First, exploitation is determined against a set of standards which is time bound and culturally bound. If one were to look at the standards of a subsistence society, one cannot envision the children not being fed as the adults. The children would equally share (if not proportional to their physical requirements) the total produce with the adults. When the work situation is taken away from the home involving other non-family members, the exploitation is likely more easily measured because the sharing of the total output can be detached from the major consideration of the needs of those who contributed to the production.

Most less developed countries are now going through a transition to industrial capitalism. The shift to cash crop farming, the increasing commercialization of agriculture, the monetization of domestic activities is evident, accompanied with the rationalization of agricultural production which tends to concentrate land ownership for more efficient production. As a result, the number of landless people has increased, hence, the growth of unemployment. With a dualistic type of development where some members of society usually those in the agrarian and rural sectors are relatively more backward than those in the industrialized and urban regions, migration from the agricultural to the industrial sectors and from the rural to the urban areas becomes rampant. Accompanying industrial capitalism is increased division of labor and specialization. There is therefore a tendency for the labor market to become segmented, i.e., specific either to an industry, or location, or to a craft or trade. This growing labor market segmentation makes it possible for one labor group to enhance its welfare without enhancing those of the rest of the labor class, hence widening the divisions within the class and preventing it from gaining bargaining strength.

There is a growing labor reserve coming from the agrarian and rural sectors which the industrial urban sectors can tap. Child labor is one source of cheap labor like the other unskilled laborers. As a class of worker, children can be easily disciplined, intimidated and exploited, because they tend to be unorganized. Moreover, being young,

they need to have access to the labor market, an access provided by a system of apprenticeship.

The use of children during the transition to industrial capitalism indirectly increases the exploitation of labor because they compete with the higher-wage adult workers. Children are engaged in different production activities starting from domestic to non-domestic work but still non-monetary when they are supervised by their parents or other relatives, to paid employment. The paid employment can be in some form of apprenticeship or non-apprenticeship. In addition to production activities, children may also undertake schooling, recreation and leisure, idleness, and activities such as sleeping, eating and cleaning oneself. At present, more training in production skills already exists in the formal educational system of many less developed societies. Children are expected to develop production skills and socio-cultural values from the formal educational system complementing those learned through the home. Under such circumstances, child labor is not fully sanctioned by society unlike in agrarian subsistence societies to the extent that working may compete with schooling. Considering however, the pros and cons of child labor, society would tend to accept a degree of complementarity between work and schooling, that working is a form of training for future employment and that it inculcates habits of industry and thrift in children much earlier than if they were not exposed to actual work experience in production.

Child labor will be a problem confronting less developed countries for sometime. As a source of cheap labor that competes with adult workers, their possible entry into the labor force via apprenticeship makes this group most exploitable by the capitalists in production, with hardly any bargaining power. Child labor is further bred by the existing unequal distribution of income in most of these societies where majority of the households are poor requiring more than one breadwinner, including the children, with the latter most likely under exploitative work conditions.

The governments of these less developed countries have an important task to undertake to protect these children, a task which would need not only economic resources but also political will.

II. CHILD LABOR IN THE PHILIPPINES:

A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There are only a few works on child and youth labor in the Philippines. Most of them were based on surveys of working minors in Manila.

The earliest study done was by V. Ruiz in 1930.^{2/} He looked into the working conditions, educational background and home environment of working children in Manila. The study was based on a survey of 1,195 working children in Manila, a sample of 800 work certificates issued to minors by the Child Labor Division of the then Bureau of Labor, and interviews with firm managers. The survey period was from October, 1927 to October, 1928. The survey sample approximated the 1,252 children reported working in factories and other commercial establishments in Manila. Ruiz drew the following profile of the working minors in 1927-1928:

1. The age distribution of working children in Manila ranged from 10-17 years old with mean age at 15.2 years; approximately 70 per cent were 14-17 years old;
2. most working children in Manila (56.5 per cent) were from various provinces and had their last school training from their respective provinces;

^{2/} V. Ruiz, Status of Working Children in Manila, A Study of Work, Wages, Educational Achievement and Home Conditions of Working Children in Manila, unpublished M.A. (Education) thesis, University of the Philippines (1930), pp. 91-94.

3. the educational attainment ranged from grade 1 to third year high; the mean level was grade 5; about 72.5 per cent reached the 3rd to the 6th grade;
4. their main reason for leaving school was economic pressure; other reasons were dissatisfaction with school and preference for work;
5. working children were engaged in 90 occupations; among the most common were cigar makers, strippers, sewers, domestic helpers, and candy wrappers; about 95 per cent were unskilled and were in occupations which were typically "blind-alley" jobs, mechanical, in character, and afforded no chances for advancement;
6. the wage distribution of working children in Manila ranged from zero to ₱35 a month; 86.6 per cent received ₱2 to ₱6 a week; the mean wage was ₱4.18;
7. most of the working children (31 per cent) secured their jobs by themselves, some (20 per cent) through a family member, others (29 per cent) through the aid of a friend, and the rest (19 per cent) through a relative; in no instance did the school help in their placement;
8. their working hours ranged from 1 to 63 hours a week with the mean at 53.7 hours; 65 per cent worked between 48 to 63 hours a week;
9. the duration of their employment ranged from 1/2 to 24 months; the mean was 4 months and 7 days; 56 per cent stayed employed from 1/2 to 2 months;
10. there was no relation between their educational attainment and their initial wage; work beginners of the same age but of different educational attainments practically receive the same salary.

Arce cited some adverse consequences of child labor, one of which was the increased tendency to delinquency.^{3/} She noted some statistics from the juvenile delinquency section of the Manila Police

^{3/} E. Arce, "These Are Our Children," Philippine Free Press, Vol. 39 (July 17, 1948), p. 2.

Department which showed a total of 5,503 cases in 1945 increasing to 8,312 in 1946 with most of the violations caused by child vendors. Economic necessity was cited as the children's primary reason for working. A decreasing trend in employment of child wage earners in the factories was observed in the succeeding years. Arce attributed this to the transition from factory work to street trades which occurred during this period. Consequently, the Department of Labor which was already constrained by the lack of personnel and funds, found it more difficult to supervise and control the employment of minors.

In a 1950 report by the then Department of Labor, 1,127 children were found employed in factories operating in Manila and nearby towns.^{4/} It was noted that more children were found employed in the street trades such as selling newspapers or cigarettes than in the factories. Nevertheless, this period was marked by a relatively low rate of child employment. The main reason cited to explain this was the vigorous government campaign to keep and accommodate as many children in schools.

L. Castañeda did a study on women and children in Philippine industry in 1953.^{5/} She probed into the ill-effects of child labor. Based on past studies, she cited again the deplorable employment conditions of child labor such as low wages, long working hours and poor work surroundings.

^{4/} N. del Rosario, "The Women and Minors Who Hold Jobs," The Evening News Saturday Magazine, Vol. VI, No. 8 (February 24, 1951), p. 4.

^{5/} L. Castañeda, "Women and Children in Industry in the Philippines," unpublished B.S.B.A. thesis, University of the Philippines, 1953.

Even in the 1950's, the strict enforcement of the child labor law was already considered necessary to minimize the ill-effects of employment on working children. She further added that cases of bribery and conspiracy between government inspectors and violators of the law aggravated the situation of lack of funds in the government, making the task of protecting working minors even more difficult.

In 1961, R. Fidelino did a study on the problems of child labor which focused on the employment conditions of young people engaged in street trades in Manila and suburbs. A sample of 100 working children (70 boys and 30 girls) were interviewed for the study. Of these total sample, 20 were below 12 years old, 30 were between 12 to 14, 40 were between 14 to 16 and 10 were between 16 to 17. The study's conclusions were similar to those of previous studies. They were:^{6/}

1. most children engaged in street trades left school to work because of the need to augment the low family earnings;
2. street trade occupations like peddling, hawking, selling newspapers, shoe shining and others were not suitable to young boys and girls under 12 years old because they were thrown into environments not beneficial to their proper development;
3. children engaged in "street" occupations especially those coming from broken homes, were more liable to become delinquents.
4. street trade occupations were "blind-alley" jobs which did not offer any training for the child's future.

^{6/} R. Fidelino, "Problems of Child Labor," Social Work, Vol. VI, No. 1 (January, 1961), pp. 500-501 and 512.

To remedy these problems, Fidelino recommended the:

1. enactment of a special "Street Trade Law" to regulate working conditions of children selling newspapers and flowers, and those working as peddlers, shoeshine boys and the like;
2. encourage civic groups to help children in street occupations by establishing recreation training centers, training camps, community kitchen and other facilities for them; and
3. enforcement of compulsory primary school attendance.

Another study on working children in street trades was done in Manila in 1974 by the Bureau of Women and Minors. It had a sample of 1159 youths hawking sweepstakes tickets, shining shoes and doing odd jobs and street services.^{7/} The study revealed that the in-school minors outnumber those who were out-of-school by 188 indicating that more in-school youths were engaged in a trade in the places surveyed.

As expected, these youths had to work for economic reasons: to support their studies, to augment their family income, and to support themselves. A number had to work at an early stage because they were orphaned by either one or both parents. Those who were out of school felt more the urgency to work as breadwinners than those who were in-school. The latter had a higher household median monthly income of ₱312.20 compared to ₱265.76 of the former. Generally, the working students had gainfully employed parents. A tenth were self-employed with their parents as the suppliers of their goods in business.

^{7/} Depth News, "Portrait of Working Minor: They Toil To be in School," Philippine Labor, Vol. II, No. 2 (January 15, 1974), p. 12.

The hazards of street work made outdoor selling and service predominantly boys' activities. The males outnumbered the females two-to-one. The peddlers preferred selling newspapers because they were marketable and food items which were saleable daily. Shining shoes which was considered the lightest and very profitable work was the main job among those rendering services. Heavy work like portering and dangerous trades like tricycle driving were done only by the older ones aged 18 to 21 years.

The median income of working students was ₱2.11 a day while that for the out-of-school minors was ₱2.39. The non-student generally earned more since they spent more time working. The older 15 to 17 years age-group earned three to four times more than the younger groups.

Most working minors contributed to the family budget. Two out of five girls gave all their earnings to their parents. Many gave 80 to 90 per cent of their day's income. One thing the survey found to be high among working minors was their hope for a better life.

Veering away from the urban focus of most research works, F. Flores studied the "Employment Status, Occupational Aspirations and Training Needs of Rural Out-of-School Youths in Southern Leyte."^{8/} The study was conducted in 12 randomly selected barrios of four municipalities

^{8/} F. Flores, Employment Status, Occupational Aspirations and Training Needs of Rural Out-of-School Youths in Southern Leyte, unpublished M.S. (Agricultural Education) thesis, University of the Philippines, Los Baños, 1972.

Included in the study were rural out-of-school youths who were elementary school graduates or high school drop-outs with the following profile:

1. Out of a sample of 1021 elementary school graduates from 1966 through 1970, 38 per cent were in school, 32 per cent migrated to other cities, towns and barrios, and the rest stayed in their municipalities.
2. Over 50 per cent of the out-of-school youths were helping their parents in farm work, 39 per cent were helping in household work, while 7 per cent were employed in non-farm jobs. Only 2 per cent were farming independently of their parents.
3. The 97 out-of-school youths helping in their parents' farm or business worked an average of 36.13 hours per week. More than half did not intend to continue helping their parents in farm work or in business.
4. Fourteen youths had non-farm jobs of whom 50 per cent were employed as household help and 21 per cent in varied non-farm jobs. They earned an average monthly income of ₱46.45. Over half of those employed in non-farm jobs did not like their jobs. They found their salary too low. Of the four youths farming independently of their parents as tenants, three planned to continue farming.
5. Of the 73 youths helping in household work, 36 per cent were previously employed in paid jobs. Most of them worked as household helpers and non-farm laborers and earned an average monthly income of ₱107.16. Only 22 per cent of those helping in household work tried to look for jobs. They gave the following reasons for their unemployment: (1) no jobs available, (2) still young for employment, and (3) lacked skills and education.
6. Majority (62.0 per cent) of the rural out-of-school youths were not satisfied with their present employment status: 48 per cent wanted to have paid non-farm jobs, 25 per cent wanted to study further and the rest wanted a higher salary from their present employment.
7. Most of them aspired for technical, semiskilled and professional occupations. But considering their limitations, especially financial, the occupations that they will most likely have were farming and semiskilled-non-farm jobs.

8. Their educational aspirations were: a high school education (32.0 per cent), a college education (29.0 per cent), and vocational education (29.0 per cent).

This review of studies on child and youth labor reveals the lack of systematic research on: (1) the conditions of working minors nationwide, (2) young apprentices and learners, (3) minors in paid employment in the formal non-services and non-trade sectors and (4) extent of government regulation of the employment of minors.

III. YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1961-1976

This section is divided into three parts. The first examines the labor force characteristics of the 10-14 year olds during the period 1971 to 1976. The second looks at the group's employment characteristics over a fifteen year period from 1961 to 1976. The third assesses the state of schooling of children in the economy.

Until 1976, the labor force was defined in government-published statistics as household population of ages 10 years old and over. Subsequently, the minimum age limit was raised to 15 starting in 1977. The change in the minimum age limit may be justified by the increasing urbanization and industrialization which presupposes among others, an expansion in the educational opportunities for the youth, and the expectation, therefore, that they will tend to enter the labor force at a much later age.

The Bureau of the Census and Statistics, now the National Census and Statistics Office, undertook household surveys starting in 1956. These surveys which gathered labor force information began to publish more detailed statistics for the younger age groups only in 1971. Therefore, the description of youth employment in this study covers more adequately the 1970s.

A. Labor Force

Table 1 gives the labor force status of the 10-14 year-olds in the Philippines, by sectors (urban and rural) and by sex for 1971 and 1976, both for the month of August. The population of 10-14 year-olds was 5,192 thousand in 1971 increasing to 5,384 thousand by 1976. Of this group, only 11 per cent or 570 thousand were in the labor force in 1971 increasing to 12 per cent or 785 thousand by 1976. The sex distribution of the labor force for both years was relatively constant at 63 to 64 per cent males and 37 to 36 per cent females, respectively, for the two years cited.

The labor force participation rate was smaller in urban than in rural areas. Among the 10-14 year-olds in the rural areas, 13.1 per cent was in the labor force in 1971 compared to 6 per cent in urban areas. This rural-urban labor force differential was greater in the case of males (16.8 per cent in rural: 5.2 per cent in urban) than females (9.0 per cent: 6.8 per cent). The differential increased in five years' time such that in 1976 for both sexes, the rural labor force participation rate was three times that of the urban. In the case of the males, four times that of the urban while in the case of the females, twice that of the urban. Therefore, the increase in labor force participation was due more to the increase in the rural than in the urban areas. The possible reasons for this particular trend may be: First, school opportunities expanded more in urban than in rural areas. Second, there were more labor inspectors and perhaps a more strict

Table 1

TEN TO FOURTEEN YEAR-OLD POPULATION BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS, LOCATION
AND SEX: AUGUST 1971 AND AUGUST 1976

(In thousands, except per cent)

Location and Employment Status	1 9 7 1			1 9 7 6		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Philippines						
Population 10-14 years old (thousands)	5192	2682	2510	6384	3236	3147
Labor Force (thousands)	570	352	200	785	492	293
as % of 10-14 year-old population	11.0	13.5	8.3	12.3	15.2	9.3
Employed (% of 10-14 year-old population)	96.0	95.6	96.8	97.5	95.4	96.4
Unemployed (% of 10-14 year-old population)	4.0	4.4	3.2	2.5	2.6	2.4
Not in the Labor Force	89.0	86.5	91.7	87.7	84.8	90.7

Table 1 (Cont'd.)

Location and Employment Status	1971			1976		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Urban						
Population 10-14 years old (thousands)	1521	773	748	1962	998	964
Labor Force (thousands)	91	41	51	103	54	49
as % of 10-14 year-old population	6.0	5.2	6.8	5.3	5.4	5.1
Employed (% of 10-14 year-old population)	96.5	93.3	99.1	94.7	90.6	99.2
Unemployed (% of 10-14 year-old population)	3.5	6.7	0.9	5.3	9.4	0.8
Not in the Labor Force	94.0	94.8	93.2	94.7	94.6	94.9
Rural						
Population 10-14 years old (thousands)	3671	1909	1762	4421	2238	2184
Labor Force (thousands)	479	321	158	682	438	243
as % of 10-14 year-old population	13.1	16.8	9.0	15.4	19.6	11.1
Employed (% of 10-14 year-old population)	95.9	95.8	96.0	97.9	98.2	97.2
Unemployed (% of 10-14 year-old population)	4.1	4.2	4.0	2.1	1.7	2.8
Not in the Labor Force	86.9	83.2	91.0	84.6	80.4	88.8

Source: National Census and Statistics Office, National Sample Survey of Households Bulletin for the dates indicated.

enforcement of legislation concerning child labor in the urban relative to the rural areas. Third, there was an increase in production in rural areas requiring youths ages 10-14 years to increase their participation in the labor force. Fourth, there was a change in technology in the rural or agricultural production which increased labor requirements and generated more job opportunities in the sector.

Table 2 describes a five-year (1971-1976) trend of the labor force participation rate of different age groups. The 10-14 year-olds experienced a slight increase which averaged 12.1 per cent over the period 1971 to 1976. The male labor force participation rate (15.1 per cent) was higher than that of the females (9.0 per cent). This age group had the lowest labor force participation while the age group 25-44 years had the highest (69.1 per cent).

The labor force participation rate of this group varies within a year's period. Table 3 indicates a peaking of their labor force participation rate in May which is observed for both sexes. The most likely explanation for this is that most of these children are in school during the other months of observation and are out of school in May thus enabling them to join the labor force during their school vacation. The average differential labor force participation rate between May and the other months of observation (March or February, August and November) for the period 1971 to 1974, was 6.8 percentage points higher. If one were to do a similar computation

Table 2

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUP AND SEX: 1971-1976^{a/}

Sex and Age Group	Labor Force Participation Rate						
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	Average
Both Sexes							
10-14 years old	49.5	49.7	50.9	49.4	51.0	51.8	50.38
15-19 "	11.0	11.5	13.8	11.9	12.1	12.3	12.1
20-24 "	40.6	41.3	44.0	42.0	44.1	44.0	42.6
25-44 "	58.7	60.8	61.4	59.0	61.6	64.2	60.95
45-64 "	68.4	68.4	69.3	67.7	69.6	70.9	69.05
65 years & over	66.0	67.0	66.1	66.0	67.4	68.8	66.8
	33.7	36.5	35.5	38.0	36.9	38.1	36.45
Male							
10-14 years old	67.2	67.8	68.2	67.3	68.0	68.1	67.76
15-19 "	13.5	14.4	16.7	15.0	15.5	15.2	15.05
20-24 "	49.3	52.7	55.2	51.9	53.5	53.1	52.6
25-44 "	79.1	80.7	80.3	81.2	81.1	82.1	80.75
45-64 "	96.4	97.3	96.7	95.4	96.8	97.6	96.86
65 years & over	92.9	93.3	92.5	92.3	93.2	93.1	92.8
	52.4	57.3	52.2	56.0	55.6	56.8	55.05

^{a/} The data were taken in August of each year.

a/ The data were taken in August of each year.

Table 2 (Cont'd.)

Sex and Age Group	Labor Force Participation Rate						
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	Average
Female	32.2	31.9	33.8	31.8	34.3	36.0	33.3
10-14 years old	8.3	8.4	10.7	8.6	8.5	9.3	8.96
15-19 "	32.5	30.2	32.8	32.1	34.7	34.5	32.8
20-24 "	40.5	41.8	43.4	39.1	43.5	47.5	42.5
25-44 "	41.7	41.6	43.8	40.6	44.5	46.7	43.15
45-64 "	38.4	40.4	40.3	39.5	42.1	45.3	41
65 years & over	15.6	15.4	17.5	20.6	19.5	20.3	18.15

Source: NCSO, National Sample Survey of Household Bulletin, for the dates indicated.

by sex, the peaking in May of the labor force participation rate relative to the other months among the males came to 9.3 percentage points higher and in the case of females, 4.3 percentage points higher. The differential between the labor force participation in May and those of the other months is greater among the 10-14 years old than for the total labor force. For the latter case, the slight peaking in May might be explained by the variation in economic activity especially in agriculture.

B. Employment

Of the 10-14 year-old labor force group, 96.0 per cent were employed in 1971 increasing to 97.5 per cent in 1976 (Table 1). These imply an unemployment rate of 4.0 and 2.5 per cent, respectively. There was no substantial difference in the employment-unemployment ratio by sex.

Table 4 summarizes the relative shares of the 10-14 year-olds out of the total labor force, the total employed and the total unemployed. For 1971, this age group comprised only 4.4 per cent of total labor force which slightly increased to 4.8 per cent in 1976.

These are very similar to the age group's proportion of the total employed, 4.5 and 5.0 per cent for 1971 and 1976, respectively. As a proportion of the total unemployed, this age group comprised 3.4 per cent slightly declining to 2.4 per cent from 1971 to 1976,

Table 4

THE 10-14 YEAR-OLDS AS A PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS, SEX, AND LOCATION:
AUGUST 1971 AND AUGUST 1976

Employment Status and Sex	1 9 7 1			1 9 7 6		
	Philippines	Rural	Urban	Philippines	Rural	Urban
Both Sexes						
Per cent of Total Labor Force	4.4	5.4	2.2	4.8	5.2	2.0
Per cent of Total Employed	4.5	5.4	2.3	5.0	6.3	2.0
Per cent of Total Unemployed	3.4	5.8	1.0	2.4	3.6	1.3

Table 4 (Cont'd.)

Employment Status and Sex	1971			1976		
	Philippines	Rural	Urban	Philippines	Rural	Urban
Male						
Per cent of Male Labor Force	4.2	5.2	1.6	4.7	5.8	1.8
Per cent of Employed Males	4.2	5.1	1.7	4.8	5.9	1.8
Per cent of Unemployed Males	4.0	7.3	1.2	2.6	3.5	1.9
Female						
Per cent of Female Labor Force	4.9	6.0	3.1	5.1	6.9	2.2
Per cent of Employed Females	5.1	6.1	3.3	5.3	7.0	2.4
Per cent of Unemployed Females	2.6	4.1	0.4	2.2	3.7	0.3

Source: National Census and Statistics Office, National Sample Survey of Households Bulletin
for the dates indicated.

respectively. It can also be observed that the 10-14 year-olds' relative proportions of these three employment status groups were greater in the rural compared to their proportions in the urban sector.

The activities of the larger proportion of the 10-14 year-olds who were not members of the labor force may be gleaned from the (February) 1970 population census. The Census categorizes the not economically active into housekeepers, students and "others." Among these groups, (Table 5), the "Others" category, i.e., neither housekeeper nor student was always the largest, pointing at a serious problem of the youth. If most of the 10-14 year-old youths are not looking for work, nor are employed, attending school or helping in the house, then they are idle and bumming around.

The February 1970 population census gives a class of worker classification of the economically active population which includes both the employed and the unemployed (Table 6). For the whole Philippines, the unpaid family workers group comprised 61.6 per cent of the 10-14 year-olds compared to 18.9 per cent of the total economically active population. This large proportion of the unpaid family worker in the former age group was observed in the rural areas (67.5 per cent) rather than in the urban areas (26.7 per cent). The second large group among the 10-14 year-olds was the wage and salary workers which comprised 22.9 per cent. The category was the largest (39.9 per cent) among the total economically active population.

Table 5

TYPE OF ACTIVITY DISTRIBUTION OF THE 10-14 YEARS OLD AGE GROUP
BY SEX: FEBRUARY, 1970

(In thousands, except per cent)

Sex	Household Population 10 Years and Over		Type of Activity Distribution (per cent)					Not Stated
	Number	Per cent	Employed	Unemployed	Not Economically Active			
					Housekeeper	Students	Others	
Both Sexes	4298.6	100.0	14.5	2.6	16.1	19.3	46.6	0.1
Male	2188.0	100.0	18.2	2.8	7.9	19.4	51.6	0.1
Female	2110.6	100.0	10.7	2.3	26.3	19.2	41.3	0.2

Source: National Census and Statistics Office, Census of the Philippines, 1970: Population and Housing Summary, Table A-4, NS-71.

Table 6

CLASS OF WORKER DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION AND
THE 10-14 YEARS AGE GROUP BY SEX AND LOCATION: FEBRUARY, 1970

(In thousands, except per cent)

Sex and Location	Total Economically Active		Class of Worker						Looking for Work the First Time	
			Wage and Salary Workers		Self-employed	Unpaid Family Worker	Not Reported			
	Number	Per cent	Private	Government						
Philippines										
Both Sexes	12296.6	100.0	33.0	6.9	36.5	18.9	0.4	4.3		
10-14 yrs. old	733.9	100.0	22.7	0.2	3.2	61.1	0.8	12.1		
Male	8367.9	100.0	33.4	6.0	42.7	15.1	0.3	2.5		
10-14 "	458.4	100.0	18.6	0.1	3.6	67.0	0.6	10.1		
Female	3928.7	100.0	32.2	8.8	23.3	27.0	0.6	8.0		
10-14 "	275.4	100.0	29.5	0.2	2.6	51.4	0.9	15.4		

Table 6 (Cont'd.)

Sex and Age	Total Economically Active		Class of Worker					Looking for Work the First Time
			Wage and Salary Workers		Self-employed	Unpaid Family Worker	Not Reported	
	Number	Per cent	Private	Government				
Urban								
Both Sexes	3893.4	100.0	53.3	13.5	22.2	6.2	0.3	4.5
10-14 yrs. old	114.9	100.0	49.7	0.2	4.0	26.7	0.9	18.6
Male	2443.1	100.0	55.6	12.8	22.9	4.9	0.3	3.5
10-14 "	57.8	100.0	37.7	0.2	5.4	34.3	0.8	21.6
Female	1450.3	100.0	49.3	14.7	20.9	8.5	0.4	6.2
10-14 "	57.1	100.0	61.8	0.2	2.6	19.0	1.0	15.5

Table 6 (Cont'd.)

Sex and Age	Total Economically Active		Class of Worker						Looking for Work the First Time
			Wage and Salary Workers		Self-employed	Unpaid Family Worker	Not Reported		
			Private	Government					
	Number	Per cent							
Rural									
Both Sexes	8403.1	100.0	23.6	3.8	43.2	24.8	0.4	4.2	
10-14 yrs. old	618.9	100.0	17.7	0.2	3.1	67.5	0.7	10.8	
Male	5924.7	100.0	24.3	3.1	50.8	19.3	0.3	2.1	
10-14 "	400.6	100.0	15.8	0.1	3.4	71.7	0.6	8.4	
Female	2478.4	100.0	22.1	5.5	24.8	39.7	0.8	9.1	
10-14 "	218.4	100.0	21.1	0.2	2.7	59.8	0.9	15.3	

Source: National Census and Statistics Office, Census of the Philippines, 1970: Population and Housing Summary, Table A-15, pages (NS-74)-(NS-76).

The proportion of this category among the 10-14 year-olds was higher in urban areas (49.9 per cent) compared to that in the rural areas (17.9 per cent). Most of those in paid employment were in the private rather than in the government sector. It is of interest to observe that the proportion of the females belonging to this category was higher than that of the males. The self-employed comprised only 3-4 per cent of the total economically active. Also, the highest proportion of the self-employed was found among males in urban areas where greater opportunities for self-employment in the informal sectors (especially in trade and services) exist.

Table 7 gives the proportion of the 10-14 year-olds among the employed by industry for selected years. Less than 10 per cent of agricultural employment belonged to this age group and less than 5 per cent belonged to the nonagricultural employment. These proportions were relatively constant during the fifteen-year period 1961 to 1976. The percentage share of this age group out of total employment by sex shows a pattern of larger percentages for the females than for the males in each industry grouping. In absolute terms, the number of females in non-agriculture was almost double that of the males employed in the same sector, whereas, the absolute number of males was double to triple that of the females in the agricultural sector.

The industrial distribution of employment of the age group 10-14 years old for some selected years are shown in Table 8.

Table 7

PERCENTAGE OF THE 10-14 YEAR-OLDS AMONG THE TOTAL EMPLOYED^{a/}
 BY INDUSTRY: 1961, 1966, 1971 AND 1976^{b/}

(In thousands, except per cent)

Sex and Year	E m p l o y m e n t		
	All Industries	Agriculture	Non-agricultural Industries
BOTH SEXES			
1961			
Total	<u>8940</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>5438</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>3502</u> <u>100.0</u>
10-14 yrs. old	5.3	6.8	2.8
1966			
Total	<u>10663</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>6149</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>4514</u> <u>100.0</u>
10-14 yrs. old	5.8	7.9	3.0
1971			
Total	<u>11946</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>5837</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>6108</u> <u>100.0</u>
10-14 yrs. old	4.5	6.5	2.6
1976			
Total	<u>15085</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>7942</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>7143</u> <u>100.0</u>
10-14 yrs. old	5.0	7.3	2.4

^{a/} Count of employed persons at work.

^{b/} The 1961 and 1966 data were taken in October while those of 1971 and 1976 were taken in August.

Table 7 (Cont'd.)

Sex and Year	E m p l o y m e n t		
	All Industries	Agriculture	Non-agricultural Industries
MALE			
1961			
Total	<u>5839</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>4076</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>1763</u> <u>100.0</u>
10-14 yrs. old	4.9	6.2	1.8
1966			
Total	<u>7006</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>4645</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>2361</u> <u>100.0</u>
10-14 yrs. old	5.5	7.2	2.0
1971			
Total	<u>8034</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>4679</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>3355</u> <u>100.0</u>
10-14 yrs. old	4.2	6.1	1.7
1976			
Total	<u>9778</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>6042</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>3735</u> <u>100.0</u>
10-14 yrs. old	4.8	6.7	1.7

Table 7 (Cont'd.)

Sex and Year	E m p l o y m e n t		
	All Industries	Agriculture	Non-agricultural Industries
FEMALE			
1961			
Total	<u>3101</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>1362</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>1739</u> <u>100.0</u>
10-14 yrs. old	6.0	8.7	3.8
1966			
Total	<u>3657</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>1504</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>2153</u> <u>100.0</u>
10-14 yrs. old	6.6	10.0	4.1
1971			
Total	<u>3912</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>1158</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>2753</u> <u>100.0</u>
10-14 yrs. old	5.1	8.3	3.7
1976			
Total	<u>5307</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>1900</u> <u>100.0</u>	<u>3408</u> <u>100.0</u>
10-14 yrs. old	5.3	9.1	3.2

Source: National Economic and Development Authority,
National Sample Survey of Households Bulletin
 for the dates indicated.

Table 8

INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT^{a/}
 OF THE 10-14 YEARS AGE GROUP BY SEX: 1961,
 1966, 1971 AND 1976^{b/}

(In thousands, except per cent)

Year and Sex	E m p l o y m e n t			
	All Industries		Industrial Distribution	
	Total Employed	Per cent	Agriculture	Non-agricultural Industries
1961				
Both Sexes	8940	100.0	60.8	39.2
10-14 yrs. old	471	100.0	79.0	21.0
1966				
Both Sexes	10663	100.0	57.7	42.3
10-14 yrs. old	622	100.0	78.3	21.9
1971				
Both Sexes	11946	100.0	48.9	51.1
10-14 yrs. old	540	100.0	70.5	29.6
1976				
Both Sexes	15085	100.0	52.6	47.4
10-14 yrs. old	752	100.0	77.0	23.0

^{a/} Count of employed persons at work.

^{b/} The 1961 and 1966 data were taken in October while those of 1971 and 1976 were taken in August.

Table 8 (Cont'd.)

Year and Sex	E m p l o y m e n t			
	All Industries		Industrial Distribution	
	Total Employed	Per cent	Agriculture	Non-agricultural Industries
1961				
Male	5839	100.0	69.8	30.2
10-14 yrs. old	285	100.0	88.8	11.2
1966				
Male	7006	100.0	66.3	33.7
10-14 yrs. old	383	100.0	87.7	12.3
1971				
Male	8034	100.0	58.2	41.8
10-14 yrs. old	341	100.0	83.6	16.4
1976				
Male	9778	100.0	61.8	38.2
10-14 yrs. old	470	100.0	86.2	13.6

Table 8 (Cont'd.)

Year and Sex	E m p l o y m e n t			
	All Industries		Industrial Distribution	
	Total Employed	Per cent	Agriculture	Non-agricultural Industries
1961				
Female	3101	100.0	43.9	56.1
10-14 yrs. old	186	100.0	64.0	36.0
1966				
Female	3657	100.0	41.0	58.9
10-14 yrs. old	240	100.0	62.9	37.1
1971				
Female	3912	100.0	29.6	70.4
10-14 yrs. old	199	100.0	48.2	51.8
1976				
Female	5307	100.0	35.8	64.2
10-14 yrs. old	282	100.0	61.3	38.7

Source: National Economic and Development Authority,
National Sample Survey of Households Bulletin
 for the dates indicated.

It followed the same pattern as that of total employment. During the 15-year period covered, a greater proportion of those in this age group (70.5 per cent to 79.0 per cent) was in agriculture. However, there was a marked difference between the sexes; higher proportions of the males (83.6 per cent to 88.8 per cent) were employed in agriculture as compared to that of the females (48.2 per cent to 64.8 per cent). The higher proportion among females than among males found in the non-agricultural industry might imply the greater opportunities in manufacturing and the services sectors (especially in domestic services) which have been attracting female workers from the rural areas to migrate to the urban areas.

As a final characterization of the nature of employment of the youth 10-14 years old, Table 9 gives information on the extent of their employment as measured by the number of hours worked during the survey week for some selected years covering a 15-year period. There was an increase in the percentage of the age group working 40 hours^{9/} and over from 1961 to 1971 (from 29.3 to 45.2 per cent). By 1976, this proportion declined to 32.7 per cent. On the whole, there was a greater proportion of this age group working less than 40 hours compared to all the other working age groups.

^{9/} A forty-hour week is the full-time weekly work schedule for the government sector while that of the private sector is between 40 to 50 hours.

Table 9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE EMPLOYED^{a/} 10-14 YEARS OLD IN AGRICULTURE AND IN NON-AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES BY NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED DURING THE SURVEY WEEK AND BY SEX: 1961, 1966, 1971 AND 1976^{b/}

Year and Sex	Per Cent Distribution of the Employed by Hours Worked During Survey Week											
	All Industries				Agriculture				Non-agricultural Industries			
	Total	Less than 20 hours	20 to 39 hours	40 hours and above	Total	Less than 20 hours	20 to 39 hours	40 hours and above	Total	Less than 20 hours	20 to 39 hours	40 hours and above
1961 Both Sexes 10-14 yrs. old	100.0 100.0	8.7 31.5	26.4 38.0	64.6 29.3	100.0 100.0	8.9 32.1	32.6 41.8	58.3 25.8	100.0 100.0	8.4 29.2	16.8 23.7	74.5 42.8
1966 Both Sexes 10-14 yrs. old	100.0 100.0	9.7 38.3	16.5 31.3	73.9 30.1	100.0 100.0	11.3 39.5	19.3 35.0	69.3 25.6	100.0 100.0	7.4 34.2	12.5 19.2	80.1 46.6
1971 Both Sexes 10-14 yrs. old	100.0 100.0	6.1 27.1	17.4 27.7	76.4 45.2	100.0 100.0	8.2 31.5	22.8 32.1	69.0 36.4	100.0 100.0	4.2 16.5	12.3 17.1	88.5 66.4
1976 Both Sexes 10-14 yrs. old	100.0 100.0	6.8 38.0	16.8 29.1	76.3 32.7	100.0 100.0	8.9 41.6	22.0 32.9	69.1 25.3	100.0 100.0	4.5 25.7	11.0 16.3	84.2 57.4

^{a/} Count of employed persons at work.

^{b/} The 1961 and 1966 data were taken in October while those of 1971 and 1976 were taken in August.

C. Schooling

A major activity of children and the youth is schooling. What is the state of their education?

The Philippine educational system provides 6 years of free state-provided education starting at the age of 7, followed by 4 years of fee-paying secondary education and then 4 or 5 years of fee-paying college education. As expected, 95-96 per cent of enrolment in the elementary education was in public schools while only 30-46 per cent of secondary enrolment was in government-run schools (Table 10). Almost all preschool education is private. It is worth noting that there has been an increasing trend in the enrolment proportion of secondary education in public schools in the 1970s as shown in Table 10.

Table 11 summarizes the participation rates of different age groups by educational level. The table shows that by 1963-64 practically all children ages 7-12 years were in school.^{10/} The participation rate by educational level drastically dropped in the secondary levels to a range of 26.6 to 35.4 per cent of the relevant age group. Finally at the collegiate level, less than 20 per cent of the age group concerned were in school.

^{10/} The excess over a hundred per cent came from the over-aged schoolers.

Table 10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLMENT IN
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS FOR SELECTED YEARS

School Year	Elementary		Secondary	
	Public	Private	Public	Private
1955-56	95.9	4.1	33.4	66.6
1960-61	95.3	4.7	31.4	68.6
1965-66	95.5	4.5	33.2	66.8
1970-71	95.1	4.9	41.0	59.0
1975-76	94.8	5.1	46.0	54.0

Source: NEDA, 1979 Philippine Statistical Yearbook,
Manila, 1979, pp. 609-611.

Table 11

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL PARTICIPATION RATES,
1960-1965

School Year	Elementary	Secondary	Collegiate
	% Population 7-12 Years Old in School	% Population 13-16 Years Old in School	% Population 17-21 Years Old in School
1960-61	91.6	26.6	13.1
1961-62	93.9	27.6	14.3
1962-63	99.3	30.5	16.3
1963-64	104.2 ^{1/}	33.8	16.3
1964-65	108.6 ^{1/}	35.4	17.5

Note: Enrolment figures are from the Department of Education. Population data are from the National Economic Council (NEC) estimates, which are considered to be moderate.

^{1/} Indicates enrolment of over-aged children.

Source: Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education, Education for National Development, New Patterns, New Directions, Table 1.4, p. 34.

How long do children of school age stay in school and what educational levels do they finish? Table 12 gives the cumulative dropout rates in public elementary and secondary schools by grade/year level for selected years. Unfortunately, no data on the private schools was found. The youth ages 10-14 years are supposed to be in the fourth elementary grade to second year in the secondary level. Table 12 shows that in 1955-56, thirty-nine out of a hundred who started grade 1 dropped out by the fourth grade increasing to more than half (57) the dropouts by the sixth grade and finally only twenty were left during the second year in the secondary level. By 1974-75 these dropout rates improved such that by grade 4 only twenty-two out of a hundred who started grade 1 dropped out and thirty-four out of a hundred dropped out by grade 6. Unfortunately, there was no data for the dropout rate by the second year high school for a complete comparison with the 1955-56 figures.

Higher dropout rates were observed for the first grade and the first year of the secondary level (Table 13). A possible explanation for the former is the big adjustment required of the child in the first grade. The higher dropout rate in the beginning of the secondary level might be explained by the formal completion of the set of elementary grades. One therefore might reflect more seriously whether to stop one's schooling or proceed to the next set of schooling.

Table 14 gives information on the highest grade completed by the 10-14 year-old population in 1960. Similar data for more

Table 12

CUMULATIVE DROPOUT RATES IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS
BY GRADE AND YEAR FOR SELECTED YEARS

(Per Cent)

School Year	Primary				Intermediate		Secondary			
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	First	Second	Third	Fourth
1955-56	11.16	19.16	29.12	38.66	48.63	57.48	70.67	79.55	87.37	90.56
1960-61	9.16	15.95	23.51	33.48	41.99	49.85	64.37	75.16	84.46	90.05
1965-66	7.51	12.39	17.84	23.94	30.57	36.52	46.4	54.36	61.53	64.67
1970-71	6.05	10.93	16.04	22.35	29.12	35.48	45.99	54.02	61.54	66.33
1974-75	6.34	11.15	16.82	22.42	28.98	34.22	n.a. ^{a/}	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

^{a/} not available

Note: Calculated from NEDA, 1979 Philippine Statistical Yearbook,
Manila, 1979, pp. 620-621.

Table 13
DROPOUT RATES IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS
BY GRADE AND YEAR FOR SELECTED YEARS

School Year	Primary				Intermediate		Secondary			
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	First	Second	Third	Fourth
1955-56	11.16	8.00	9.96	9.54	9.97	8.85	13.19	8.98	7.72	3.19
1960-61	9.16	6.79	7.56	9.97	8.51	7.86	14.52	10.79	9.30	5.59
1965-66	7.51	4.88	5.45	6.10	6.63	5.95	9.88	7.96	7.17	3.14
1970-71	6.05	4.88	5.11	6.32	6.76	6.36	10.51	8.03	7.52	4.79
1974-75	6.34	4.81	5.67	5.60	6.56	5.24	n.a. ^{a/}	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

^{a/} not available

Source: NEDA, 1979 Philippine Statistical Yearbook, Manila, 1979, pp. 620-621.

Table 14

DISTRIBUTION OF 10-14 YEAR-OLD POPULATION
BY HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED AND BY SEX: 1960

Highest Grade Completed	Percentage of 10-14 Year-Old Population		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Total	<u>3435427</u> <u>100.00</u>	<u>1765992</u> <u>100.00</u>	<u>1669435</u> <u>100.00</u>
No Grade Completed	12.99	13.96	11.97
Elementary 1	6.35	7.04	5.60
2	12.38	13.39	11.32
3	16.83	17.40	16.23
4	18.92	18.35	19.55
5	13.88	13.14	14.67
6	11.75	10.37	13.20
7	-	-	-
High School 1	4.25	4.03	4.48
2	1.94	1.73	2.17
3	0.59	0.49	0.17
4	0.11	0.09	0.13
College 1	0.00	-	0.00

Source: Bureau of the Census and Statistics, 1960 Census of the Philippines - Population and Housing: Summary Report, Volume II, Table 14, p. 13.

recent years are not available. About an eighth (12.9 per cent) of the age group never entered school and the proportion among both the males and females did not differ too much from this average. The largest proportion of the age group (18.9 per cent) completed grade 4. If one were to cumulate the frequency by educational level, 51.4 per cent of the age group would at least complete grade 4 but only 18.6 per cent would reach at least grade 6 and even a smaller percentage (6.9 per cent) would reach high school. Tables 12 and 13 present a continuing improvement in the proportion of school age children who stay in school and complete higher educational levels than before. This optimism however will have to be tempered because the data presented were aggregative. There are differentials among regions and between rural and urban areas. It is likely that there are lower educational participation rates and higher dropout rates for rural areas. In some areas, half of those employed in agriculture had no schooling whatsoever.^{11/}

The national goal for the 10-14 year olds should be that they are all in school to enhance their ability to live fully and to contribute to the development of Philippine society.

^{11/} ILO, Sharing in Development, A Programme of Employment, Equity and Growth for the Philippines, 1974, p. 305.

IV. YOUTH EMPLOYMENT IN THE FORMAL SECTOR IN METRO MANILA, 1979

A number of children work in the urban informal sector as hawkers, peddlers, shoeshine boys and car watchers. They are most likely unpaid family workers or self-employed. They have been studied although not much has been done about their conditions. Another group of working youth, particularly those ages 15 years old and below who are working in the formal sector have not been looked at as thoroughly nor are their work conditions known. This section attempts to explore the nature of employment of the latter group of youths in Metro Manila.

A. Employment of Minors

Legislations governing the employment of minors are included in the Labor Code of the Philippines, a collection of laws on labor which became effective on November 1, 1974 and subsequently amended several times. Articles 139 and 140, Chapter II of Title III, "Working Conditions for Special Groups of Employees," cover the employment of minors. The former defines the minimum employable age:

"ART. 139. Minimum employable age. - (a) No child below fifteen (15) years of age shall be employed, except when he works directly under the sole responsibility of his parents or guardian and his employment does not in any way interfere with his schooling.

(b) A person between fifteen (15) and eighteen (18) years of age may be employed for such number of hours and such periods of the day as determined by the Secretary of Labor in appropriate regulations.

(c) The foregoing provisions shall in no case allow the employment of a person below eighteen (18) years of age in an undertaking which is hazardous or deleterious in nature as determined by the Secretary of Labor. ^{12/}

Article 140, prohibits child discrimination with respect to terms and conditions of employment on account of his/her age.

Employment, especially in the formal sector, should follow the minimum age requirement of 15 years old. Those younger than 15 years are allowed by the law to work as long as they are under the supervision of their parents. However, their employment under other conditions (and therefore in violation of the law) seems common especially in the informal sector because of the poorer enforcement of the provision in this sector.

The law explicitly gives priority to schooling (Article 139-a). In addition, the employment of those who are 15-18 years old are allowed by law only under conditions determined by the Secretary (now Minister) of Labor which in no way should be "hazardous or deleterious in nature". Hence, the employment of youths ages 15

^{12/} Department of Labor, Labor Code of the Philippines (3rd official edition) 1977, p. 31.

but under 18 are provided for under "Training and Employment of Special Workers", Title II of Book 2 ("Human Resources Development") of the Labor Code of the Philippines.

Two types of training, namely, apprenticeship and learnership, govern the employment of those who are at least 15 but below 18 years old. The government intends to provide these types of training to meet the economy's need for trained manpower. The firms in the private sector are tapped as additional training facilities augmenting those provided by formal education.

The Labor Code defines apprenticeship as training-on-the-job which requires more than three months of practical training supplemented by related theoretical instruction. Learnership on the other hand, is training on-the-job for a relatively shorter period of time not exceeding three months in skills which are non-apprenticeable and may not need any theoretical instruction.

The Labor Code provides that an apprentice should be at least 14 years old but it does not specify any minimum age for one to qualify as a learner. However, the implementing rules and regulations also provided by the Ministry of Labor to accompany the Labor Code provide for a minimum age of 15 years to qualify either as an apprentice or as a learner.

From the point of view of the firm undertaking either an apprenticeship or a learnership program, either program not only provides a possible source of its required manpower from among its apprentices or learners but also enables it to have production work done by workers who may be paid 25 per cent below the applicable legal minimum wage. Its gains can be further increased by the possibility of its apprentice/learner gaining adequate expertise in the occupation within a shorter period than that of the contract. There is even the possibility of hiring apprentices without compensation which the Minister of Labor may authorize for "apprentices whose training on-the-job is required by the school or training program curriculum or as a requisite for graduation or board examination." In addition, the government provides a deduction of as much as 50 per cent of the value of the training expenses of the apprenticeship program from the taxable income of the firm as long as (1) such program is duly recognized by the Ministry of Labor and Employment, (2) the deduction is not to exceed 10 per cent of direct labor wage cost, and (3) the apprentices are paid the legal minimum wage. The firm, therefore, can either opt for a decrease in its taxable income or pay its workers wages lower than the minimum required by law.

These provisions concerning the employment of minors made it logical for this case study of youth employment to focus on apprentices.^{13/}

B. Data

Since the study was **exploratory**, the inquiry consisted of an intensive analysis of selected cases (respondent firms). Apprentices of ages 15 years and younger, parents or guardians, and union representatives were initially planned to be interviewed for a more complete picture of the work environment of and attitudes toward young workers. The last group of interviewees was subsequently dropped because there was only one among the firms sampled with a union.

Three sets of questionnaires were used: (1) a company questionnaire which includes information on the background of the industry, production process, hiring and termination practices of management, and the fringe benefits received by employees; (2) an employee questionnaire which looks into a worker's socioeconomic background, job history, work condition, benefits and expectations; and (3) a questionnaire for the parents or guardians of the employee

^{13/} The learnership program is a much smaller program than that of apprenticeship. In the 1979 Annual Report of the Bureau of Apprenticeship, it reported a total of 3,483 learnership agreements compared to 36,739 apprenticeship agreements for the Philippines.

to determine their socioeconomic background and to provide information on their attitude towards the employment of their children.

The data base of this study is a general survey of the conditions of youth employment in the formal sector in Metro Manila undertaken during the last quarter of 1979. The sample of firms covered included those which reported having hired workers aged 15 years old and below. This was accomplished by culling apprenticeship agreements dated 1978 and 1979 at the Bureau of Apprenticeship of the Ministry of Labor. Quite a number of firms appeared to have hired apprentice workers aged 15 and below during the period. However, with apprenticeship being of limited duration, only 14 firms made up the initial sample for 1979. The sample was narrowed down to eight firms due to the refusal of some to be included in the study in spite of attempts to cover-up the real purpose of the visits and interviews.

The sample of apprentices was chosen from the 1979 apprenticeship contracts on file at the Bureau of Apprenticeship of the Ministry of Labor (Appendix A is a sample of an apprenticeship agreement form). It was extremely difficult to find apprentices younger than 15 years old because very few were on record. The contracts of the 15 year-olds were reviewed for possible previous employment to identify the apprentices who started working even before they reached the age of 15. Two additional firms which