

AT THE MARGINS

STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN IN CEBU CITY, PHILIPPINES



Judith Pomm

**AT THE MARGINS
STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN
IN CEBU CITY, PHILIPPINES**

EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE
RUHR-UNIVERSITY BOCHUM
ACADEMIC YEAR 2004/2005

JUDITH POMM
GILSINGSTR. 62
44789 BOCHUM
GERMANY
E-MAIL: JUDITH.POMM@GMX.NET
PHONE: 0049-160-7269847

CONFIRMATION UNDER OATH

Institute for International Law of Peace
and Armed Conflict (IFHV)
Ruhr-University Bochum
NA 02/33
D-44780 Bochum
Germany

I confirm on my word of honour that the master paper:

**AT THE MARGINS
STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN IN CEBU CITY, PHILIPPINES**

has been written by myself without any unauthorized assistance, that it has not been presented yet for another examination, and that it has not been published before, neither in full, nor in part. Every part that has been taken from other sources, literally or paraphrased, has been marked as borrowed.

Bochum, November 2005

Judith Pomm

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This master paper is about street and working children in Cebu City in the Philippines.

It is a situation of permanent crisis in which these children live for many years. The children lack food, shelter, education and medical care. Estimates on their life expectancy are low, as well as the chances for those who survive to make it out to a decent life.

Cross-cultural research suggests that poverty alone does not give sufficient explanation for the phenomenon of large numbers of street children in Cebu City, since cities in many countries equally poor as the Philippines do not have this problem.

In order to understand the forces that drive children onto the street and make them – despite numerous projects targeted at them – stay there, this paper scrutinises the interests and interactions of the different actors involved in the problem. Four perspectives are distinguished. The first chapter describes important terms and concepts related to street and working children, recent paradigm shifts in research on them, and international standard-setting agendas towards them. In the second chapter it is shown how institutions at the national and local level, in the Philippines and Cebu City, approach these children. The third chapter investigates the public discourse on street and working children that reveals the social and cultural forces behind the problem. The fourth chapter gives an insight into the street children's own perception of their situation.

Understanding the relationship between the different interest groups each with its potentials and constraints is crucial when thinking about effective alternative solutions. While providing relief through outreach work would help those children who are not able or not willing to undergo institutional care, comprehensive long-term development initiatives should be offered to the others who have the motivation and capacity to change their situation. The suggestions presented in the conclusion take into account the findings of this paper based on field research.

CONTENTS

TITLE AND PERSONAL DATA	i
CONFIRMATION UNDER OATH	ii
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	iii
LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES, DRAWINGS AND PHOTOS	vi
LIST OF ACRONYMS	vii
GLOSSARY	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE:	
TERMS AND CONCEPTS RELATED TO STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN	4
1.1 Commonly Shared Presumptions	4
1.1.1 Childhood and Children	4
1.1.2 Street and Working Children	6
1.2 New Approaches	11
1.2.1 Paradigm Shift	12
1.2.2 Research Ethics and Techniques	17
1.3 Summary	20
CHAPTER TWO:	
INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH TO STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN IN THE PHILIPPINES	22
2.1 National Level: Context and Initiatives	22
2.1.1 Poverty in the Philippines	23
2.1.2 Urban Poverty and Children	27
2.1.3 The State's Interest in Children	31
2.1.4 Policy and Legal Framework	33
2.2 Local Level: Organisations in Cebu City	37
2.2.1 The City's Interest in Children	38
2.2.2 Project Focus: Broad-Based and Targeted	39
2.2.3 Project Strategy: Reactive, Protective and Rights-Based	43
2.3 Summary	55

CHAPTER THREE:	
PUBLIC DISCOURSE ON STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN IN CEBU	56
3.1 Commonly Shared Concepts in the Philippine Society	56
3.1.1 Family and Childhood Ideals	57
3.1.2 Notions of “Home” and “Street”	59
3.2 Public Perception of Street Children in Cebu	62
3.2.1 Evaluation of the Questionnaires	62
3.2.2 Impact of the Shared Ideals on Stigmatisation of Street Children	69
3.2.3 Reaction of the Public towards Street Children	71
3.3 Summary	73
CHAPTER FOUR:	
CHILDREN’S PERCEPTION OF STREET LIFE	74
4.1 Research Process	74
4.1.1 Research Conditions and Children Interviewed	74
4.1.2 Sample Choice	76
4.1.3 Evaluation of the Interviews	77
4.2 Public View versus Street Children’s Perception	85
4.2.1 Background	85
4.2.2 Needs	87
4.2.3 Risks	90
4.2.4 Coping Strategies	92
4.3 Summary	95
CONCLUSION	97
BIBLIOGRAPHY	106

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES, DRAWINGS AND PHOTOS

TABLES

Table 1: Country profile of the Philippines	23
Table 2: City profile of Cebu	26
Table 3: Policy and legal framework targeted at street and working children	34
Table 4: Member organisations of the Cebu City Task Force on Street Children: Project focus, services, and clientele	41
Table 5: Categories of children's rights: survival, development, protection and participation	48
Table 6: Legal documents related to children's rights	49
Table 7: Working children in the Philippines	50
Table 8: Project strategies: reactive, protective and rights-based	54
Table 9: Constructed polarities of "home" and "street"	60
Table 10: Public perception of street children in Cebu City	63
Table 11: Norms and norm deviance in the discourse on street children	69
Table 12: Evaluation of the interviews with the children	77
Table 13: Key elements of the paradigm shift in theory, research, and work with and for street children	98

FIGURES

Figure 1: Illustration of Filipino children's rights in a booklet	32
Figure 2: Cebu City map	76
Figure 3: Stakeholders involved in the Philippine street child problem	97

DRAWINGS

"No Mercy" – boy, seven years old	85
"My biggest wish" – boy, nine years old	90
"Begging" – boy, eight years old	93
"Collecting garbage" – boy, seven years old	93

PHOTOS

At Community Scouts, 8 September 2005	45
Street children, Cebu City, 2005	74, 75, 76, 96

LIST OF ACRONYMS

BBRC	Bagong Buhay Rehabilitation Centre
BCPC	Barangay Council for the Protection of Children
CAFT	Children's Help and Assistance Foundation, Inc.
CCIAC	Cebu City Inter-Agency Committee
CCTFSC	Cebu City Task Force on Street Children
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CCTFSC	Cebu City Task Force on Street Children
CHD	City Health Department
CICL	Children in Conflict with the Law
CEDC	Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances
CFM	Child Friendly Movement
CNSP	Children in Need of Special Protection
CNSPM	Children in Need of Special Protection Measures
CRB	Country Report Bangkok
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSPD	child survival, protection, development and participation
CWC	Council for the Welfare of Children
DECS	Department of Education, Culture and Sports
DIC	drop-in centre
DILG	Department of Interior and Local Government
DOH	Department of Health
DSWD	Department of Social Welfare and Development
DSWS	Department of Social Welfare and Services
FREELAVA	Free Rehabilitation, Economic, Education, and Legal Assistance of Volunteers Association, Inc.
GOP	Government of the Philippines
ICAC	Inter-City Alliance for Street Children
ICCSE	Inter-City Committee on Street Education
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour
LGC	Local Government Code
LGEF	Local Government Empowerment Fund

LGU	Local Government Units
MBN	minimum basic needs
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NACLA	North American Congress on Latin America
NBOO	National Barangay Operations Office
NCRFW	National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women
NCSD	National Council of Social Development
NEDA	National Economic and Development Authority
NS	night shelters
NGO	non-governmental organization
NPC-PNP	National Police Commission Philippine National Police
NPSC	National Project on Street Children
NSO	National Statistics Office
PAF	Poverty Alleviation Fund
PAR	participatory action research
PD	Presidential Decree
PICAC	Philippine Inter-City Alliance for Street Children
PNP	Philippine National Police
PO	people's organization
PPAC	Philippine Plan of Action for Children
RWG-CL	Regional Working Group on Child Labour
SRA	Social Reform Agenda
UBSP	Urban Basic Service Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

GLOSSARY

<i>balay</i>	house
<i>bata sa kadalanan</i>	street child
<i>batang kalye</i>	street child
<i>barangay</i>	basic political unit in the Philippines
<i>barangay lupon</i>	<i>barangay</i> judge – highest judiciary representative at the <i>barangay</i> level
<i>barangay sangguninang</i>	<i>barangay</i> captain – highest legislative representative at the <i>barangay</i> level
<i>barangay tanod</i>	<i>barangay</i> police – highest executive representative at the <i>barangay</i> level
<i>barkada</i>	peer group or gang
<i>carenderia</i>	small food stall
<i>dalan</i>	street
<i>gamines</i>	street children – term used in Colombia
<i>kalye</i>	street
<i>katarungan pambarangay</i>	judiciary organ at the community level
<i>labandera</i>	laundry woman
“ <i>Mga anghel na walang langit</i> ”	“Many angels are without a heaven” – title of a soap opera about street children
<i>mingaw</i>	loneliness, longing for somebody or something
<i>ongo</i>	ghost or witch
<i>Oplan Sagip Bata</i>	Child Rescue Operation
<i>rugby</i>	solvent used as drug
<i>sampaguita</i>	white aromatic flowers often used for decorating altars
<i>sangguninang pambarangay</i>	<i>barangay</i> council – highest legislative organ at the <i>barangay</i> level
<i>sari-sari</i> store	small variety store

INTRODUCTION

One of the growing social problems associated with poverty in many countries of the South is the increasing number of children living and working on the streets of the larger cities. In the case of the Philippines this holds true especially for Manila and Cebu City.

Physically visible and yet largely unnoticed, they are part of the urban landscape. They ply the sidewalks, hang around shopping centres and market places, run along major traffic islands – begging, collecting garbage, offering services like car washing, baggage carrying, and selling various items such as cigarettes, newspapers, candles, candies, pieces of rag, and sometimes even their little bodies. Ranging from five to eighteen, they are mostly the children of the urban poor. They live along the margins of society, often in a condition of abject poverty.

These children lack many things. They lack shelter, food, medical care, access to education, acceptance and true understanding for their special situation. What they certainly don't lack is attention in high-level political arenas and academics. Here, for over two decades, street and working children have been in the spotlight of intense scientific interest as well as welfare and policy concern, resulting in an enormous outpouring of publications, legal provisions and political programmes. Even though many achievements have been made, in view of the ever-growing number of children in the streets worldwide, the problem is far from being solved.

The situation of the street children can be described as a silent slow-motion emergency – silent, because nobody is taken by surprise and nobody cries out. It is a condition of chronic crisis in which these children live for many years, with uncertain outcome. Their future in its full scope they can neither foresee nor determine. While many of them cope surprisingly well on the streets for some years, the long-term perspectives for them are extremely bad.

The main inspirations for my own research on street children I got during the eighteen months I spent in the Philippines between January 2003 and August 2004. During my time in Cebu City and especially through my work in a drop-in-centre for street children and in another centre for sick and malnourished children I could get various insights into the problem. Yet, many questions that came to my mind during that time, some of which I discussed with local people, stayed unanswered.

During my second research stay in Cebu City from July to October 2005, the number of interrelated issues that seemed to be relevant for understanding the phenomenon of street children grew daily. However, in preparation of this paper, two questions remained especially striking. First, reflecting on my own observations, why do children prefer to stay in the streets with all the difficulties that go along, instead of making use of the numerous projects that offer services for them? Second, reviewing cross-cultural comparative literature, why do the Philippines have such a high incidence of street children while in other equally poor countries, like for example Chile, Paraguay, Cuba or Tanzania, the numbers

of street children are relatively low?¹ Definite answers to these questions are difficult to establish, since explanations are most likely to be found within a combination of various factors. Yet, seen from an anthropological viewpoint, both, I assume, must have underlying causes that have to do with the special societal and cultural context.

These initial thoughts stay dominant within this paper. While the first question called for a deeper investigation into the official approaches and functioning of the institutions in charge of street children, the second one led me to examine the attitude of the general public towards these children – an attitude that may or may not influence directly the nature of official policy and professional welfare interventions, but undoubtedly is important for the way children experience their daily life in the streets. Both perspectives, the institutional and the public, are compared with the perceptions held by the children themselves. Their afflictions, needs, wishes and limitations have to be well understood in order to identify possible obstacles in existing responses to their problems or think about alternative solutions.

In the following, the set up of the paper, which basically reflects the outline described above, will be summarised.

CHAPTER ONE

Before investigating the specific situation in the Philippines, Chapter One clarifies dominant concepts prevalent in the international discourse, describes the paradigm shift that occurred since the almost universal ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and outlines its consequences for academic thinking, practical response and research methods. Special attention is given to ideas about “children” and “childhood” in general and the ongoing debate on the conceptualisation of “street and working children” in particular. These terms, though not precise, do serve as a reference point for considering the complex circumstances experienced by numerous vulnerable children in cities. The specific meaning of the terms, however, is still contested among academics, policymakers, practitioners and the general public. Each of these groups has its own preferred definition and interests, which more or less deliberately influence legal provisions, political agendas and their implementation and conversion into practice.

CHAPTER TWO

Chapter Two addresses the official institutional approach to street and working children in the Philippines, at the national level as well as at local level of Cebu City. The causes and reasons of the problem given in poverty analyses and the remedies suggested by national and international organisations are outlined. This is followed by an overview of the comprehensive legal and the policy framework, the description of its implementation, and the identification of gaps in law enforcement. It becomes evident that, depending on the standpoint of the stakeholder, different approaches operate side by side, each of which is justified in its own right. The aim of the intervention may vary from “saving children,” to “realizing children’s rights,” or to a more punitive attempt to “put children back in place.” However, all these strategies together are mounting up in a broad, at the same time confusing and not always coherent, matrix of ideas.

¹ Aptekar, L., “Street Children in the Developing World: A Review of their Condition,” *Cross Cultural Research*, No. 28(3), 1994, pp. 195-224.

CHAPTER THREE

Since looking at the problem of street children from the institutional side alone does not give a complete picture, Chapter Three explores cultural specific notions that are related to the issue and examines how the Cebuano society thinks about and treats its children. The focus is on childhood and family ideals on the one hand, and on the ideas of “home” and “street” on the other hand, which are central elements of the discourse on street children. It will be shown how these fundamentals produce certain stereotypes and how mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion demark areas of responsibilities. These tacitly shared and more or less unconsciously reproduced ideas are powerful, since they do not only influence policies and decision making on various levels, but also determine whether the plight of children on the streets is aggravated or mitigated.

CHAPTER FOUR

In order to understand the daily life experiences of the children, it is necessary to know more about their own perception of street life than simply establish where they sleep. The information presented in Chapter Four is based on the personal narratives of street and working children in Cebu City. It will be shown how the children talk about their background and family circumstances; how they describe the needs and risks they face in the street, their social networks, attitude towards projects, and personal fears, dreams and wishes. As a response to their marginalization they have developed a wide repertoire of survival strategies. This comprises the appropriation of certain niches within the city, in which they are able to earn money, feel safe and find enjoyment. This also includes the creation of alternative communities which substitute their own families, upon most of whom they cannot rely. The children often display a lot of energy and resiliency in dealing with their situation. They are highly vulnerable at the same time. Some of them are able to make it out to a better life, others die early, and all of them disappear from welfare agendas when they are not children anymore.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion summarises the findings of the previous chapters, examines their implications for an assessment of the present situation, and reflects on how responses to the problem could be enhanced. Since the focus of research throughout the paper is for the most part on the meso and micro level, the macro perspective of poverty and politics in general and the structural causes of the problem are briefly described, but not further analysed and commented upon. The macro analysis has been done in a very sophisticated manner by other disciplines. Economists debated in detail what has to be done to tackle poverty, political scientists made out what are the obstacles in the Philippine system and which interest groups obstruct changes, and legal specialists are well aware that access to law enforcement in the Philippines is often a matter of contacts and money and thus the privilege of a minority. While changes in the whole system are desired by many, they are fairly unrealistic in the short-term. In the meantime, taking what is given, one can see that an elaborated and impressive programmatic and legal framework targeted specifically at street and working children is well in place. Yet, the alarmingly low success rates of present intervention strategies indicate that many improvements are still needed. Based on the preceding analysis, the concluding recommendations address the current situation of street children in Cebu City.

CHAPTER ONE

Terms and Concepts Related to Street and Working Children

With an unprecedented intensity childhood has become popularised, politicised, and analysed in an interdisciplinary effort, in which the traditional confidence and certainty of previously shared ideas have been radically undermined. Increasing cross-cultural comparison as well as paradigm shifts in academics has revealed the constructed character of concepts such as “childhood” and “the child” in general and “the street and working child” in particular.

In the beginnings of the debate on street children in the 1980s, the Latin American model served as a reference point for programmatic planning, practical response and research. Since then the perspectives on the problem have been continuously challenged by insights and experiences from other continents and thus have become both, broader and more specific.

This chapter aims at highlighting the major discursive changes that occurred within the last two decades and sketching out the current state of the debate.

1.1 COMMONLY SHARED PRESUMPTIONS

“Childhood” and “children” as will be shown in the following are highly contentious topics. In order to understand the criticism within the present discussion and the ongoing attempts to redefine these concepts, it is necessary to outline the characteristics of “the ideal childhood” and “the typical child” and how these constructions differ from “the street child.” The field of “working children” will only be touched with regard to street life, and the whole complex of child labour will not be further analysed.

1.1.1 CHILDHOOD AND CHILDREN

The historian Philippe Ariès began to explore the archaeology of childhood images by asserting that childhood has not always had the same meaning. In “Centuries of Childhood” he records the launching of childhood in Europe in the mid-eighteenth century.² At that time, adults of particular social classes started to differentiate their state of being from that of the children. As a consequence, an age-based hierarchy and eventual dichotomy had become institutionalised in the relationship between adults and children. The defining characteristics of these differences were, by and large, oppositional.

At the end of the 1980s Ariès’ inspiring insights set out the way for a vivid debate on understanding the constructiveness of the concept of childhood, which provided new grounds for its analysis in terms of its social context, rather than abandoning it to a naturalistic reduction. Yet, the relative recent historical

² Ariès, P., *Centuries of Childhood*, London: Cape, 1962.

construct still shapes the standard model of childhood predominant in the international community. It is defined by a set of ideas that separates children from adults and determines specific spheres of control.

The use of age as a marker for childhood, which according to international consensus ends at the age of eighteen years, underscores the idea of childhood as a biological fact. The emphasis on biology leads to associate certain experiences, traits and characteristics as “natural” to a child. According to the complex of ideas about “the child,” it is “naturally” small, somehow asexual, dependent, vulnerable, innocent, obliged to be happy but without personal autonomy. The idea that children are dependent on adults for their survival, safety and comfort extends to the definition of the ideal family as a nuclear unit consisting of protected children and protecting adults. The idea of children’s innocence paints a picture of childhood as a carefree existence, with playing and learning as the major preoccupation. Because children should not be workers, adults and children are separated in the production process. There is widespread consensus that children do require a special kind of socialisation that cannot be provided by the family alone. A whole body of knowledge and groups of experts external to the private family world are assigned to monitor and ensure the proper upbringing of children. Socialisation becomes professionalized within a formal education system, which serves the purpose of teaching those skills required by the formal economy, while operating a process of selection. The state, frequently the ultimate authority in approving these experts from all kinds of fields such as psychology, pedagogy, medicine or social work, is therefore actually or implicitly interfering. It does not just exercise control over curricula and advise on problems of the adult-child relationship, but also acts in order to eradicate or alter irregular situations.³ Often it is the supposed biology truth that serves as the basis for decisions on what is appropriate for the child, needed by the child and to be expected from a child in the course of its development. Through viewing childhood as a biological determined stage on the path to full human status, which is adulthood, it is implicitly assumed that all children, not just within the same culture but worldwide – regardless of history and other differentiating factors – share similar experiences.

Within the international community the necessity for universal standards and intervention in order to improve the plight of children that live in less fortunate conditions are undisputed and appreciated. This obligation is underscored by two powerful ubiquitous images (refining the general image of “the child”), namely “the First World child” on the one hand and “the Third World child” on the other hand. Whereas the first is imagined as belonging to the middle class, being blond, blue-eyed, at the same time joyful, individualistic and encouraged to a full and harmonious development of his personality in an atmosphere of love and understanding, the latter, by contrast, is pictured as coloured, malnourished, lacking identity and experiencing a childhood that is “cast as unfortunate, even outrageous, violation of some universal, natural childhood.”⁴

The point here is not that these images are completely inaccurate – though they are extremely misleading. It is rather that the above outlined model of childhood of the “the First World child” is taken to be the “proper” childhood. As such it serves as a normative basis and springboard for remedial action elsewhere, notwithstanding that this notion has only little relationship to most childhoods in most countries. In the process of globalisation and particularly since the 1980s,

³ See James, A., Jenks, C. and A. Prout, *Theorizing Childhood*, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1998.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

the construct of “proper childhood” is exported to the South by international agencies, media, and cultural control mechanisms. Consequently, in programmes of international organisations for developing countries, ambitious objectives like “giving children back their childhood” are frequently stated “as if children from impoverished homes ever ‘had’ the socially constructed Western childhood of play, school and absence of responsibility.”⁵

Such assumption became also encoded in international human rights treaties, foremost the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) of 1989, and sometimes against objections from locally knowledgeable child welfare agencies, with potentially damaging effects on poor families and their children.⁶

Without generally questioning the potential of the Convention and the valuable contribution it made as a common reference point, the specifics of the Convention embedded in its supposed universalistic models of the child and childhood have provoked considerable criticism and have become subject of an ongoing debate. The fact that other qualifications such as “the girl child,” “the Asian child” or “the Filipino child” have been used to signal the impossibility of a single model is not helpful, since they result from the same essentialist fallacy as “the child.” It is difficult to see for example what, apart from geography, makes a Filipino street child, a ten-year old domestic servant in India, a schoolboy from Singapore and a Vietnamese youngster herding water buffaloes belong to the same category of “the Asian child.” “Just as it is now regarded as archaic to talk about ‘the man’ or ‘the woman,’ so it is best to recognise that children are individuals who experience a variety of childhoods in different ways.”⁷

At various points the paper will refer to this debate and show the immanent challenges of a model that has been treated as if it represents context-free, abstract truth about children. Taking the Philippines as an example, it will be illustrated how such an approach ignores vast tracts of economic, cultural and social change which shape the upbringing of children.

1.1.2 STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN

The “ideal childhood” of “the typical child” is often contrasted with the similarly mystical figure of “the street child,” which has become a particular focus of attention on the part of various international bodies since the proclamation of the United Nations International Year of the Child in 1979 until today. Throughout this period, the definition of “street child” has been the topic of repetitive debate, paralleled with several attempts to find alternative terms.

The criticism is basically directed towards three points: First, it is a stigmatising label, imbued with pejorative and pitying connotations. Second, it leads to a simplified conception of children’s reality, which is far more complex

⁵ Ennew, J. and J. Swart-Kruger, “Introduction: Homes, Spaces and Places in the Construction of Street Children and Street Youth,” *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13 (1), 2003, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://cye.colorado.edu>.

⁶ “The beliefs of welfare and rights practitioners about the activities and experiences suitable for children may differ radically from those of parents and children ... Under these circumstances the children, and consequently, their families, are considered legitimate targets for state intervention. From the point of view from the former, children present in public spaces ... and absent from home, and children at work or living in the street all signify personal dysfunctioning. But the perceptions of parents and children may be that these are not pathological behaviour patterns: on the contrary, the development of precocious mechanism for survival is seen by many as integral to normal socialization.” Boyden, J. and P. Holden, *Children of the Cities*, London: Zed Books, 1991, p. 208.

⁷ Ennew, J., “Difficult Circumstances: Some Reflections on ‘Street Children’ in Africa,” *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), 2003, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://cye.colorado.edu>.

than the term suggests. Third, it is imprecise and therefore open to interpretation and manipulation according to political interests.

STIGMATISING LABELLING OF CHILDREN

The simple term “street children” has powerful emotional overtones. Ironically, this terminology was widely adopted by international agencies in their attempts to avoid negative connotations with regard to children who had been known as “vagrants,” “street urchins,” “waifs,” “rag-pickers,” “street Arabs” or “glue-sniffers.”⁸ In the 1980s, when early reports on children living and working in the streets of Latin America, especially Brazil, elicited controversial emotional public concern and were given extensive media coverage, the model of “the street child” that is still informing public images about street children, came into being. This model has several facets. In the first place it is aligned with the largely negative public image of street children, in which they are seen as antisocial, amoral, impossible to rehabilitate, and easily drawn into criminal or terrorist activities. They were regarded with a mixture of fear and pity and were continuously subject of newspaper reports and articles.

Soon, a new image began to emerge which, if it has not exactly eclipsed the old, has at least been merged with it. Based initially on largely journalistic accounts of the *gamines* of Bogotá, and popularised internationally through the work of UNICEF and the non-governmental organisation Childhope, the new figure of the street child had heroic qualities.⁹ Now street children, although exploited, poor and oppressed, were portrayed as freedom loving, nonconformist rebels fighting for their survival on the battleground of the street, and becoming denouncers of an unjust society that evaded its due responsibilities. As long as street children were viewed as heroes, they were, to a certain extent, made to bear the symbolic weight of adult political agendas. Since the “battlefield” had become increasingly violent, many street children became subjects of extrajudicial executions, particularly in Brazil, Colombia and Guatemala. Accounts of the killings of street children were exaggerated by the mass media so that the international image of Latin American street children was dominated by this aspect.¹⁰

Simultaneously to such accounts, which at the same time over-dramatised and over-romanticised the problem, other attempts to presenting the problem of children living and working in the streets have evolved. Arguing from a comparatively more humane perspective and calling for a more merciful treatment of these children, one of the early activist in Brazil, Peter Taçon, described them in frilly prose:

“Who really is this ragged, foul-mouthed ‘enemy of the people’? He is the child most rejected and, at the same time, most in need of acceptance; the most difficult for adults to love and the most in need of adult affection; the least trusted and the most in need of trust; the most abandoned and the most in need of a family; the most repressed and the most deserving of freedom; the most forgotten and the most worthy of our remembrance; the

⁸ Hecht, T., 1995, pp. 56-67 at p. 56; Panter-Brick, C., “Street Children, Human Rights, and Public Health: A Critique and Future Directions,” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, No. 31, 2002, pp. 147-171 at p. 151. For early studies of street children see Needham, G. C., *Street Arabs and Gutter Snipes: The Pathetic and Humorous Side of Young Vagabond Life in the Great Cities, with Records of Work for their Reclamation*, Boston: D.L. Guernsey, 1884; Whyte, W. F., *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943; Liebow, E., *Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Street Corner Men*, New York: Little, Brown and Co, 1967.

⁹ See Ennew, J., 2003.

¹⁰ See Zuber, H., “Man muß diese Kinder töten,” *Der Spiegel*, No. 35, 1991, pp. 121-130.

least helped and the most in need; the least fed and the most hungry, the dirtiest and the least able to find a good bath.”¹¹

These kinds of publications, though well meant, further contributed to the victimisation and stigmatisation of street children. The use of superlatives like “most abandoned,” “dirtiest” or “most in need of love” above all challenged church based and charity organisations to take action. Such a picture not just flawlessly corresponded with the value systems of the respective organisations, which did their best in promoting the image of poor, innocent sufferers of a ruthless society. It also enhanced the outrage of international agencies focusing on child welfare, which stressed the urgent need to intervene, while implicitly propagating Western standards.

Hence, parallel to the globalisation of “the child” there has been a globalisation of “the street child” based on Latin American studies, but promulgated by Northern-based welfare agencies.

Not surprisingly, with regard to the various images of street children, different non-governmental organisations began to use the term “street child” in different ways. Therefore, in 1983, in an attempt to devise a standard definition, representatives of the self-proclaimed Inter-NGO Programme for Street Children and Street Youth met to discuss the problem. They settled on the following definition: “Street children are those for whom the street (in the widest sense of the word: i.e. unoccupied dwellings, wasteland, etc.), more than their family, has become their real home, a situation in which there is no protection, supervision or direction from responsible adults.”¹²

This definition, however, seemed to spawn only new confusion regarding the meanings of “real home,” “family” and “a responsible adult.” Such terms are conceptualised in different ways across cultures. To make matters worse, the definition was translated into Spanish, Portuguese and other languages, completed with liberal reinterpretations. Another problem was that it combined the apparently subjective children’s view of their conversion of the “street” into “home” with the malleable concepts of “protection,” “supervision” and “direction” according to adult judgments.¹³

Another definition, which has been made popular by UNICEF texts and has become widely quoted, emphasises the very same peculiarities about street children mentioned in the previous definitions, namely the places where they are found and the absence of adult supervision. This definition distinguishes between children “on” the streets (“home-based” children who work in the streets but still live with their families) and children “of” the streets (“street-based” children who generally have a family accessible to them but for whom the street has become their major point of reference). Besides “home-based” and “street-based” street children, occasionally the smaller group of “abandoned” children within those “of” the streets is differentiated. Although this new terminology has been promoted worldwide (*de la calle/en la calle* in Spanish, *de al rue/dans la rue* in French), it has proven not to be applicable in practice.¹⁴ Because it does not

¹¹ Taçon, P., “My Child minus One,” Unpublished UNICEF Report, 1981 quoted in Hecht, T., 1995, pp. 56-67 at p. 57.

¹² Ennew, J., *Street and Working Children: A Guide to Planning*, London: Save the Children, 1994, p.15.

¹³ Hecht, T., 1995, pp. 56-67 at p. 57.

¹⁴ Various agencies have many times reworked their definitions of “street children.” UNICEF has become aware of the difficulties regarding its own definition of children “on” versus children “of” the street. Since the 1990s, there has been an attempt to grouping all working children, whether working on city streets or elsewhere, as “working children” and using the term “street children” to refer to the smaller number of largely abandoned children and youths for whom the city streets are their home. See Barker, G. and F. Knaul, *Exploited Entrepreneurs: Street and Working Children in Developing Countries*, New

provide exact parameters, it is variously rendered across cultures so that the meaning is further obscured.¹⁵

SIMPLIFIED CONCEPTION OF CHILDREN'S REALITY

Today most critics agree that portrayals of street children cannot be reduced by putting a one or two dimensional focus on the street environment. The mere distinction between “on” and “of” the streets does not give sufficient consideration to the children's actual behaviour, living circumstances, experiences and their own testimony. As service providers have found out, the majority of children in the streets are not simply wandering aimlessly, but are in fact vending, hawking, watching cars, etc. They are not merely “street children,” but also “working children.” Some of them, who once in a while commit petty crimes, can be categorised as “youthful offenders.” Others, mostly girls, who try to survive on their own on the streets and sometimes engage in prostitution, would fall under the category “child prostitutes.” The overlapping of these categories makes the task of classification even more problematic.¹⁶ Yet, whatever children do in the street – whether they work in the street, beg in the street, sleep in the street, or sell their bodies in the street – it is important to keep in mind that “the street is the venue for their action, not the essence of their character.”¹⁷ There are various other facets of their identity, which are not related to street life. Street children's experiences are manifold depending on their activities, individual capabilities, gender-related difficulties, personal motivations, their wider social networks and daily interactions. Street children neither form a homogenous group, nor do their living circumstances remain constant. During the transition from childhood and adolescence to adulthood they may alternate between home and street life, and their family contact might vary depending on the situation in which they find themselves.

IMPRECISE CONCEPT OPEN TO MANIPULATION ACCORDING TO POLITICAL INTERESTS

In political arenas, individual details are seldom considered relevant. The fact that the concept of street children has little precision easily permits its manipulation according to interests. This becomes perfectly clear when looking at statistics and figures, which – needless to say – depend on definitions. Estimates differ depending on how a mobile population of children is counted and who is considered for inclusion. This might vary according to the different meanings attached to the term “street children” in specific countries and regions. But maybe even more important in this context, as has frequently been argued, are the various agendas and concerns of stakeholders such as welfare agencies, which are reflected in statistical representations.

Very high numbers of children in the street, for example, are produced to draw attention to the necessity of the agency's work. At best, these estimates rest

York: Childhope USA, 1991. This new distinction, however, has not found widespread approval. With little changes, the United Nations adopted the phrasing of the first internationally popular definition of the “street child” as “any boy or girl ... for whom the street in the widest sense of the word ... has become his or her habitual abode and/or source of livelihood, and who is inadequately protected, supervised, or directed by responsible adults.” United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), *Working with Street Children: Selected Case Studies from Africa, Asia and Latin America*, Paris: UNESCO, 1995, p. 286. In describing the street as “source of livelihood,” it was emphasised that street children are not playing but in fact working in the street.

¹⁵ See Ennew, J., 2003.

¹⁶ See Esquillo-Ignacio, R., *Saving Lives: Effective Programme Strategies for Street and Working Children*, Manila: Institute on Church and Social Issues, Monograph No. 17, 1996, p. 9.

¹⁷ Hecht, T., 1995, pp. 56-67 at p. 58.

upon largely elastic and nebulous definitions of street and working children.¹⁸ At worst, they are made up. Many publications on street children impress upon their readership the sheer magnitude of the problem. A hundred million youth are said to be growing up in the streets of urban centres worldwide. Other figures are even higher. For many years, UNICEF said there would be forty to fifty million street children in Latin America. This number would mean that more than forty-five percent of all Latin America's children are street children. One estimate of the street children in Brazil reached thirty million. This means that more than half of all Brazilian children would be street children. These figures fail to take into account the differences between working children living at home and street children who work in the streets but do not live with adults.¹⁹

Apart from the fact that these numbers, which are often cited at the beginning of reports and descriptions of street and working children, have only little validity or basis in fact, there is another danger related to this. A significant argument in some of the literature is that a focus on street children concentrates attention towards only the most visible tip of the iceberg. "As a target group of policy makers, street children have hijacked the urban agenda ... to the detriment of other groups of disadvantaged urban children."²⁰ Backed up by the widespread guesstimates on their numbers that are incredible as they are irresponsible, the focus on street children deflects attention from the broader population of invisible children and youth in slums, or working in agriculture and as domestic servants. As a result, most children's programmes and agencies have directed their attention towards a relatively small number of children and youth in the direst situations, which in turn leads them to overlook or ignore the much larger problem of urban and rural poverty.²¹

ALTERNATIVE TERMS AND CATEGORISATIONS

These are strong criticisms, which go some way towards explaining why "street children" is a difficult working concept and why other terms of reference or appellations have emerged in recent analytical literature.

In order to set signs for a broadened agenda, UNICEF coined the category "Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances," which is now in use throughout the world with the acronym CEDC. Sometimes, like for example in the Philippines, with only slight changes in meaning, this term is replaced by "Children in Need of Special Protection," abbreviated as CNSP.²² Although originally established as group terms to include refugee children, children with disabilities, children affected by organised violence and unaccompanied children in disasters as well as street and working children, CEDC or CNSP now seem to be almost synonymously used with "street children" in many settings. In national reports to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, CEDC or CNSP are

¹⁸ If one distinguishes between children "on" the street and those "of" the street, the second group is actually fairly small worldwide, but the figures increase dramatically when the first is included. In Eastern Europe, for instance, where street children represent an alarming recent phenomenon, most of them maintain a relation with their family and sometimes with school. While the number of children of the street is considered very low in Western Europe and the United States, if children in Roma communities and youth "hanging around" in street gangs are included, the picture changes dramatically. See Soale, P., "Responding to the Plight of Children in the Street: An Evaluation of NGO Programme Interventions in Manila, the Philippines," University of Birmingham: International Development Department, 2004, p. 10.

¹⁹ See Aptekar, L., "Street Children in the Developing World: A Review of their Condition," *Cross Cultural Research*, No. 28(3), 1994, pp. 195-224 at p. 196.

²⁰ Ennew, J., *Street and Working Children: A Guide to Planning*, 2nd ed., London: Save the Children, 2000, p. 169.

²¹ See Panter-Brick, C., 2002, pp. 147-171 at p. 152.

²² Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC), "Children in Need of Special Protection," 2005, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://www.cwc.gov.ph/data-streetchildren.html>.

discussed even though there is no specific mention of these categories in the Convention.²³ A third term that has frequently been employed in recent welfare literature to express an expanded perspective that includes besides street children also other poor urban children is “children at risk.”²⁴

The practical applicability of all these classifications, though, is as unsatisfactory as the one of previous definitions. It has been criticised that “difficult circumstances” imply for example “exploitative working conditions” or “involvement in armed conflict” but does not include “poverty” or “lack of food security.” This is presented in CEDC literature as causes of “difficult circumstances” rather than difficult circumstances in their own right.²⁵ “Need of special protection,” as will be shown in the Philippine case in the next chapter, can at times have grotesque interpretations, worsening the children’s situation instead of improving it. And the category “at risk” is likewise ambiguous and analytically unhelpful since it immediately raises the question “at risk of what?” Most of the times there is a strong focus on physical and mental health risks. Other risk factors like contact with gangs, use of drugs, school abandonment fail to be taken into account.²⁶ Additionally, in discourses about street children, there is not only a growing consciousness of them “at risk” but also a growing sense of children themselves as the risk, as people out of place and excess population to be eliminated or at least to be controlled. Views about “risk” thus present an ambiguity in referring to groups who are especially vulnerable, but also to groups who explicitly disturb or violate established norms. This ambivalent perception can also be illustrated at the Philippine example.

1.2 NEW APPROACHES

The turn of the twenty-first century has seen a sea of change of perspective in studies of street children for mainly three reasons: First, the analytical framework has become more sophisticated because it increasingly has investigated into structural, immediate and underlying causes of the problem. Second, the change of approach is related to a powerful human rights discourse – the legal and conceptual framework provided by the United Nations Convention in the Rights of the Child – which emphasises children’s rights and recognises their capabilities to enact change in their own lives. Third, the criticism on the category “street child” has gone along with an increase in data from other places besides Latin America and a paradigm shift that occurred in theoretical thinking, inspired by constructivist ideas. Concepts that were taken for granted were put to question and, beyond identifying characteristics of a street lifestyle, new emphasis was laid on the children themselves and the depth or diversity of their actual experiences. The inclusion of ideas, especially from the fields of anthropology, geography and psychology, gave new incentives and contributed to broadening the picture.

Whereas the first part of this chapter takes a look at the new questions that stimulated the debate, the second part describes the specific challenges of doing research on these questions with children and outlines the ethics as well as techniques of data collection and analysis.

²³ See Ennew, J., 2003.

²⁴ See Panter-Brick, C., 2002, pp. 147-171 at pp. 159-163.

²⁵ Ennew, J., 2003.

²⁶ See Panter-Brick, C., 2002, pp. 147-171 at p. 159.

1.2.1 PARADIGM SHIFT

In the academic sphere, the discourse has been transformed on the one hand by considering the various reasons why children become street children and on the other hand by involving new ideas – about rights, resiliency, identity, space, time and gender – in the understanding of street life. Compared to early studies that were mainly concerned with establishing characteristics of children in terms of their moves “on” and “of” the street and their links with their families, the change of perspective reflects the shift of attention to the children themselves, their own perceptions and actual experiences.

CAUSES

Explanatory frameworks have become more sophisticated compared to earlier research that was based on the assumption that street children are either “throwaways” or “runaways” because of poverty and family breakdown. Such conjectures stigmatise impoverished families, blaming them for collapsing under the stress of undefined “poverty,” and fail to grasp that most poor families neither simply “break down,” nor do they inevitably abandon or discard their children.

As made clear with regard to child labour in a recent report of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), three levels of causal analysis must be taken into account: immediate, underlying and structural.²⁷ At the immediate level, the reason why a child leaves home and goes to work or live on the streets could be a sudden drop in family income, loss of support from an adult family member due to illness, death or abandonment; or an episode of domestic violence. Underlying causes could be cultural expectations, such as the idea that a boy should go to work on the streets as soon as he is able, desire for consumer goods, or the “lure of bright city lights.” Structural causes consist of factors such as development shocks, structural adjustment, regional inequalities and social exclusion.²⁸

Current multi-level approaches to causality are underpinned by the recognised need to better contextualise research on street and working children. They not just create a link between the street child population and the rest of the society, but also – provided that there are sufficient comparative data – they can contribute to a better understanding why there are street children in certain cultures and not in others.

RIGHTS

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child heralded a change in the discourse on street children or, more generally, on children facing adversity. The Convention asserted a number of rights for children worldwide, formulated basic principles to be applied, and created a legal obligation to put these rights and principles into practice. Caring for street children has been no longer a matter of humanitarian or charitable concern, but has become a legal responsibility falling on a state party to the Convention. The Convention lists the areas where the rights and interests of children must be taken into account, and enunciates in Article 3.1 that in all actions concerning children, “the best interest of the child shall be prime consideration.” The emphasis moved significantly from highlighting the needs of vulnerable children to defending their rights as citizens. “The entire concept of childhood has been reconstructed ... Children are citizens ... The idea that they

²⁷ See International Labour Organisation (ILO), *A Future without Child Labour*, Geneva: International Labour Organisation, 2002.

²⁸ See Ennew, J. and J. Swart-Kruger, 2003.

are simply immature creatures whose needs must be met by parents or other charitably inclined adults, is becoming obsolete. As citizens, children have rights that entitle them to the resources required to protect and promote their development.”²⁹

A significant shift of emphasis grounded in the Convention has been the recognition that promoting “the best interest” of children is not just a matter of protecting and providing for them, but also of listening to them and fostering their participation. There is a careful balance to be struck between the four broad categories of rights in the Convention: rights to survival, development, protection, and participation. Adults tend to emphasise the first three and are reluctant to let children grasp participatory rights – other than by accident. The fourth set of rights recognises that children are agents of change of their own lives, which demands that adults acknowledge children’s manifest social competency. This also drives the ethics of research or intervention towards necessary consultation and child participation.³⁰

RESILIENCY

It has been forcefully argued that a portrayal of children as weak, incompetent and relatively powerless in society is one-sided and does not give a complete picture. Indeed, researchers have repeatedly been fascinated by both, positive and negative aspects of street children’s lives and personalities. They described them as “needy and bold,”³¹ “exploited” but street smart “entrepreneurs,”³² living in streets “that have become both theatre and war zone.”³³

Through the psychological concept of resiliency, research has shifted emphasis from portrayals of vulnerability and dependency to a discussion of children’s coping strategies in the face of adversity.³⁴ To present street children as underage dependants and helpless victims of social discrimination does little to recognise their initiative and ingenuity in coping with difficult circumstances and all that they have accomplished for themselves. The practical consequences of such an approach are that work with and for children has to move towards enhancing their life skills and building on existing strengths and capacities, instead of continuously looking for what went wrong.

Ideas of resiliency have particularly influenced research focusing on children’s mental and physical health. In terms of physical health, some studies – explicitly designed to compare homeless with home-based children – have challenged the assumption that all street children are pitiful, pale, thin and malnourished. They have highlighted the fact that street children sometimes have higher, albeit irregular income than home-based children. Also, it was found out that these children frequently draw back on networks of solidarity and care within their peer group to buffer themselves against shortfalls.³⁵

²⁹ Earls, F and M. Carlson, “Children at the Margin of Society: Research and Practice,” *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, No. 85, 1999, pp. 71-82 at p. 72 quoted in See Panter-Brick, C., 2002, pp. 147-171 at p. 155.

³⁰ Panter-Brick, C., 2002, pp. 147-171 at p. 156.

³¹ Aptekar, L., 1994, pp. 195-224 at p. 195.

³² Barker, G. and F. Knaul, 1991.

³³ Aptekar, L., 1994, pp. 195-224 at p. 195.

³⁴ See Banaag, C. G., *Resiliency: Stories Found in Philippine Streets*, Manila: UNICEF, 1997; Veale, A., Taylor M. and C. Linehan, “Psychological Perspectives of ‘Abandoned’ and ‘Abandoning’ Street Children,” pp. 131-145, in C. Panter-Brick and M. T. Smith, eds., *Abandoned Children*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

³⁵ See Gross, R., Landfried, B. and H. Susilowati, “Height and Weight as a Reflection on the Nutritional Situation of School-Aged Children Working and Living in the Streets of Jakarta,” *Social Science & Medicine*, No. 43(4), 1996, pp. 453-458.

In terms of mental health, the presumption was criticised that street children necessarily suffer from negative developmental outcomes. Several authors reported that the majority of street children have adequate mental health. Many of the children even do better than their equally poor counterparts who stay at home. Resilient characteristics of the children include a high degree of intelligence, autonomy, creativeness, concern for each other and good self-esteem.³⁶ It is important to keep in mind, however, that street-wise behaviour and survival skills cannot be equated with invulnerability or mature emotional development.³⁷

In order to get reliable information on these issues it is crucial that data collected among street children are compared with data of control groups from similarly poor but home-based children and not with (Western) middle class children, as has frequently been done.

IDENTITY

Closely linked to a new focus on the strengths of children is the discourse on the creation of identities. Even though street children's lives are regularly portrayed in a negative way and as a problem, which needs a solution, their decision to leave an impoverished, boring or abusive home should, in fact, be understood as the child's own solution to a personal predicament. In recent studies children have increasingly been represented as social actors that, though they are shaped by their circumstances, they are also shape them.

Creation of identity is an ongoing process. As such it has to be recognised that street children can possess multiple and fluid identities which shift depending on their circumstances, the spaces they occupy and their daily interactions. In drawing back on the works of sub-cultural theorists, interesting studies have been made that link the construction of street children's individual identities through the continuous interaction with peer groups to the construction of group identities.³⁸ The formation of subcultures can be seen as an attempt to resolve collectively experienced problems arising from alienation in society and harassment by the law. They appeal to those who feel that they have been rejected and provide an alternative social reality and status system, which offers "rallying points" and "symbols of solidarity."³⁹ These kinds of studies, however, require profound research and close familiarity with the children and their daily life on the streets.

SPACE

It has been increasingly acknowledged that children actively construct their worlds not just with regard to their identity but also with regard to the use of the places they occupy – the street "in the widest sense of the word."⁴⁰

This new focus arose partly due to the intervention of geographers in street children research, bringing with them ideas of "space." Street children's worlds, so the argument, cannot be distinguished by a simple division between "home"

³⁶ Aptekar, L., 1994, pp. 195-224 at p. 212.

³⁷ Kilbride, P., Suda, C. and E. Njeru, *Street children in Kenya – Voices of Children in Search of a Childhood*, Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 2000, pp. 6-79.

³⁸ See Beazley, H., "The Construction and Protection of Individual and Collective Identities by Street Children and Youth in Indonesia," *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), 2003, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://colorado.edu/journals/cye>.

³⁹ Brake, M., *Sociology of Youth Subcultures: Sex and Drugs and Rock 'n Roll?* London: Routledge, 1980, p. 175.

⁴⁰ As one of the definitions introduced in the previous chapter demonstrates, already in the early days of concern for and study of street children it was accredited that the street "in the widest sense of the word (including unoccupied dwellings and wasteland, etc.)" has a variety of meanings.

and “street,” but rather with respect to several “domains.”⁴¹ These include public and private spaces, institutions such as the justice and police systems, government and civil society programmes, groups of adults such as street educators, market vendors and other street workers as well as varied inside spaces such as prisons, orphanages, cinemas and shopping malls through which children pass at different times and with which they have various relationships. The variety of domains is often culturally determined, not only by what is on offer by way of environments, but also by the meanings they have. City centres and shopping malls may have different significance for adults and children, for home-based and street-based children, by day and by night.⁴²

TIME

Time is an important element in relation to age. Children rarely begin street life before they are five years of age. In this age, both boys and girls are looked on as being cute and they receive alms because of it. But when with increasing age their body image changes to that of an adult, getting money from passers-by is more difficult and the children have to draw back on other means of survival. This shift has consequences with regard to life on the streets itself but also with regard to institutions. How street children circulate in social spaces and negotiate with a range of institutions is marked by their status as legal minors. When they reach the age of maturity, they face a difficult transformation of identity as the institutional support for minors falls away.⁴³

In order to describe the various stages a street child goes through when getting older, the concept of a street child’s life as “career” has become widely applied in recent studies.⁴⁴ Special attention has been paid to the life period of adolescence, which can be perceived as a “career crisis.” Whereas being an adolescent might itself be a difficult social experience for a child as he or she enters a “nothing” stage of being neither an adult nor a child and being “lost in between, belonging nowhere, being no one,”⁴⁵ this experience is particularly intense for children who have developed and cultivated their identities on the street. As they reach puberty, street life usually gets tougher due to the changing perceptions society has of the children. It is usually at this stage when the opinion held by the public shifts from pitying them as victims to fearing them as delinquents. It is also then when the children start to resent the structural and economic restrictions placed upon them by the state and the society.

The concept of a “street career” is a fruitful analytic device for moving the literature beyond its habitual snap-shot descriptions of children, because it calls for data giving both time-depth and contextual information.⁴⁶ An ethnographic

⁴¹ Lucchini, R., *Sociologie de la survie: L’enfant dans la rue*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996b quoted in Ennew, J. and J. Swart-Kruger, 2003.

⁴² See Ennew, J. and J. Swart-Kruger, 2003.

⁴³ See Panter-Brick, C., 2002, pp. 147-171 at p. 165.

⁴⁴ See Visano, L., “The Socialization of Street Children: The Development and Transformation of Identities,” *Sociological Studies of Child Development*, No. 3, 1990, pp. 139-161.

⁴⁵ James, A., “Learning to Belong: The Boundaries of Adolescence,” no page, in A. P. Cohen, ed., *Symbolizing Boundaries*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986, p. 155.

⁴⁶ Research on the “street career” of children in the US is done for example by Visano. Beazley has a similar focus with regard to Indonesian street boys. Visano describes adolescence as a time in their lives when street children in North America undergo a “career crisis.” This is when they have to confront “reality shocks” about their way of life, and “begin to experience a sense of estrangement and frustration with their nomadic existence [as] the child’s idealized image of the street clashes with their struggle for survival.” At this stage street children often consider returning to mainstream society and/or going home. Typically, Visano says, this will happen after a child has been on the street for a year. Beazley who researched street boys in Yogyakarta, states this is not the case in Indonesia where children can live for many years on the street before they become old enough to start feeling differently about their situation. The dilemma that they do face, however, which is different from street kids in the West, is their problem

focus on the careers of street children in comparison with their peers might further help to achieve a more fine-grained understanding of such issues.⁴⁷

GENDER

The gender distribution among street children is overwhelmingly male in the developing world and equally split between male and female in the Western world.⁴⁸ The fact that the great majority of the children are male is often hidden when the children are referred to as “street children” and not “street boys.” Girls are much less visible on the streets and their numbers even decrease when they get older. The most common claim for finding fewer girls on the street is that they are taken off the streets to become prostitutes. While there is some truth in this, this has frequently been exaggerated.

Another reason for gender differences among street children is that, according to gender specific role models in many cultures, females are more likely to be assigned to the domestic sphere of home while the public space is considered to be male area. Consequently, because girls are more protected by the parents and needed in the household, they are less prone to get to the streets.⁴⁹ Boys on the other hand are sometimes even socialised into leaving home early and contributing to the family income. That is also why they face less restrictions and harassment when roaming in the streets.

Since girls are fewer in number and the domains they occupy are more difficult to access, for a long time research attention focused almost exclusively on boys working and living on the street. In the recent years, however, street girls have become increasingly subject of study and concern.⁵⁰

of not being accepted or established in the community due to their inability to obtain an identity card. See Visano, L. 1990, pp. 139-161 at pp. 155, 156; Beazley, H., 2003. Others authors who did research on changing careers of street children are Aptekar, L., *Street Children of Cali*, London: Duke University Press, 1988; Boyden, J. and P. Holden, 1991; Felsman, J. K., “Risk and Resiliency in Childhood: The Lives of Street Children,” pp. 56-80, in T. Dugan, T. and R. Coles, eds., *The Child in Our Times: Studies in the Development of Resiliency*, New York: Brunner and Mazel, 1989.

⁴⁷ See Panter-Brick, C., 2002, pp. 147-171 at p. 165.

⁴⁸ See Aptekar, L., 1994, pp. 195-224 at p. 198.

⁴⁹ See Aptekar, L., 1994, pp. 195-224 at p. 198.

⁵⁰ Researchers who illustrate the gendered nature of street space are Hansson, and Rurevo and Bourdillon. Hansson uses a feminist perspective to investigate the daily lives of girls who “stroll” on the streets of Cape Town, South Africa. She rejects the assumption that girls who enter the streets are caught up in prostitution rackets and searches instead in their home background in order to explain why there are fewer girls present on the streets. See Hansson, D., “‘Strolling’ as a Gendered Experience: A Feminist Analysis of Young Females in Cape Town.” *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), 2003, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://colorado.edu/journals/cye>. The study of Rurevo and Bourdillon looks at the background of poverty and family disintegration that resulted in the girls being on the streets of Harare, Zimbabwe. They comment on public perceptions of street girls and describe their coping mechanisms: those living on the streets generally rely at least occasionally on the trade of sex. The study further discusses the difficulty of finding appropriate intervention, pointing to the intolerable damage to the lives of the girls on the one hand and their resistance to compulsory removal from the streets on the other. See Rurevo, R. and M. Bourdillon, “Girls: The Less Visible Street Children of Zimbabwe,” *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), 2003, retrieved in September 2005 from <http://colorado.edu/journals/cye>. Also, Hecht and Raffaelli illustrate the different problems boys and girls face on the street at the Brazilian example. Hecht describes prison, insanity or early death as common among street children. See Hecht, T., *At Home in the Street: Street Children of Northeast Brazil*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Raffaelli shows that street life has far more fatal outcomes for girls. According to him street girls “disappear,” they are arrested or they die. They die from venereal diseases, they are sent to mental institutions, they die from abortion, or in childbirth, or they kill themselves. See Raffaelli, M., “Homeless and Working Street Youth in Latin America,” *Inter-American Journal of Psychology*, No. 33 (2), 1999, pp. 7-28. While the outcomes don’t always have to be so drastic, there is little doubt that street girls’ and street boys’ “careers” differ remarkably.

CONVERSION OF THE IDEAS INTO PRACTICE

As shown, research on children living and working in the streets has undergone many changes in the past thirty years. The promising new approaches have the potential of providing deeper insights and better data quality than ever before. It does little for the children in question, however, if the new ideas remain within the academic field alone. Therefore, it is essential to think about how these findings could be converted into practice and how interventions fostering children's agency and participation could be implemented on the ground and translated into actual benefits for street children.

1.2.2 RESEARCH ETHICS AND TECHNIQUES

Improved paradigm frameworks have also influenced methods of research focusing on street and working children. The expansion of the academic domain of child and childhood studies has led to greater recognition of differences in childhoods. Theories of space and time, identity and resiliency, age and gender, have all led to the acknowledgement that children are capable social actors who construct meaning and make informed decisions about their lives. If this is taken seriously, children have to be given an active position in research processes as well. Arguing from a rights-based perspective this is not just a question of goodwill from the researcher's side. With reference to the Convention on the Rights of the Child it is a must. Several articles refer to the children's right to be properly researched.

- Article 3.3: Children have the right to expect the highest quality services – which includes the best possible research.
- Article 12: Children have the right to express their opinions in matters concerning them.
- Article 13: Children have a right to express themselves in any way they wish – not limited to the usual verbal expressions used by adults.
- Article 36: Children must be protected from all forms of exploitation – including being exploited through research processes and through dissemination of information.

Notwithstanding the professional codes of conduct to which any researcher should adhere, researching children, especially with regard to the rights debate, does raise a number of particular ethical issues. Ensuring the participation of the children being researched to the maximum extent possible has particularly two consequences: First, throughout the whole research process there must be informed consent between researcher and children. Second, such scientific research techniques must be applied that facilitate children to provide their own views.

INFORMED CONSENT

The chief principle of any kind of research is that participation must be voluntary. Individuals should have given their informed consent, which means that they have been informed of and have understood research aims, research method and processes, research topics, what the data will be used for, that their anonymity will be guaranteed and that it is possible to withdraw from the research at any time.⁵¹

⁵¹ See Ennew, J. et al., "National Challenges, Resource and Information Needs in Addressing Corporal Punishment of Children in Southeast, East Asia and Pacific," Proceedings of the International Save the Children Alliance Regional Workshop on Corporal Punishment of Children, April 5-9, Bangkok, 2004, p. 96.

Gaining informed consent from children to participate in research often amounts in practice to gaining consent from adult gatekeepers such as parents, social workers and teachers. Social and legal rules position children as minors with few decision-making rights so that consent inevitably gets delegated to those who have responsibility for them. The consent of parents and teachers alone, however, should not be regarded as sufficient. It is necessary to gain approval from the children themselves and the researcher has to ensure that the child feels able to say “no” without any negative consequences. Sometimes a lot of empathy is needed to see behind the subtle ways children are subject to sets of power relations, at home or at institutions, and to understand when practical compliance is in fact given because of fear of sanctions.

With regard to street and working children these questions arise especially when research is done with children in centres and orphanages. Children on the street are most of the time without adult supervision, which gives them greater autonomy do decide themselves whether they want to be involved into a research activity or not.

APPROPRIATE RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

There are common research problems in studies of street and working children, which have frequently been debated. Past studies received much criticism particularly for two reasons. First, their over-reliance on anecdotal information using personal profiles that are journalistic rather than scientific. Second, their over-generalisation of findings by moving from data collected in a small and often non-random sample to conclusions that suggest a much larger population.

The challenges, which research on children faces, are manifold. The issues of researchers’ access and identity are important ethical considerations when researching children. They are particularly significant when the children are a highly marginalized group such as those living on the street.⁵² For adults it is not possible to pass unnoticed in the company of children – age, size and authority always intervene. The significance of those differences and the circumstances in which they are important or irrelevant has repeatedly been discussed in childhood studies. Many researchers agree that in the same way as anthropologists do not have to go native in order to argue from the natives’ point of view, childhood researchers need not to pretend to be children. “This is to suggest that if we admit the inevitability of the difference between children and ourselves as researchers, acknowledging that, however friendly we are or however small, we can only ever have a semi-participatory role in children’s lives. Then we might develop tools and techniques specifically for work with children on those occasions when our adulthood prohibits our further participation.”⁵³ This does not necessitate the adoption of completely new or exotic research methods. Both, the acknowledgement that adult’s access to a child’s perspective faces constraints and that children have a right to be involved in research, however, have led to a critical review of the standard methodological array and the development of additional tools and techniques that enable researchers to collect data accurately *with* children, as opposed to *about* children from adults.⁵⁴

Most of the current studies use a combination of verbal and non-verbal methods. Concerning verbal methods, there is a whole range of interview

⁵² In research with street children in Kampala, Uganda, Young and Barrett explore the methodological issues associated with gaining access to street children, and reducing the influence of the researcher’s “outsider” identity. See Young, L. and H. Barrett, “Issues of Access and Identity: Adapting Research Methods with Kampala Street Children,” *Childhood*, No. 8(3), 2001, pp. 383-395.

⁵³ James, A., Jenks, C. and A. Prout, *Theorizing Childhood*, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1998, p. 183.

⁵⁴ See Ennew, J. and J. Swart-Kruger, 2003.

techniques. These include unstructured, semi-structured and structured interviews as well as individual, group interviews and questionnaires. Qualitative methods are widely appreciated as being the most effective research strategies for getting into direct contact with children and learning about the ways they express what is important to them. Quantitative methods allow the researcher to ask questions in a more standardised form, to test hypotheses and to get comparative data.⁵⁵

It largely depends on the estimation and sensitivity of the researcher to decide which method is the most appropriate in the specific situation. In research with children, group interviews are sometimes given the preference over individual interviews. The power relationship and social mismatch evoked between the adult interviewer and the child informant in a standard one-to-one interview becomes diffused in group interviews where children have support from their peers. Although the narrative structure of the interview may become less structured, the shifting of control to children themselves permits them to become “enthusiastic informants rather than reluctant subjects.”⁵⁶

In other case, especially with younger children, none of the interview techniques may work well and researchers have to consider additional methods and means of self-expression beyond the purely verbal. Drawings and other visual methods such as diagrams, photographs, as well as performance related methods such as role plays, recall, ranking, and focus group discussions can be helpful alternatives.

What is equally important to the choice of the appropriate methods is to make sure that they really catch the children’s perspective. In principle, any method can be both, participatory and non-participatory, depending on how it is used. Questionnaires are often described as non-participatory, while collecting children’s drawings is often described as a fundamentally participatory method. Yet, a questionnaire can be participatory if children are involved in its design, and especially if they use it to do their own research. On the other hand, drawings or role-plays can discourage children, if they have to follow adult instructions without understanding why this method is used. They can even be completely non-participatory if children are not given the opportunity to explain what they have drawn and if they cannot be confident that researchers will not use the information or drawings in ways that might embarrass them or put them in danger.⁵⁷

Whatever choice of methods is considered appropriate in the specific case, it is particularly important to combine several research tools so that data can be

⁵⁵ One of the landmark publications on research with and about children is Boyden, J. and J. Ennew, *Children in Focus: A Manual for Participatory Research with Children*, Stockholm: Radda Barnen, 1997. Some of the newer ones are for example a research guide on Participatory Action Research (PAR) of Dela Cruz, T. et al., *Small Steps, Great Strides: Doing Participatory Action Research with Children*, Manila: University of the Philippines, Psychosocial Trauma and Human Rights Programme, 2002 and a handbook for action-oriented research on the worst forms of child labour, including trafficking in children of the Regional Working Group on Child Labour (RWG-CL), *Learning to Work Together: A Handbook for Managers on Facilitating Children’s Participation in Actions to Address Child Labour*, Bangkok: Regional Working Group on Child Labour, 2003. Since 1992, Save the Children has been in the forefront of finding rights-based, scientific ways of research with children, including their increasing participation in research processes. One of the recent publications for research on physical and emotional punishment of children is Ennew, J. and D. P. Plateau, *Resource Handbook. How to Research the Physical and Emotional Punishment of Children*, Bangkok: International Save the Children Alliance Southeast, East Asia and Pacific Region, 2004. A toolkit on supporting children’s participation in research, produced for the United Nations Secretary General’s global study on violence against children is provided by Laws, S. and G. Mann, *So, you Want to Involve Children in Research? A Toolkit Supporting Children’s Meaningful and Ethical Participation in Research Relating to Violence against Children*, Stockholm: Save the Children Sweden, 2004.

⁵⁶ James, A., Jenks, C. and A. Prout, 1998, p. 190.

⁵⁷ See Ennew, J. and D. P. Plateau, 2004, p. 44.

cross-checked between methods and samples, and research has a better chance of minimising distortion of information and of obtaining valid and convincing results. Research results are not validated by feedback to the respondents, but rather by cross-checking between different research methods, a process known as “triangulation.” Information on the same topic is obtained from many sources, passing through several different “filters” of perception so that each method offsets some of the inherent problems of the other methods.⁵⁸

To better understand and contextualise the street and working children’s experiences it is useful to additionally look at secondary data sources. It is for example particularly important to know more about the society’s attitude towards street children and their historical context. Relevant information can be gleaned from archival data such as press reports and other written documents such as national and local governmental programmes, country situation reports and analysis of international agencies such as UNICEF, NGO publications and international as well as national legal provisions. It is further valuable to see the children in the context of how they are presented in the media, in radio, television and newspapers. Some interesting insights can be obtained following the various events for street children as well as to gathering data during events that the children themselves organise. With regard to the Philippines there is a huge amount of material available some of which is analysed in the following chapters.

1.3 SUMMARY

When the presence of children living and working in the streets became noticeably prevalent in the early 1980s, it was easy enough to call them “street children.” Suggesting images of abandonment and helplessness on the one hand and delinquency on the other hand, the term was useful for advocacy, which called public attention to the growing problem. Soon however, “street child” as a reference term proved problematic for several reasons: First, on the background of a globalised concept of childhood based on Western standards, “street child” turns into a stigmatising label. It is emotionally charged and reflects public fear and pity, which is additionally fuelled by the media’s self-serving exaggeration and selective reporting. Second, it is biased by international organisations that compete for resources and thus reflects social and political agendas more than children’s reality. At times it additionally draws away attention from the broader population of children affected by poverty. Third, it obscures the heterogeneity in children’s actual circumstances and does not correspond to the ways many children relate their own experiences to the reality of their movements “on” and “of” the streets and to other factors that are important for their identity.

Based on this criticism the search for new definitions and classification began. Suggestions to replace “street children” with terms like “Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances” (CEDC), “Children in Need of Special Protection” (CNPS) or “children at risk,” proved equally impractical and imprecise. As for now, no term has successfully been coined “to capture both the peculiar nature of street life and its interconnection with other aspects of vulnerability.”⁵⁹ Today, most authors writing on the topic will declare that they find the use of the term “street children” questionable but have to acknowledge

⁵⁸ See Lucchini, R., “Theory, Method and Triangulation in the Study of Street Children,” *Childhood*, No. 3, 1996a, pp. 131-145.

⁵⁹ Volpi, E., “Street Children: Promising Practices and Approaches,” *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), 2003, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://cye.colorado.edu>.

that even though this category may be “impossibly constructed,”⁶⁰ there are few practical options available – beyond local terms – to refer to this particular group of children.

Regarding studies of street and working children, improved paradigm frameworks have influenced research as well as methods in the last thirty years. Whereas in the beginnings of the debate publications in both academic and welfare literature were mainly concerned with establishing the hallmarks of a street lifestyle and the characteristics of children in terms of their use of the street and their links with their families, over the time ideas about street and working children’s experiences have become wider and more profound. Essentialist ideas about children and childhood have been challenged by the emergent constructivist view. The recognition of children as right holders, a new focus on their resiliency and theories of time, space, identity and gender have all led to the acknowledgement that children are capable social beings who construct meaning.

Since paradigms always shift unevenly, several discourses still compete for attention. One is research-focused and aims at promoting critical understanding and at influencing effective policy development. Another is targeted at mass audiences, making use of simplified images and reverberating supposed conventional wisdoms based on universalistic Western thinking.⁶¹

The next chapters will demonstrate how the various ideas are incorporated into national and local policies (Chapter Two) and to what degree they shape public opinion (Chapter Three).

⁶⁰ Ennew, J., 2000, p. 171.

⁶¹ See Blunt, A., “Street Children and their Education: A Challenge for Urban Educators,” pp. 237-261, in N. Stromquist, ed., *Education in Urban Areas: Cross National Dimensions*, Westport: CT Praeger, 1994, p. 258.

CHAPTER TWO

Institutional Approach to Street and Working Children in the Philippines

While for a long time poverty was perceived mainly a rural phenomenon, it has fast acquired an “urban face”⁶² throughout the Philippines. The rapid growth of the country’s urban population in combination with an unabated ongoing rural-urban migration has led to greater demands for social services and has escalated pressure on urban land and housing resources. Coupled with the absence of sufficient provision of physical and social infrastructure and equitable use of urban resources, the overall result is the deterioration of urban systems. The most striking evidence is urban poverty. The most visible signs are children working and living in the streets.

This chapter will start from a very general viewpoint by providing background information on poverty in the Philippines. It will then describe the state’s interests in and initiatives for children in general and street and working children in particular. It will be shown how the international standards as outlined before are translated into national agendas, policies and laws, and how these are applied and interpreted on the local level. An assessment of the organisations in Cebu City will demonstrate that various strategies operate side by side, each based on certain interpretations of the needs of children as well as facing different obstacles in implementation.

2.1 NATIONAL LEVEL: CONTEXT AND INITIATIVES

For many inhabitants of the Philippines poverty is pervasive and severe. Yet, poverty is a necessary but not sufficient condition that spurs many children to street life, since the majority of poor children do not become street children. It is therefore necessary to look at the specific situation of urban poor families in order to understand the immediate causes that trigger the move of children onto the streets.

In the first part of this chapter, after giving a brief general introduction into poverty and poverty alleviation programmes in the Philippines, the specificities of urban poverty and its effects on children and their families will be explored. Reference will be made to official documents, statistics and analyses that are related to the topic. The second part will examine how street children in the Philippines, who are easily represented as the symbol of child poverty and exclusion, have moved from the margins of discussion about poverty towards centre since the 1980s. It will reflect on the question of why these children receive

⁶² Balicasan, A. M., “What Do we Really Know – or Don’t Know about Economic Inequalities and Poverty in the Philippines,” pp. 1-50, in A. M. Balicasan, Arsenio M. and S. Fujisaki, eds., *Causes of Poverty: Myths, Facts and Policies, A Philippine Study*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1999, p. 1.

so much attention from the government's side, show how estimations on their numbers vary, and outline the legal and policy framework targeted at them.

2.1.1 POVERTY IN THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippines have a democratic constitution, a comprehensive range of legislation that conforms to international human rights standards, independent human rights institutions, an active civil society and a free press. Despite these favourable political conditions, fundamental changes in the distribution of resources have been slow. There are large disparities in living standards between regions of the country and wealth is concentrated in the hands of a small number of powerful families. Social relations are influenced by patron-client relationships – resembling those in Latin-American countries – that undermine democratic processes and contribute to divisions within society. The layer of formal democratic institutions covers deeply entrenched structures of inequality.⁶³

Table1: Country profile of the Philippines⁶⁴

<p>The Philippines are an archipelago of around 7000 islands situated in the heart of Southeast Asia. The majority of the Filipino people inhabit three large island groups: Luzon in the north with the capital Manila, Visayas in the centre with its major city Cebu, and Mindanao in the south with Davao as regional most important city. These three island groups are further subdivided into fourteen regions, seventy-six provinces, sixty cities, 1,542 municipalities and 41,825 <i>barangays</i>.</p>  <p>Filipinos are of Indo-Malay, Chinese and Spanish ancestry. The national languages are Filipino/Tagalog and English, which are understood in many areas but generally only widely spoken among the dominant classes. There are over 70 other regional languages, which most people prefer to speak in their daily life. The majority of Filipinos are Catholic (eighty-six percent), followed by Muslims and Protestants. With a population of around eighty-four million on a land area of approximately 300,000 square kilometres, the Philippines have one of the highest population density rates in Asia. The socio-political system of the Philippines was strongly influenced by external powers. While the Spanish colonialists brought with them the Catholic religion, an economic and political system (including private ownership of land and social stratification), which replaced the previous communal lifestyle, the Americans that took over after the Spanish-American war in 1898, introduced democratic institutions and public education. After a short Japanese occupation during the Second World War, Philippine independence was finally recognised in 1946.</p>	<p>Davao as regional most important city. These three island groups are further subdivided into fourteen regions, seventy-six provinces, sixty cities, 1,542 municipalities and 41,825 <i>barangays</i>.</p> <p>Filipinos are of Indo-Malay, Chinese and Spanish ancestry. The national languages are Filipino/Tagalog and English, which are understood in many areas but generally only widely spoken among the dominant classes. There are over 70 other regional languages, which most people prefer to speak in their daily life.</p> <p>The majority of Filipinos are Catholic (eighty-six percent), followed by Muslims and Protestants. With a population of around eighty-four million on a land area of approximately 300,000 square kilometres, the Philippines have one of the highest population density rates in Asia.</p> <p>The socio-political system of the Philippines was strongly influenced by external powers. While the Spanish colonialists brought with them the Catholic religion, an economic and political system (including private ownership of land and social stratification), which replaced the previous communal lifestyle, the Americans</p>
--	---

In the early 1990 mass poverty was perceived to be the principal problem confronting the Philippines. Several reforms were initiated, two of which are particularly important for poverty alleviation. In 1991 Aquino passed the Local Government Code (LGC), which decentralises government authority and

⁶³ See Theis, J., *Promoting Rights-Based Approaches: Experiences and Ideas from Asia and the Pacific*, Stockholm: Save the Children Sweden, 2003, p. 15.

⁶⁴ See Gerdes, K. E. and K. L. Pehrson, "Philippines," pp. 171-203, in J. Dixon and D. Macarov, eds., *Poverty: A Persistent Global Reality*, London and New York: Routledge, 1998, pp. 171-175. Map of the Philippines with Cebu retrieved in August 2005 from <http://www.archives.cnn.com>.

devolves substantial political and administrative responsibilities to autonomous local government units (LGU).⁶⁵ In 1992, the succeeding Ramos government integrated various anti-poverty programmes under one umbrella, which became known as the Social Reform Agenda (SRA). The SRA is a package of interventions aimed at addressing the minimum basic needs (MBN) of identified groups in priority provinces and municipalities. The minimum needs are classified as survival needs (food and nutrition, health, water and sanitation, clothing), security needs (shelter, peace and order, public safety, income and livelihood) and enabling needs (basic education and literacy, participation in community development, family and psycho-social care).

The implementation of the Social Reform Agenda began in 1995 on the local government level in a collaborative effort between non-governmental organisations, people's organisations (representing the different poor sectors such as peasant and fisher folk), local government representatives of provinces, cities, municipalities and *barangays*,⁶⁶ and several governmental organisations. Although progress has been achieved in laying the groundwork for implementing the Agenda in terms of institution building, developing a policy framework, funding and programming, an assessment of the SRA by certain sectors of society suggests that the effects of reform measures have been slower and less successful than anticipated.

If the poor are defined as people who are unable to meet their basic needs, around forty percent are still living in poverty. The self-rated poverty-estimate is even higher and was placed at sixty percent for the last years.⁶⁷ Official government statistics indicate that compared to other Asian countries at a similar level of development, the poverty incidence in the Philippines is very high.⁶⁸ Contrary to popular claims, recent episodes of growth in the Philippine economy – a mixture of agriculture, light industry and supporting services – in the mid 1990s have not benefited the poor, either absolutely or relatively.⁶⁹ The economic

⁶⁵ A number of issues and problems have surfaced during the implementation of the Code: First of all, the major problem turned out to be the lack of financial support. The Local Government Units have been expecting that the amount for the sustenance and maintenance of the devolved services and functions would be much higher. In reality, the amount transferred barely even covered the cost for the personnel. Second, the Code provides the legal and institutional infrastructure for the participation of civil society in local governments and mandates the allocation of specific seats in local special bodies to NGOs and people's organisations. The local government officials, however, remained wary about the participation of NGOs. They particularly displayed a high degree of suspicion of the NGO motives, especially so when their political opponents who lost in their candidacies formed their own NGOs and have remained visible and influential in the local development activities. Third, at the provincial level as well as at the city and municipal levels, initial overlapping of some services and function between certain offices has arisen as a result of the devolution. See Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC) and UNICEF, *Situation of Children and Women in the Philippines*, Manila: UNICEF, 1997, pp. 14-18.

⁶⁶ *Bargangays* are the smallest administrative and political units in the Philippines.

⁶⁷ Being poor does not just mean having a low income. It also means being affected by discrimination, lack of participatory opportunities, insufficient access to resources and disregard for human dignity and human rights. It is difficult to measure poverty in such a way as to express this multidimensional quality. Even within the Philippines different institutions define poverty differently. This accounts for the inconsistency of poverty data. Etemadi shows how national and local government agencies involved in poverty alleviation programs define their target beneficiaries in accordance with their concept of the poor. See Etemadi, F. U., "Civil Society Participation in City Governance in Cebu City," *Environment & Urbanization*, No. 12 (1), 2000a, pp. 23-27. Compare for example the official poverty indicator survey data of 1998 and 2004 at National Statistics Office (NSO), "Highlights of the 1998 Annual Poverty Indicators Survey (APIS)," 2001a, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/sectordata/ap98.html>, and at National Statistics Office (NSO), "2004 Annual Poverty Indicators Survey (APIS)," 2005, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/pressrelease/2005/ap2004ptx.html>.

⁶⁸ See Balicasan, A. M., 1999, p. 12.

⁶⁹ An assessment of Philippine poverty from a sociological viewpoint that goes beyond the common discussion about statistics is provided by Castillo, G. T., "Poverty Research: As If the Poor Really

situation deteriorated nationwide again in 1998 as a result of the Asian financial crisis and poor weather conditions.⁷⁰

LOCAL LEVEL OF CEBU CITY

Looking at the local level, Cebu City plays an outstanding role within the Philippine economy as well as with regard to poverty alleviation measures.

The city is well known for its strong economic performance during the late 1980s, a time when the national economy was registering negative growth. It had the fastest growing economy in the Philippines and led the country in export items such as furniture, fashion accessories, processed foods, toys and household goods. By 1994, it accounted for around ten percent of total exports from the Philippines. It has a highly diversified economy with sixty-nine percent of its economically active population in services in 1997, twenty-four percent in industry and seven percent in agriculture. However, by 1998, the city faced serious economic difficulties, in part linked to the Asian currency crisis and the fact that many local businesses had loans in US dollars. Tourism had fallen and some 36,000 workers were affected by temporary or permanent retrenchment or firm closure.

The experience of Cebu over the last ten years shows that economic growth does not necessarily result in a lower number of poor people. Based on selected indicators, the Cebu boom has benefited a few sectors, primarily big business and the export industry. With a heavy influx of intra-provincial migrants, informal settlements and the informal economy has grown rapidly. Land conversion, land reclamation, infrastructure development and other projects have dislocated the urban poor who have become, simultaneously, more vulnerable to environmental hazards. Income distribution between low-income and high-income families has widened, and urban poverty has increased.⁷¹

With regard to poverty reduction, Cebu City became known as one of the most active local government units in the Philippines. The Urban Basic Service Programme (UBSP) is the centrepiece of the government poverty alleviation programme. It focuses on particularly poor *barangays*, and centres on three major thrusts – housing, health and livelihood. Among vulnerable groups, children and women receive most attention. The Cebu City Inter-Agency Committee (CCIAC), composed of representatives from national government agencies, Cebu City offices and non-governmental organisations, set the direction of this UNICEF assisted project. The ten components of the programme are: (1) health and nutrition, (2) water and sanitation, (3) women education and development, (4) livelihood, (5) early child development, (6) special projects for children, (7) community organising, (8) land tenure, (9) advocacy and (10) project support services.⁷²

Mattered,” pp. 133-143, in A. M. Balicasan and S. Fujisaki, eds., *Causes of Poverty: Myths, Facts and Policies, A Philippine Study*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1999.

⁷⁰ See Carada, W. B., “Potentials of Poverty Alleviation Interventions in Decentralized Local Governance: The Case of the Philippines,” Nagoya University: International Seminar on the Local Government Capacity Building and Poverty Alleviation Policies within the Framework of Decentralization: The Case of the Philippines and Indonesia, October 22-23, 2001, pp. 4-5.

⁷¹ See Etemadi, F. U., 2000a, pp. 57-58.

⁷² See Etemadi, F. U., 2000b, pp. 48-52.

Table 2: City profile of Cebu⁷³

POPULATION BY AGE GROUP AND SEX CEBU CITY 2000			
Age Group	Total Population	Male	Female
all	718.821	351.640	367.181
Under 1	18.090	9.372	8.718
1 to 4	65.862	33.707	32.155
5 to 9	78.134	40.035	38.099
10 to 14	73.701	37.014	36.687
15 to 19	79.329	37.083	42.246
20 to 24	78.481	36.669	41.812
25 to 29	65.438	31.912	33.526
30 to 34	56.658	27.862	28.796
35 to 39	48.093	24.098	23.995
40 to 44	40.953	20.182	20.771
45 to 49	32.884	16.217	16.667
50 to 54	25.174	12.207	12.967
55 to 59	17.301	8.400	8.901
60 to 64	14.440	6.633	7.807
65 to 69	9.728	4.296	5.432
70 to 74	6.551	2.806	3.745
75 to 79	4.043	1.712	2.331
80 above	3.961	1.435	2.526

Cebu City is the capital of Cebu province in the Philippines and regional capital of the Central Visayas region. Cebu City forms the core of Metro Cebu, which includes many other rapidly urbanising cities and municipalities (Mandaue City, Lapulapu City, Consolacion, Liloan, Compostela, Cordova, Minglanilla, Talisay and Naga). Cebu City covers 330 square kilometres and is subdivided into eighty *barangays* (the smallest government unit in the Philippines). By 2000, the city had 718,821 inhabitants – although the daytime population is much higher as workers, students and shoppers come from neighbouring cities and municipalities. Cebu has a population growth rate about three percent and an average household size of five was recorded in 2000. The number of households increased to 147,600 in 2000 as compared to 134,986 households in 1995. Around sixty to seventy percent of the families are defined as poor. They can further be subdivided into “the poorest of the poor” (about fifteen percent), “very poor” (around twenty percent) and “poor” (around thirty percent).

In the recent years, some improvements have been achieved, especially in the areas of access to social service. This is most evident in health, particularly primary health care (maternal and child health), communal water, sanitation facilities and prevention and care of sexually transmitted diseases. Access to credit has improved livelihood opportunities and increased the income of those urban poor who are the beneficiaries of such programmes. They have been able to send their children to school, have improved their dwellings or have been granted loans to acquire land or housing. More urban children have acquired education through scholarships and educational assistance. Also, with regard to community organising and capacity building some advances have been made. Participatory planning has enhanced self-efficacy among community members and generated self-awareness. One indicator of increased rights awareness is that more women have been reporting cases of domestic violence and child abuse to the authorities.⁷⁴

However, the gains the city has made in recent years to alleviate poverty are continuously challenged by population increase and in-migration in urban poor communities. Apart from some noticeable improvements in the described areas, the general assessment of Cebu City’s poverty alleviation programme still

⁷³ See National Statistics Office (NSO), “Cebu City: Population Growth Rate Recovered from a Downfall,” 2000a, retrieved in September 2005 from <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/pressrelease/2002/pr02150tx.html>. Regarding the table “Population by Age and Sex, Cebu 2000” see National Statistics Office (NSO), “Cebu: The Second Most Populated Province in the Philippines,” 2000c, retrieved in September 2005 from <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/pressrelease/2002/pr02157tx.html>. Estimations on urban poor see Etemadi, F. U., *Urban Governance, Partnership and Poverty in Cebu*, University of Birmingham, International Development Department, School of Public Policy, 2000b, pp. 29-31.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

remains to be done. In the absence of hard data as well as functioning monitoring and evaluation tools, up to now statements can best be general and qualitative.⁷⁵

2.1.2 URBAN POVERTY AND CHILDREN

Statistical information on the actual living conditions of the urban poor is not easy to come by. Often, official documents are purposefully not explicit. Yet, even though the environment in urban settlements is extremely complex and is made up of a wide range of intricately linked elements, some generalisations can be made about housing facilities, water, sanitation, garbage and their effects on health, livelihood opportunities, and the particular hardships that life in extreme poverty has for families in general and women and children in particular.

HOUSING

Poor people in urban areas have to struggle with housing – getting it, keeping it and coping with its inadequacies. Poor people are found in large concentrations in dilapidated, overcrowded inner city tenements and boarding houses.⁷⁶ In these cases there is a trade-off between the far higher costs that households incur, for example with regard to rent and overcrowding, and the advantages provided by the location in terms of access to services and jobs.

The poorest of the poor live in informal, illegal squatter settlements that tend to be established on undesirable and ill-defended interstitial spaces, often on government-owned land. The location of informal settlements has a logic – they are concentrated in dangerous areas because the more dangerous the site, the greater the chance that the residents can avoid eviction. Examples would include the space in front of a factory wall (where one wall is already there), an empty lot or a garbage dumpsite. The quality of housing is mostly wretched, made of wood and plastic scavenged from dumps.⁷⁷ This is a result not only of low incomes, but also of the reluctance of households to invest because of the uncertainty that they will be permitted to stay.⁷⁸

Evicting the urban poor from either private or government land and demolishing their housing is a long-standing practice in the Philippines.⁷⁹ The

⁷⁵ Etemadi provides the most comprehensive overview of Cebu City's poverty reduction initiatives. Among others she compares several living standard indicators in different *barangays* of the city. The urban *barangays* were divided into two kinds: "non poor" *barangays* and "poor" *barangays*. The "poor" ones include *barangays* which are part of Cebu City's poverty alleviation programme, the Urban Basic Service Programme (UBSP), and *barangays* with the most number of informal settlements. This categorisation is relative, considering that not all households in "poor" *barangays* are poor; in the same manner, not all households in "not poor" *barangays* are better off. Nevertheless the comparative tables presented in the study give some insights into the living conditions of poor people in an urban environment and the achievements that have been made by the city's poverty alleviation programme. See Etemadi, F. U., 2000b.

⁷⁶ With regard to Cebu City, slums and informal settlements began to spread out the city in the 1980s. A survey in the early 1990 identified 561 informal settlements occupied by almost 62,000 families, representing fifty-seven percent of the projected household population in Cebu City's urban core. Average population density in these settlements of 74,000 persons per square meter is seventeen times the density of the city's urban population, excluding informal land occupants. See Etemadi, F. U., 2000b, p. 18.

⁷⁷ Impoverished families do not just suffer lack of amenities in terms of housing quality, the situation exacerbates further with ever enlarging household sizes. While in high-income nations, overcrowding is measured in rooms per person, in low-income areas it is measured in persons per room. Frequently five or more persons per room are common among urban populations, amounting to two to four square-metres of space per person. See Etemadi, F. U., 2000b, p. 89.

⁷⁸ See Santos Pais, M., ed., *Poverty and Exclusion among Urban Children*, Florence: Innocenti Research Centre and UNICEF, 2002, p. 11.

⁷⁹ Regarding Manila, between 1997 and 2000, some 26,000 families are recorded to have been affected by demolitions, some as part of initiatives to remove squatter settlements and others to make way for

impact of eviction upon children can be particularly devastating. Evictions usually lead to homelessness and almost always to major economic upheaval. Possessions may be destroyed, family stability jeopardised, livelihoods and schooling threatened and social networks undermined. Evictions and demolitions frequently force whole families into the streets. An unknown but highly visible number of people that have nowhere to go end up sleeping in public places – pavements, markets, parks, construction sites and along the piers.

HEALTH

A child born into a poor urban family, living in a slum or squatter colony, is surrounded by conditions that challenge its survival from the first breath. Wherever there are high concentrations of people and waste, the potential of contamination, contagion and disease is great. When this potential is not countered by effective provision, health costs are very high and infants and young children are disproportionately affected. A high number of urban infants and children die each year, and many more suffer from illnesses and injuries that could be prevented. Age-related risk factors include an immature immune system, a higher exposure to pathogens, a greater susceptibility to particular chemicals and an inadequate understanding of how to avoid hazards.

When provision for water and sanitation is poor, as is usually the case in slum settlements, diarrhoeal diseases and other diseases linked to contaminated water (such as typhoid) or contaminated food and water (such as cholera and hepatitis A) are among the most serious health problems within urban neighbourhoods.⁸⁰ The impact of diarrhoeal diseases can be considerably underestimated since, when combined with malnutrition, they can so weaken the body's defences that diseases such as measles and pneumonia become major causes of child death.⁸¹ Also, poor living environment, including noise and crowding, have long been recognised to generate stress, undermine social relationships and contribute to physical and mental illness.

In an urban environment chemical pollutions are another important risk factor. Although they do not present the same health burden as biological pathogens, toxins and pollutants in water supplies, in the air and in unprotected dumps are a special concern in areas inhabited by the poor. Especially the prevalence of asthma, along with other respiratory ailments, has increased alarmingly in recent years among urban children.⁸²

government infrastructure projects, including the construction of a high-speed train line. Still others are victims of illegal demolitions, where either official procedure is not fully followed, or no court order is issued. Sometimes evictions are violent, involving police and even military personnel. Often violence erupts when procedures of notice of demolition are not observed or evictions take place without offer of compensation or relocation. See Santos Pais, M., ed., 2002, p. 12.

⁸⁰ Around thirty percent of the poor settlements in Cebu City have unsafe toilets; around thirty-five percent have to use communal faucets for water supply. See Etemadi, F. U., 2000b, p. 89. For statistics on water born diseases see *ibid.*, pp. 91, 159. For statistics on mortality and morbidity rates see *ibid.*, pp. 153-155, for nutritional status of children see *ibid.*, pp. 156-157.

⁸¹ In cities served by piped water, sanitation, drainage, waste removal and a good health care system, child mortality rates are generally around ten per thousand live births, and few deaths are the result of environmental hazards. While in the Philippines the nationwide under-five mortality rate has dropped from eighty per thousand live births in 1990 to forty-two in 2003, the rate in urban poor settlements is still much higher. See United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), *Country Programme Action Plan between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the United Nations Children's Fund: Sixth Country Programme for Children 2005-2009*, Manila: UNICEF, 2004, p. 6.

⁸² See Santos Pais, M., ed., 2002.

LIVELIHOOD

In fast growing cities, the creation of new job opportunities has not been enough to absorb its rapidly growing labour force. Since the government system cannot provide adequate welfare assistance to the unemployed, those who have low skills, education and resources have to find or create their jobs in the informal sector. Many female participants in the informal sector are engaged in vending or selling food and non-food items. They frequently have a small business on the streets and sidewalks or at market places.⁸³ Aside from vending, a wide array of activities in agriculture, industry and other services can be found in this sector. Backward and forward linkages also exist between the formal and informal sectors, with the former serving as supplier or buyer or both. A formal contractor for example buys products or services and sometimes provides the raw material for the informal subcontractor. Poor males often work for subcontracting firms as guards, building maintenance workers and labourers in construction or infrastructure projects, often paid on a daily basis with hardly any social security.⁸⁴ The poorest of the urban poor finally can easily be recognised by their activities as garbage collectors.

It has been forcefully argued that poor people are economically more active than the rest of the population, with substantially higher labour participation rates. It may run counter to popular perception but the poor are neither jobless nor lazy. Poor families live on minimal incomes, eked out in the informal economy, which requires long working hours for small returns, and contributions from all members of the family, including children. Many of them are employed simultaneously in different occupations. They literally cannot afford to be unemployed. Thus, the problem of poverty is not so much the quantity of employment than the quality of employment.⁸⁵

The more difficult the economic situation of the household, the more likely children have to work in order to supplement the meagre income of their parents. A particular problem with child work is not just that it can take dangerous and degrading forms, it also impacts upon educational opportunities. Many children from extremely poor families withdraw from school to contribute to the household budget. In other cases, however, it is through children's very earnings, which makes schooling possible.

WOMEN

Living in extreme insecurity puts whole families under tension. The psychological stresses imposed by living under poor urban circumstances take their toll. Mothers and fathers in crowded and chaotic conditions are often less responsive to their children and more restrictive, controlling and punitive. Under the many pressures of poverty this can escalate to domestic violence, abuse and neglect.⁸⁶

Living from hand to mouth often makes long-term commitments between spouses impossible. Growing poverty affects women in particular, and a high number of urban poor households are headed by single mothers. Most women are

⁸³ In Cebu City informal food vending is widespread and includes the sale of snack food, barbeque and prepared food to students, workers, and low-income families. Other vendors sell a variety of commodities such as flowers, candles, religious articles, charcoal, accessories, magazines, seasonal products like Christmas décor and other items. Many families also operate small *carenderias* (small food stalls) or *sari-sari* stores (small variety stores) to cater the needs of the neighbourhood.

⁸⁴ See Etemadi, F. U., 2000b, pp. 7, 32.

⁸⁵ See Collas-Monsod, S. and T. C. Monsod, "International and Intranational Comparison of Philippine Poverty," in A. Balisacan, and S. Fujisaki, eds., pp. 51-96, *Causes of Poverty: Myths, Facts and Policies, A Philippine Study*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1998, pp. 57-58.

⁸⁶ See Santos Pais, M., ed., 2002, p. 13. For more information on intra-family violence in the Philippines see Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC) and UNICEF, pp. 30-33, 127-131.

well aware of the vicissitudes of a woman's economic and romantic situation. They would demonstrate only little surprise if eventually the husband or living partner would move out. Others would kick him out and they know what the economic implications of these changes are. Undoubtedly, it takes more effort on the part of the single adult to provide support for the children. While some women manage to care for the family without male support, others fail to cope, and their children are particularly vulnerable.

CHILDREN

The phenomenon of children living on the streets is a particular urban one, although many of the children involved may originate from rural areas. The demands of work for some children push them onto the streets for many hours a day, and in some cases the links with home can become tenuous. In other cases work may be secondary and children may have left home because of abuse, a desire for excitement or relief from oppressive home conditions.⁸⁷

Most children begin their life on the streets gradually. They leave their home in a progressing manner, with each stage getting further disconnected from their families.⁸⁸ Even though the focus on discrete categories of street lifestyles has fallen into disuse, it has been suggested to broadly distinguish three stages in which the move onto the streets can be described.⁸⁹

At the first stage children have to work in order to contribute to the family needs or to pay for their own schooling expenses. Some of them split their time to study half the day and work the other half. They might spend considerable time on the street but go home to their families at the end of the day. In general, families of these children are reasonably supportive despite stresses brought about by poverty. However, where this is not the case, children may weaken the links with their families.

At the second stage children go home less often. These children are close to severing their ties with their parents and families and are on the verge of becoming children of the streets. They tend to come from families where they see frequent parental quarrels, experience occasional physical abuse, or generally feel unwelcome or unloved. As a result, they spend some nights away from home and get respite in the streets with friends whose company they find more pleasant.

At the third stage children are largely disconnected from their families.⁹⁰ They often have escaped very difficult and abusive home situations. They are forced to find their entire livelihood on their own and ultimately live alone or with other children like themselves. While leaving an abusive home cannot be considered a mistake, street life exposes children to many additional risks. Some of them choose or are pushed into illegal activities, engaging in petty crimes and theft, working in the commercial sex or drug trade or becoming drawn into organised rag-picking rackets. Whether or not they break the law, these children

⁸⁷ See Santos Pais, M., 2002, p. 14.

⁸⁸ The process of becoming a street child has been well documented. See Esquillo-Ignacio, R., *Saving Lives: Effective Programme Strategies for Street and Working Children*, Manila: Institute on Church and Social Issues, Monograph No. 17, 1996, pp. 10-13; Szanton Blanc, C. S., ed., *Urban Children in Distress: Global Predicaments and Innovative Strategies*, UNICEF: International Child Development Centre, 1994; Aptekar, L., "Street Children in the Developing World: A Review of their Condition," *Cross Cultural Research*, No. 28(3), 1994, pp. 195-224.

⁸⁹ It has to be remembered that categorisations are only useful as long as it is understood that they are neither exclusive nor necessarily homogenous, and that they may not necessarily coincide with children's own views about their lives. Children might switch back and forth from one category to the other, depending on the specific and frequently changing circumstances.

⁹⁰ Officially these children would be classified as children "of" the streets.

are among the most stigmatised urban dwellers, constantly facing abuse from other citizens and harassment by the police.

2.1.3 THE STATE'S INTEREST IN CHILDREN

Children in general and street and working children in particular do not lack notice in high policy agendas within the Philippines, as will be shown in detail in the next sections. Part of the answer why children receive so much consideration has to do with the international pressure of agencies such as UNICEF, ILO and human rights institutions on national governments to adhere to certain standards, which are considered important in the international arena. Apart from that, the state itself has an explicit interest in children.

CHILDREN AS THE "FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY"

The "street child problem" in the Philippines became increasingly noticed in the 1980s. Also for strategic planning in the Philippines, the Latin American example served as a model. With reference to the image that dominated the discourse at that time, the planners were deeply concerned about the mental capabilities of these "outcasts" and the long-term impact street children could have on the whole society. It was believed that such a child, such "a person with psychological disorders and mental impairment, a sick person – a sick, fragile population – cannot act as an agent of development. And what's worse, he's a dead weight to be sustained by those who are healthy."⁹¹

This dreadful scenario called for quick and comprehensive action in order to prevent the ruin of the nation. In thought as well as in practice, the health, welfare, and rearing of children moved into the spotlight and became subject of supervision and governmental intervention. In pursuing its commitment to the Convention of the Rights of the Child, which was ratified in the Philippines in 1990, the government completed the Philippine Plan of Action for Children (PPAC) in 1991.

The extent, to which the well-being of children has been linked to the destiny of the nation, becomes obvious in several ways. Every official document since then has started with the affirmation of the child's value for the nation. Accordingly, the PPAC envisions children as follows:

"The State, community and the family hold a common vision for the Filipino child. By the year 2000, we envision the Filipino child to be actively participating in community life and nation-building as he/she is able to fully realise his/her own potentials for development and productivity, as well as being capable of self-expression and innovation consistent with the rights of others. More important, he/she is God-loving and proud of being a Filipino, reared in the context of his/her cultural heritage."⁹²

This statement is remarkable because it clearly expresses a hierarchy of ideas. In the spirit of the CRC, self-expression should be fostered. But what is apparently deemed more important in the case of the Philippines is the child's commitment to national values. As articulated above, the state wants its children to be "God loving and proud to be a Filipino."

⁹¹ Espinoza, F., "Children of the Urban Poor: Nobody's Kids?" *Sun Star Weekend*, February 19, 1989, p. 7.

⁹² Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC), "The Filipino Children: 2000 and Beyond: Philippine Plan of Action for Children," 1992, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://www.cwc.gov.ph/child21-progress.html>.

In order to achieve that goal early education is considered crucial. In an illustrated booklet on children's rights, twenty-two rights are explained to children. The "responsibility to love the country" actually cannot be found in any official document. To remind children of such a responsibility seems to be important, nevertheless.

Figure 1: Illustration of Filipino children's rights in a booklet⁹³



It is my right to be able to express my own views.



It is my right to be born. To have a name and nationality.



It is my responsibility to love my country and be a good citizen.



It is my right to have enough food and shelter. Have a healthy and active body.

The urgent interest of the government to exercise control over its children also becomes evident in the way children are drilled from early ages on to confirm their loyalty to the state in continuously reassuring their "pride to be a Filipino." Almost every child that has undergone formal education can sermonise about the "beauty of the country" and the benefit to be a citizen of the Philippines.⁹⁴

The possibility that a neglected street child without access to education would not naturally share these positive emotions had been recognised soon. The numerous projects that have been initiated can be understood as the government's attempt to get control over these children and mitigate their alleged high potential of disturbing the social peace.

STATISTICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE "STREET CHILD PROBLEM"

Although street children were a well-known reality in the Philippines even in the 1980s, it was difficult to provide a clear picture of them. Many of them did not have identity papers or birth certificates and there were no official statistics on their number. Since they were constantly on the move and were engaged in various activities, it was neither known how to classify nor how to count them. Up to now, it has been difficult to carry out an assessment that would determine the correct population of street children.

The first systematic survey of 1988, conducted in ten cities, suggested that the number of street children would range from two to three percent of the child and youth population of a city. 250.000 street children were said to be in the whole country and in Metro Manila alone their number was supposed to be between 50.000 and 75.000.⁹⁵

⁹³ United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), *Karapatan ng Bawat Batang Pilipino – The Rights of Every Filipino Child*, Illustrated Booklet. Manila: UNICEF, 1996, pp. 1, 2, 9, 21.

⁹⁴ The same slogans are reiterated in schoolbooks, and at ceremonies of whatever event, as if they were part of a ritual or prayer. By years of unquestioning practice they take on semblance of gospel truth validity. This became evident when I asked children of what it means to them to be a "proud Filipino." The answers were seldom more than a shy smile as if they were never asked to speak or to reflect on it.

⁹⁵ See Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC) and UNICEF, 1997, p. 111.

In the following years, estimations on the number of street children constantly decreased compared to previous ones. A UNICEF study of the early 1990s indicated that the Philippines would have some 223,600 street kids, forty-nine per cent of whom were found in Metro Manila. The second highest concentration of street children outside Manila was noted to be in the Central Visayas, which includes Metro Cebu. Cebu province's five cities together were said to have about 15,200 street children, 8,240 of them in Cebu City, 2,430 in Mandaue, 1,970 in Lapu-Lapu, 1,620 in Toledo and 990 in Danao. The street children, averaging twelve years of age, represented three per cent of the estimated 508,000 child population in Cebu province's five cities.⁹⁶

In one of the latest UNICEF reports, the numbers further reduced. 115,000 children are supposedly now in the whole country,⁹⁷ and for Manila a newer study, also commissioned by UNICEF, counted, obviously extraordinarily precise, a total of 43,629.⁹⁸ In Cebu eventually, the estimation of the local government currently ranges around 5000 children that roam the streets of the city.⁹⁹

As the numbers suggest, counting street children is very complex and the results are often uncertain. Since statistics vary in relation to how a population of children is identified, all figures should be treated with caution. "Flows" rather than "stocks" should be considered, given the ever-changing nature of the phenomenon, the highly mobile life style of street children and the changes that occur in their family circumstances depending on age and work opportunities.

It is difficult to say whether the downward trend in estimations on population size of street children in the Philippines between the 1980 and today should be read as indication for a different research quality, changes in definition or whether lower numbers presented in official accounts in the first place serve the purpose to demonstrate the success of state interventions over the years.

2.1.4 POLICY AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK

On the backdrop of the state's reasoning "the child we care for today will care for the nation tomorrow"¹⁰⁰ much effort has been undertaken to elaborate a comprehensive legal and programmatic base for improving the living conditions of children in the Philippines. The following gives an overview of the most

⁹⁶ The UNICEF study was based on the National Statistic's Office census of population and housing, a special report on the Situation of Children and Women in the Philippines and the findings of situation studies of street children. The results were summarised in Anonymous, "More than 15,000 Street Children in Cebu's 5 Cities: UNICEF Study," *Sun Star Daily*, September 14, 1996.

⁹⁷ Of this number of 115,000 allegedly 100,000 are prostitutes. See United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), "The State of the World's Children 2003," 2002, retrieved September 2005 from www.unicef.org/publications/pup_sowc03_en.pdf. Only two years later, in 2004, in its latest Country Programme for the Philippines, UNICEF published again the number of 250,000 street children. See United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2004, p. 7.

⁹⁸ See Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC), "Child 21: A Legacy to the Filipino Children of the 21st Century, Philippines National Strategic Framework for Plan Development for Children, 2000-2025," 2000, retrieved in September 2005 from <http://www.childfriendlycities.org>. Exaltacion Lamberte of the De la Salle University who conducted the study, made use of the services of street educators and social workers of NGOs working with street children in Manila since they were familiar with who and where street children are. The number presented in this study, however, only constituted street children that are highly visible. See Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC), "Children in Need of Special Protection," 2005, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://www.cwc.gov.ph/data-streetchildren.html>.

⁹⁹ See Cebu City Task Force on Street Children (CTFSC), "Information Brochure: Millennium Edition," Cebu, 2000.

¹⁰⁰ See Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC), 2000

important initiatives at the national level directly or indirectly related to street and working children.¹⁰¹

Table 3: Policy and legal framework targeted at street and working children

Year	POLICY AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK TARGETED AT STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN
1974	Child and Youth Welfare Code
1986	Country Programme for Children
1986	National Project on Street Children (NPSC)
1988	Family Code
1990	Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)
1991	Philippine Plan of Action (PPAC)
1992	Special Protection of Filipino Children Acts (Republic Act 7610, Republic Act 7658)
1993	Inter-City Alliance for Street Children (PICAC)
1997	Child and Family Courts Act (Republic Act 8369)
1999	Child Friendly Movement (CFM)
2000	Child 21

CHILD YOUTH AND WELFARE CODE – 1974

Government and non-government organisations that became increasingly concerned about street and working children in the late 1980s acknowledged that a generally favourable policy environment already existed. An early comprehensive initiative was the Child and Youth Welfare Code of 1974, which specifies the rights of children and their responsibilities and provides special protection for disadvantaged children. Further advances took place with the fall of the Marcos regime. Former President Aquino declared 1986 as Year for the Protection of Filipino Exploited Children, which gave an added boost to advocacy efforts.

COUNTRY PROGRAMME FOR CHILDREN – 1986

For the first time in 1986, especially disadvantaged children were recognised in the Country Programme for Children. This official recognition opened more opportunities for programme development at the local level.¹⁰²

The Country Programmes are nationwide five years programmes, designed by the Philippine government in cooperation with UNICEF. They are sector-oriented programmes, which are implemented in a decentralised manner. They aim at improving child survival, protection, development and participation, each new one building on the accomplishments and lessons learned from the previous.

NATIONAL PROJECT ON STREET CHILDREN (NPSC) – 1986

Recognising the need for a systematic response, in the same year the Department of Social Services and Development (DSWD), the National Council for Social Development (NCSD), an association of non-governmental organisations, and the

¹⁰¹ See *ibid.*

¹⁰² See Esquillo-Ignacio, R., 1996, p. 14.

National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) in cooperation with UNICEF, launched the National Project on Street Children (NPSC).

The programme was based on three categories of street children. Children who have families with whom they have regular contact (seventy-five percent), those who have families but contact is irregular (twenty to twenty-five percent), and those who have been abandoned by their families and live on the streets (five percent). In order to respond to the different needs of each category of children, the community-based, street-based, and centre-based strategies evolved. These covered education and vocational training, opportunities for work and income generation, health services and legal protection.¹⁰³

The partners DSWD, NCSD, NEDA and UNICEF agreed on some principles. First, responses should be within the context of the urban basic services programme, supported by UNICEF in a number of cities. Second, responses should build upon existing programmes of government agencies and non-governmental organisations. Third, responses should focus on community-based approaches whose effectiveness has been proven in many development programmes.¹⁰⁴

At the core of programme implementation is the local government unit or the city, where task forces, working committees or networks spearhead activities. They lead the mobilisation of resources, study the situation of children, formulate alternative approaches where existing ones had been inadequate and coordinate the implementation of projects. A governing board functions as the programme's policy-making and management group.

Altogether the project has mobilised more than 350 non-governmental and government agencies in approximately thirty cities throughout the country. According to official statistics, in the first ten years period of the existence of the NPSC around 70,000 street children and youth had been reached.¹⁰⁵

FAMILY CODE – 1988

The Family Code of 1988 stresses the family's role in the growth and development of children. It also pursues the fundamental principle of equality between men and women and aims at strengthening family relations within the context of Filipino values and traditions. The Code further addresses the needs of abandoned and neglected children through alternative family arrangements. It contains provisions on local adoption, which were later amended by the Local Adoption Act 8552 of 1998.

PHILIPPINE PLAN OF ACTION FOR CHILDREN (PPAC) – 1991

Advocacy efforts of non-governmental organizations for street and working have intensified with the ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990. The government's commitment to the treaty became the basis for the Philippine Plan of Action for Children (PPAC), which is the government's strategic plan for implementing the provisions of the Convention. The Plan contains specific goals for the provision of family care, basic health and nutrition, welfare social security and safe environment, basic education, and protection of children in especially difficult circumstances.

¹⁰³ See Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC) and UNICEF, 1997, p. 115.

¹⁰⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 116.

¹⁰⁵ See Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC), 2005.

SPECIAL PROTECTION OF FILIPINO CHILDREN ACTS – 1992/1993

With the CRC and the PPAC in place, non-governmental organisations strengthened their lobbying and advocacy efforts. This helped the passage of the Special Protection of Filipino Children Acts in 1992 and 1993. They are composed of the Republic Act 7610 “Providing for Stronger Deterrence and Special Protection against Child Abuse, Exploitation and Discrimination, Providing Penalties for its Violation and for Other Purposes” (1992) and the Republic Act 7658 “Prohibiting the Employment of Children below 15 Years of Age in Public and Private Undertakings” (1993).

Touted as the country’s most comprehensive legal provisions on child protection, these Acts cover the range of children in especially difficult circumstances. Its provisions make easier the arrest of exploiters and perpetrators of crimes against children and impose stiffer penalties for such offences.

In the 1990s, several conferences on the Juvenile Justice System and Children in Conflict with the Law (CICL) were held. Additionally, it has been recognised that not just legal documents have to be release but also that personnel has to be better trained. In 1997, for instance, courses on women and children’s protection were conducted among Filipino policemen by British trainers. The courses were a joint effort of the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG), the Philippine National Police (PNP) and the British Embassy, and they aimed at strengthening the Women and Children’s desk at police stations.¹⁰⁶

PHILIPPINE INTER-CITY ALLIANCE FOR STREET CHILDREN (PICAC) – 1993

In 1993, an Inter-City Alliance for Street Children (ICAC) was organised, which was renamed Philippine Inter-City Alliance for Street Children (PICAC) short after. Its objectives were to facilitate communication and networking among the task forces at the national level.

With the passage of the Local Government Code in 1991, “national moves to transform mayors into defenders of children” were consolidated in 1993 by the League of Cities. In a forum on street children, sixty city mayors affirmed their commitment to the global movement and pledged to develop their respective cities’ plans for children’s welfare.¹⁰⁷

CHILD AND FAMILY COURTS ACT – 1997

In 1997, Republic Act 8369, otherwise known as the Child and Family Courts Act, was passed. The Act establishes special courts to exclusively handle criminal and civil cases involving children and family members. It emphasises reform and social responsibility over punishment, suspending sentences for juvenile offenders and appoints judges especially trained for domestic and children’s cases.¹⁰⁸

CHILD FRIENDLY MOVEMENT – 1999

The Child Friendly Movement is an initiative to create wider awareness and appreciation of the Convention of the Rights of the Child through both national and local level activities. It includes an annual search for child friendly local government units, the establishment and monitoring of child-friendly schools, health facilities, media, workplaces, religious communities as well as training of advocates on child rights and the development of self-assessment instruments to

¹⁰⁶ Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC) and UNICEF, 1997, p. 39.

¹⁰⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁰⁸ See *ibid.*, p. 38.

assist municipal, provincial and *barangay* administrations to evaluate their level of child-friendliness.¹⁰⁹

CHILD 21 – 2000

In 2000, the Government of the Philippines launched another roadmap, called The Philippine National Strategic Framework for Plan Development for Children, or Child 21. It is a strategic framework for planning programmes and interventions that promote and safeguard the rights of Filipino children. It is a roadmap for the national government as well as for local government units, private initiatives and non-governmental organisations in setting priorities for action and in allocating and utilising resources to promote the rights of Filipino children. It aims at synchronising family, community and national efforts towards the full realisation of its vision.¹¹⁰

The ultimate merits of these agendas, however, are only as good as the ability of government and non-government agencies to implement them. The next section will demonstrate how, with an essential supportive policy and legal framework in place, several projects at city level were launched, which aim at addressing the needs of street and working children.

2.2 LOCAL LEVEL: ORGANISATIONS IN CEBU CITY

Several governmental and local governmental agencies offer services for street children. From the governmental side, the most important institution is the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). At the local government level the main bodies are the Department of Social Welfare and Services (DSWS), the Cebu City Health Department (CHD) and the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS). Additionally, in 1986 a specialised task force, the Cebu City Task Force on Street Children (CCTFSC), was founded. It serves as an umbrella organisation and is composed of government and non-government agencies, pursuing the objective to initiate and coordinate services and resources to enable street children access to basic services.

The various member organisations of the Cebu City Task Force can be categorised on the base of their main area of project focus. It can be differentiated between targeted (street- or centre-based) projects on the one hand and broad-based community projects on the other hand. Looking at how interventions take place, three strategies can be distinguished that cut across this typology and describe how the various institutions view and treat street children. Depending on the underlying philosophy, the different approaches can be classified as reactive, protective and rights-based.

The following first briefly describes how the city and its representatives have made use of street children for their own purposes and then reviews how broad-based and targeted initiatives differ, irrespective of the type of approach adopted. This section will then highlight the characteristics of the different approaches and describe the impact they have on the lives of street and working children.

¹⁰⁹ See United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2004, p. 9.

¹¹⁰ See Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC), 2000.

2.2.1 THE CITY'S INTEREST IN CHILDREN

Once the problem was identified and first steps were undertaken to coordinate the various organisations, it became quickly noticed that not just the children could profit from the nationwide enthusiasm to take action for the disadvantaged ones.

“Street children” – and this becomes best visible at the local level – turned out to be a topic that sells well and that guarantees bountiful donations from all kinds of sources. With regard to the centres and projects of the Cebu City Task Force on Street Children, no one denies that funds are abundant.¹¹¹

About the means used for the set-up of the centres a local newspaper wrote: “Funds for the projects were not a problem. The all-out support from civic-spirited citizens was terrific.”¹¹² More than that, it is not polemic to suggest that “street children” is a big business after all – and many have understood that. Demonstrating ones concern for these children fills the pockets of some, and boosts the image of others. The way, in which a whole city community celebrates itself and its First Lady, Margot Osmeña, who is the major's wife and the chairperson of the Task Force, for their concerted initiative for street children, is expressed in the words quoted in *The Freeman*:

“It is said that love is measured best and translated most eloquently in terms of what one gives of herself the most to benefit the most as a reflection of her sentiments for one who, by fate and future, has dedicated self and committed soul and spirit to the service of others. They fortunately have also responded and reciprocated with the same intensity of a consuming charity as collective virtue. Such is the tale of Parian Children's Drop-in-Center, a symbol of magnanimous gesture of community care and concern for then an insignificant underprivileged sector, the city's street children. ... This gift of love to the city's youth from a compassionate community may well be the tribute and birthday present to the personality who towers high and above the realisation of a dream not without nightmares: Margot Vargas Osmeña.”¹¹³

Also, judged from the frequency that people from various interest groups appear in the centres for photo shooting appointments, it must be assumed that showing ones face amidst these children definitely enhances ones own publicity. In this context it only matters little what these people actually know about the children or how much they care about them. Compliance of the children for such show-offs is easily achieved, since in some centres these are the rare occasions when suddenly clean clothes are available and tons of candies are distributed.¹¹⁴ Without any means to understand what they are used for, street children are an easy asset that adds to the capital, whether in symbolic or in financial terms, of anybody who wants to make use out of it.

¹¹¹ Several people admitted that lots of funds are available of which huge amounts are dispersed without ever reaching the children. This is due to the common practice of fraud and corruption, which many people take as given. Also, control mechanisms are too weak. Big donors are usually satisfied with annual reports of the organisations without properly monitoring how funds are used on the grounds. Particularly money that is distributed through government channels to NGOs is more likely to get pilfered than money that goes directly to the NGOs. This was stated by some people working in the field. Interview with an officer at the Department of Social Services (DSWS), Knowledge Center for Children, Cebu City, 07 September 2005; Interview with a lawyer of Share-a-Child-Movement, 20 September 2005

¹¹² Saligumba Farol, C., “The Factor behind the Parian Drop-in-Center for Street Kids,” *The Freeman*, September 24, 1990a.

¹¹³ Anonymous, “Parian Center: Cebu's Gift of Love to Kids,” *The Freeman*, July 25, 1991.

¹¹⁴ I witnessed these “visitor events” many times during the time I worked in a drop-in-centre, especially during election time in 2003. Conversations with children that have experiences with other centres confirm that this is common practice.

2.2.2 PROJECT FOCUS: BROAD-BASED AND TARGETED

Street children come from highly disadvantaged and vulnerable families and communities, struggling to come to terms with growing poverty and inequality. They face additional hazards when trying to survive on their own on the streets. Given this situation, responses to their problems have to be both, broad-based and involving the whole community, and targeted for those children who are already disconnected from their families. This has generally been recognised by the planners at local government level of Cebu City. Of the Cebu City Task Force on Street Children, which is composed of twenty-two member organisations altogether, nine organisations focus on broad-based community policies and thirteen organisations provide targeted centre or street based initiatives.¹¹⁵

BROAD-BASED INITIATIVES

At the national level, the main objectives of broad-based policies, which aim at improving the lives of poor children, are outlined for example in the Country Programme for Children or in Child 21, the National Strategic Framework for Plan Development for Children. The local governments ideally work in tandem with these programmes. Their task is to translate these roadmaps into concrete action, usually within the broader context of poverty alleviation programmes.

Although not all community-based programmes target street children, they address the conditions that push children to live or to work in the streets. Community based programmes typically involve community organising, livelihood training, income generating projects and credit cooperatives. They also include facilitating access to education, housing, water, health, and electricity. These are vital services for the urban poor that can improve many children's living conditions and future prospect. Broad-based initiatives can address and reform whole social networks, and therefore can allow more scope for preventive action

Broad-based community initiatives, however, run the risk of including street children at the level of planning and discourse but excluding them in practice. This is in essence because services for urban poor children are, like most services, limited by explicit resource constraints and performance targets. One example would be that of immunisation campaigns, which, unless they are designed to have 100 percent coverage, are in practice likely to have no direct impact on street children.¹¹⁶ The same holds true for initiatives like vocational training workshops for children from poor urban families, which may be designed with fifty places, of whom thirty "graduates" might be expected at the end of the first year. The combination of place restrictions and performance criteria create competition among the eligible children from low-income families. Street children, who are more mobile and have had less schooling, are often perceived as less inclined to arrive on time or carry out routine tasks. Also, they are frequently less informed about such opportunities, and may feel less able or less willing to compete for the places than children who have family support, a fixed place to sleep and more regular schooling habits. Even if street-living children are offered and accept a place, they often face more obstacles to stay in the programme. They have to make more behavioural changes and face stronger stigmatisation than other children in poverty.

¹¹⁵ Apart from the organisations that belong to the Task Force around twenty to thirty additional agencies in Cebu City offer services for street and working children as well.

¹¹⁶ See Thomas de Benitez, S., "Reactive, Protective, and Rights-Based Approaches in Work with Homeless Street Youth," *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), 2003, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://cye.colorado.edu>.

Thus, broad-based initiatives, designed to address a specific problem faced by large numbers of poor children, are likely to be most successful for those children who have most support and fewest “anti-social” characteristics. They are likely to be least successful for street children who are engaged in day-to-day survival and who have very few sources of support.

TARGETED INITIATIVES

Targeted initiatives recognise street children as a unique group of disadvantaged children who live in particularly precarious but often highly visible conditions. Targeted initiatives can help street-living children gain access to services such as medical care, shelter and education that cannot be provided by the communities and families they come from. Such initiatives can contribute to plug “gaps in the social networks through which children and street children in particular, can fall.”¹¹⁷ The Cebu City Task Force on Street Children distinguishes two kinds of targeted initiatives: street-based and centre-based.

Street-based services primarily aim at reaching children where they are. They are usually carried out by social workers going to the streets and workplaces such as public markets and busy city intersections. The most common of street-based services is street education, done in Cebu City by the mobile school. Street educators conduct tutorial sessions and teach children basic reading and counting skills. Other services include medical assistance, food and counselling.

Centre-based projects can be drop-in centres, residence shelters or temporary shelters. Drop-in-centres are safe shelters where children can avoid the dangers of the streets. Centres of this type are considered to be an effective strategy for providing an immediate and initial response to street children. Food, shelter and counselling are given to those who come. Drop-in-centres usually accommodate children for two or three months, then refer and transfer them to other agencies with residential facilities. Residential homes, usually boarding-house type rehabilitation centres, provide street children care and support with emphasis on preparing them for reintegration into the community, either through their families or by independent living. Residential homes care for children for longer periods, usually between six months and four years, depending on the particular case. Temporary shelters are somewhere between drop-in-centres and residential homes. They provide short-term shelter for about six months to a year, and other services such as food, clothing and counselling.

Targeted initiatives – no matter if street based, drop-in centre, residential or temporary shelter – usually restrict their service provision to children below eighteen years of age. Another disadvantage of such initiatives is that they are limited in their capacity to prevent those conditions and situations that caused the children’s move onto the streets. Although targeted initiatives are more likely to have immediate impacts on street children than broad-based initiatives, this does not mean that these impacts are necessarily positive for a child’s integration into society. As will be shown in the next section, the nature and strength of impact on the children depends, at least in part, on the type of strategic approach adopted by the organisation.

¹¹⁷ Council of Europe Steering Committee on Social Policy, *Street Children: Coordinated Research Programme in the Social Field (1992-93)*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Press, 1994, 47.

Table 4: Member organisations of the Cebu City Task Force on Street Children: Project focus, services, and clientele¹¹⁸

MEMBER ORGANISATIONS OF THE CEBU CITY TASK FORCE			
Focus	Organisation	Services	Clientele
Broad-Based Initiatives – 9 Organisations			
	Lihok Pilipina Foundation, Inc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - educational assistance - skills training 	18 years old below, male and female indigent children
	Share a Child Movement, Inc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - educational assistance - skills training - literacy for BBRC inmates - child rights advocacy - livelihood programmes 	4-21 years old, male and female CEDC
	Nazareth-Children's Christian Fund	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - non-formal education - skills training 	7-12 years old, male and female CEDC
	Free Rehabilitation, Economic, Education and Legal Assistance of Volunteers Association, Inc. (FREELAVA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - legal assistance - paralegal assistance - advocacy activities - rehabilitation of offenders - prevention and diversion programmes for offenders 	18 years old below, male and female CICL
	World Vision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - formal education - skills training - street education 	18 years old below, male and female indigent children
	St. Martin de Porres	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - non-formal education - skills training 	5 years old above, male and female special children, hearing impaired and mentally deficient children
	Kadasig Parent's Association, Inc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - formal education - spiritual, moral and civic formation - skills training 	18 years old below, male and female indigent children
	Department of Social Welfare and Services (DSWS)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - formal education - value formation 	18 years old below, male and female CEDC and CICL
	ACG Foundation, Inc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no information 	

¹¹⁸ See various brochures of the member organisations of the Cebu City Task Force on Street Children. In 1998 the Cebu City Task Force on Street Children served a total of 6,001 street children, sixty-three percent of whom are community based, twenty-five percent street based and eleven percent centre based. The number of children who were provided with health services increased from 1,720 in 1994 to 4,161 in 1997. The number of children who were subsidised for education increased from 1,584 to 1,802 for the same period. See Cebu City Task Force on Street Children (CCTFSC), "Programs and Services Accomplishment Report (1990-1998)," Cebu City, 1998; Etemadi, F. U., 2000b, 77. In 2004, 2,511 children were provided with educational assistance by member agencies of the Task Force, and 1,045 children with non-formal education (street education and mobile school). The information on the latest numbers was provided by personnel of the Task Force, the data have not been published yet.

Targeted Initiatives – 13 Organisations			
Street-Based	Mobile School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - literacy and informal education - feeding, medical, psychosocial intervention - referrals 	18 years old below, male and female CEDC, out-of-school children
Centre-Based	Children of Cebu Foundation, Inc., Parian Drop-in-Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - drop-in-centre - processing for referrals 	4-18 years old, male and female CEDC
	Community Scouts Youth Guidance and Rehabilitation Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - educational assistance - after-care service - skills training and job placement 	10-19 years old, male CEDC and CICL
	Don Bosco Boy's Home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - residential and medical care - formal education - skills training 	9 years old above, male CEDC
	Cebu Hope Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - home care - formal education - guidance and counselling - skills training 	8-18 years old, female CEDC
	Children's Help and Assistance Foundation, Inc. (CHAFI)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - residential care - educational assistance - nutritional, medical and dental services - formal, non-formal, spiritual formation 	4-14 years old, male and female CEDC
	SOS Children's Village - Cebu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - long-term residential placement - formal education, Kindergarten - vocational and skills training - counselling 	10 years old below, male and female CEDC who have no chance for adoption or of finding a suitable foster home
	Sunshine Corner Ministry of Encouragement, Inc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - formal education - skills training - residential and medical care - Christian spiritual enhancement 	8-13 years old, male and female CEDC
	Christ for Asia, Inc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - residential and medical care - spiritual inculcation - educational assistance - socio-cultural and recreational services - psychosocial services 	7-13 years old, male and female CEDC, exploited and sexually abused children
	Asilo de Milagrosa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - residential care - guidance and counselling - medical assistance - formal and non-formal education - spiritual formation - crisis intervention - skills training 	0-16 years old, female CEDC

	Philippines Teen Challenge, Inc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - residential and long-term care - two-year, live-in rehabilitation programme - value formation - skills training 	18 years old below, male and female CEDC
	Dangpanan (1) Carbon Outreach Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - drop-in-centre - non-formal education - referrals 	9-18 years old, male and female CEDC
	Dangpanan (2) St. Mary Euphrasia Training Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - formal and non-formal education - value formation - psychosocial care - residential care - recreational activities 	9-18 years old, female CEDC
	Antonia de Oviedo Centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - residential care - psychosocial care 	18 years below, female CEDC, sexually abused and prostituted children

2.2.3 PROJECT STRATEGY: REACTIVE, PROTECTIVE AND RIGHTS-BASED

Even though most programmes and projects follow a combination of reactive, protective and rights-oriented strategies¹¹⁹ it is worthwhile looking at them separately in order to understand how they can differ with regard to perception of children, adult-child relationship, motives, concrete measures of intervention and legal base. Keeping in mind these different conceptualisations one might get an idea on how volatile and inconsistent a result might be when these approaches are applied in parallel.

REACTIVE APPROACH

By people in power street children are often perceived to be offenders against the common good and an indictment on the way cities are run. Though stemming from earlier historical period, but still vivid in Catholic conception, the idea of the “evil” potential of the child echoes in public moralising and at times in debates over pedagogic practices. Children have to be held responsible for their “bad conduct”, which calls for atonement and upgrading. Consequently, those in charge take a punitive approach towards these children, forcefully removing them from the streets and placing them in centres for children, often technically referred to as “houses of safety.”¹²⁰

In Cebu City, street children are regularly rounded up by police and brought to special centres. Such operations officially run under the term “Oplan Sagip Bata” (Child Rescue Operation) and they are concerted interventions of the Department of Social Welfare and Services (DSWS), the police and *barangay tanods* (*barangay* police). They take place approximately every two months. The following shows how the local press reports about it. Under the headline “100 Cebu Street Tots Rounded Up,” The Manila Times writes:

¹¹⁹ See Thomas de Benitez, S., 2003.

¹²⁰ Rurevo, R. and M. Bourdillon, “Girls: The Less Visible Street Children of Zimbabwe,” *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), 2003, retrieved in September 2005 from <http://colorado.edu/journals/cye>.

“Cebu City – more that 100 street children here were rounded up Monday by police for violation of a city ordinance imposing a 10pm curfew on minors. The sidewalk tots were picked up by police teams that fanned out to launch ‘Operation Gugma’ (Operation Love), said police. ... Some of the street children were turned over to their parents while others were committed to various youth centres. ... ‘Operation Gugma’ is a project of the Cebu City Task Force on Street Children.”¹²¹

Another article in *Newstime* shows how the local government, by stressing the criminal potential of the children, draws on particular prejudices and discontents to attract support and legitimacy. In order to “solve the recent problem on street children presently observed in the city” an “executive order” was issued to create “a task force,” which “will be in charge with the immediate rehabilitation of street children roaming around the city in order to save them from becoming drug dependents and criminal offenders in the near future.”¹²² The specific institutions involved in these operations are named in the following commentary. The *Freeman* notes: “Policeman last week rounded up nine street children in downtown areas in Cebu City... Representatives of the Department of Social Welfare (DSWD) and Community Scouts Centre helped the child and youth relations section of the Cebu City Police Command conduct the operation. The children were turned over to the Parian-Drop-in Centre for custody. Police said they round up not only street children but also beggars.”¹²³

The legal stand for such reactive interventions is generally blurred. Homelessness gets confused with delinquency and seems to provide automatic grounds for arrest. Tacitly counting on approval by the public, officially two main justifications are given for these episodic measures. The first one is “vagrancy” the second one “mendicancy.” Being aware that it is actually unlawful to hold children accountable for these offences, the city government launched the euphemistic term “operation love” to sell its arbitrary interventions to the public, and the media do their part to spread the good news of the city’s “love” for children.

With regard to children begging in the streets the following paragraph, quoted in *Sun Star Daily*, illustrates the official line of reasoning:

“Begging on the streets has become a common sight on several Cebu City’s streets with the advent of the Yuletide season. This has prompted the Cebu City Task Force on Street Children and the Social Services, Human Rights and Development Committee chaired by Margot Osmeña and Councillor Eleno Abellana, respectively, to intensify the implementation of the anti-mendicancy law. Osmeña and Abellana stressed that the move is for the welfare not only of the children but also of the public since the children sometimes scratch the cars of those who do not give something. ‘We are gathering them because we are protecting them,’ Osmeña said. Abellana added that, ‘streets are not the place for children.’ Osmeña and Abellana appealed to the public not to give any amount to these children so as to discourage them from begging. They also expressed beliefs that the Yuletide season and the early Christmas breaks due to the city’s hosting of the 3rd Philippine National Games will further increase the number of mendicants. Osmeña and Abellana have sought the assistance of the *barangay* officials and tanods from all *barangays* in the city to help control the increasing number of mendicants in the streets.

¹²¹ Anonymous, “100 Cebu Street Tots Rounded Up,” *Manila Times*, February 22, 1990.

¹²² Fabian, C., “Street Kids in Lapu-Lapu: Creation of Task Force Sought Out,” *Newstime*, March 19, 1992.

¹²³ Anonymous, “Street Kids Rounded Up by Cops,” *Sun Star Daily*, August 11, 1995.

They are tasked to bring in children begging in the streets of their respective *barangays* to the Task Force on Street Children Centre in Parian. Abellana added that the anti-mendicancy law drive will also include the rounding up of adult beggars who will be brought to the Community Scouts and Guidance Centre.”¹²⁴

Poor and desperate children on the streets spoil the illusion of a well-managed city, and the children are blamed. Pretending that the cleaning of the streets from begging children is an intervention to “protect” them, serves to hide that the society actually wants to be protected from the children. No attention at all is paid to their personal circumstances or to the motives that drive them onto the streets. Giving coins to children within the street environment is discouraged as it is said to attract and push more children onto the street. Yet, an anti-mendicancy law in a society that relentlessly claims to adhere to Catholic values of sharing with those who are less fortunate is fairly paradox. This law not just punishes those who beg but also imposes a penalty to those who give alms, whereas at other occasions people are strongly encouraged to do exactly that. Giving, yes, but *not* on the streets, is quite hard to make sense of.

Apart from that, the general impact of these interventions is highly questionable. Even an officer at the Department of Social Services (DSWS) admitted that these interventions are “more to react to an inconvenience to the public” than being any kind of solution.¹²⁵ In fact, to everybody involved it is evident that after custodial sentences children return to the streets, since the circumstances that pushed them onto the streets in the first place have not been addressed.

A police officer at the Community Scouts Rehabilitation and Youth Guidance Centre, where these children are brought to after such interventions, told that the purpose is trying to “frighten them away from the streets” and “providing rehabilitation.” The children are kept in the centre until the parents come and get them. Most parents, however, never show up. If they do, they are admonished that they could be held accountable in front of court for neglecting their child. “Neglect” according to the Republic Act 7610, Article XII, Section 32, though, is defined as “failure to provide, *for other reasons than poverty*, adequate food, clothing, shelter, basic education or medical care so as to seriously endanger the physical, mental, social and emotional growth and development of the child.”¹²⁶



At Community Scouts
8 September 2005

Yet, the administration of the centre decided that “poverty is not an excuse.” According to them, collecting the children from the streets is the only way “to get hold of the parents and reprimand them.” During the conversation the centre administrator repeatedly stressed: “We don’t arrest the children, we rescue them.”¹²⁷ Though, looking at the thirty-nine children that were “rescued” the night before and incarcerated in a ten square meter big cage with iron bars in the middle of the backyard spoke another language. Some of the children were visibly

¹²⁴ Anonymous, “Task Force Appeals to Public: Don’t Give Alms to Street Kids: Group Cites Need to Round Up Children Begging on Streets,” *Sun Star Daily*, December 10, 1997b.

¹²⁵ Interview with an officer at the Department of Social Services (DSWS), Cebu City Knowledge Centre for Children, 07 September 2005.

¹²⁶ Emphasis by Judith Pomm

¹²⁷ Interview with the administrator of Community Scouts Rehabilitation and Youth Guidance Centre, 08 September 2005.

irritated and scared, others were simply furious. Many of them had undergone this procedure already several times and were just waiting for their release – supposedly twenty-four hours after.

It was certainly no coincidence that the day after the “rescue operation” was a public holiday in Cebu City.

PROTECTIVE APPROACH

The protective approach to street children is the one most widespread in Cebu City. Whereas the most commonly used term for these children in official statements is Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances (CEDC), the local city government prefers to label them as Children in Need of Special Protection (CNSP).

Whereas the reactive approach focuses vigorously on the active delinquent potential of children from which the society has to be safeguarded, the reasoning behind the protective approach does exactly the opposite in turning the cause-effect-relationship upside down. Protecting vulnerable and innocent children from potential social harm is seen imperative.

Several legal documents contain provisions of the child’s right to be protected against all forms of abuse, neglect, cruelty, discrimination and exploitation. In domestic legislation, the most important are the Special Protection of Filipino Children Acts (Republic Act 7610 and 7658). With regard to street and working children, Republic Act 7610, Article I, Section 2, states: “It shall be the policy of the State to protect and rehabilitate children gravely threatened or endangered by circumstances, which affect or will affect their survival and normal development and over which they have no control.” Such circumstances, according to Article I, Section 3, include among others “living in or fending for themselves in the streets of urban or rural areas without the care of parents or a guardian or any adult supervision needed for their welfare” and “working under conditions hazardous to life, safety and morals which unduly interfere with their normal development.” Therefore, as written in Article I, Section 2, services and facilities to protect children are obliged to exert “every effort ... to promote the welfare of children and enhance their opportunity for a useful and happy life.”

The central ideas behind the protective approach towards street and working children are expressed in the legal wording above: “adult supervision” is needed for “children’s welfare” and “normal development” is the precondition for a “useful and happy life.”

What makes the adult-child relationship subtler compared to the reactive, punitive approach is that protection is unquestionably deemed a positive aspire. As such, with the backup of being morally on the safe side, all kind of measures become easily sub-summoned under this idea depending on the judgement and interpretation of adults. Combined with the perception that children are both incomplete and incompetent in an adult sphere, therefore needing adult guidance, the result is often that children are either not taken into account at all or views are given on their behalf by adults who claim to have the competence to know what is in the child’s interest. Sometimes this is because it is assumed that having once been children all adults know what it is like to be a child. This is of course highly questionable. Whereas in practice a lot of variation can be found in the ways protection is interpreted and translated into concrete action, the ultimate goal behind all these efforts is less debated and usually functions as the joining force again. Cherished as the “most important asset of the nation” and assigned to be

“the future,”¹²⁸ the integration of children into the mainstream society through the traditional socialising system of school and home is considered crucial.

The emphasis within the protective approach is on outcomes rather than process and on immediate causes rather than structural causes. Consequently a key policy is the strong focus on specific “problems” within the areas of shelter, health, nutrition and education.

A number of projects offer temporary shelter or long-term residential accommodation in non-governmental or church-based children’s homes. Since housing of children outside their families is always perceived as last resort, often there are attempts to return children to their original home environment.

Health care is crucial under the protective approach. Here, different centres set different priorities. Some limit their services to a loose check-up of children, others are specialised feeding centres targeted at malnourished children. Generally, there is more focus on curative than preventive health, and more emphasis on physical than mental health. The main concerns that are identified are more likely to be those of the authorities of the respective institution rather than those felt by the children themselves. More expensive health needs, particularly if they are not life-threatening, are only seldom met.

Of prime importance, however, is to enable children to rejoin school, sometimes irrespective of the quality of the education available and its appropriateness to street and working children. More innovative efforts provide informal education for children on the streets at mobile schools. Integration policies under this approach in almost all cases include what is called “moral values formation,” sometimes also labelled more specifically “spiritual inculcation” or “Christian spiritual enhancement.” Looking at the various brochures of the different centres, many more additional ambitious services such as “guidance and counselling,” “crisis intervention,” “therapy” and “vocational training” are said to be offered – but not always put into practice – as support mechanisms to enable children to reintegrate into formal education, the job market or simply the mainstream society.

The danger behind an approach that puts such a strong focus on protection is that children’s rights become applied selectively, at the expense of their right to participate and express own choices in determining their fate. To respect a child’s choice to live on the streets, to grow up with peers rather than with a family, to work for an income and to have sex is for many a morally unsatisfactory position. This approach is likely to underrate children’s competence within their own areas of interaction, particularly their ability to work out survival and coping strategies on the streets. In the overall endeavour to withdraw children from work, this view also often pays insufficient attention to the specific circumstances of working children or the status that children gain in poor families by contributing to the family livelihood. In many cases, confirmed by the high number of children who abscond from centres,¹²⁹ institutionalising street children does not yield to the desired results of persuading them to revert to childhood activities like schooling and playing, because these children have different experiences and developed different ideas of what childhood is about.

¹²⁸ Cebu City Task Force on Street Children (CCTFSC), *Paglaum: A Newsletter of the Cebu City Task Force in Street Children*, No. 2(1), 1992.

¹²⁹ Percentages of children that abscond from centres might vary from centre to centre depending on the way the service offered corresponds with the needs of the children. A nationwide statistic says that of the 8.000 children that were admitted in residential facilities between 1998 and 2002 around forty-two percent absconded. See United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), 2004, p. 62. Certain, however, is that many centres still have capacities to receive children, of which those that are on the street obviously don’t want to make use.

RIGHTS-BASED APPROACH

The rights-based approach is clearly dominating official rhetoric. There is no organisation at the national as well as at the local level that wouldn't assert in its programmatic statements or brochures that children's rights are the foremost reference point for its objectives. A rights-based approach sees street children as human beings whose fundamental rights have been violated. A key policy within this approach is to take all necessary steps in accordance with the principle of "the best interest" of children to ensure their well-being.

According to the Convention of the Rights of the Child, children's rights can be categorised into survival, development, protection, and participation rights. All categories together make the rights-based strategy inherently holistic, given that the rights are applied coherently.¹³⁰

Table 5: Categories of children's rights: survival, development, protection and participation¹³¹

THE FOUR BROAD CATEGORIES OF RIGHT		
Rights	Examples	But ...
Survival Rights	Child's right to life and the needs that are essential to existence, for example right to adequate standard of living, right to food and health.	Six out of ten Filipino children live near or below poverty line.
Development Rights	Child's right to reach their fullest potential, for example right to education, right to rest and leisure, to enjoy one's culture, to profess and practice one's own religion and use of one's own language.	Of four million Filipino working children forty-five percent have difficulties in working and studying at the same time.
Protection Rights	Child's right to be protected against all forms of abuse, neglect and exploitation, including cruelty, arbitrary separation from family, abuses in the justice system, effects of armed conflict, child labour and sexual exploitation.	There are ten million Filipino children being abused in some form, for example by physical and sexual abuse, neglect, abandonment and trafficking.
Participation Rights	Child's right to express opinion and be actively involved in community and nation-building through membership in organisations and freedom to join peaceful assemblies.	An estimated number of ten percent of Filipino children is not even registered and has no birth certificate.

¹³⁰ The Convention on the Rights of the Child, like all human rights treaties, comes with its own monitoring and reporting mechanisms. The CRC reporting process provides opportunities for NGOs and UNICEF to raise awareness about children's rights and to influence government departments and ministries. Every five years countries have to report on progress towards realising children's rights. CRC reports are prepared by a country's government, often in collaboration with UNICEF and with non-government child rights organisations. The reports are submitted to the CRC Committee in Geneva, which reviews and discusses them with the government concerned. The CRC Committee prepares and submits a written response to the government's progress report. This response contains "concluding observations" that provide a short list of priority concerns in regard to the country's progress towards the realisation of children's rights. The concluding observations provide a convenient list of priority issues for children's rights in a country. While experiences with the CRC reporting process are far from perfect, they are a practical example of how child welfare and development organisations can collaborate with human rights agencies. See Theis, J., 2003, 21.

¹³¹ See Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC) and UNICEF, 1997, p. 4; National Statistics Office (NSO), "2001 Survey on Children," Fact Sheets No. 1-20, 2001b, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://www.census.gov.ph>; United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), *Girl Children have Rights Too! An Update*, Manila: UNICEF, no year, pp. 14-35. For a detailed overview of how these rights are encoded in national legislation see Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC), 2005.

Table 6: Legal documents related to children’s rights¹³²

OVERVIEW OF THE MOST IMPORTANT LEGAL DOCUMENTS IN THE PHILIPPINES RELATED TO STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN	
Children in general and Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances (CEDC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) • Republic Act 7610, An Act Providing for Stronger Deterrence and Special Protection against Child Abuse, Exploitation and Discrimination, Providing Penalties for its Violation, and for Other Purposes (1992) • Republic Act 8369, otherwise known as Child and Family Courts Act (1997)
Working children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ILO Convention 138 on the Minimum Age for Employment (1973) • ILO Convention 182 on the Prohibition of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (1999/2000) • Republic Act 7658, An Act Prohibiting the Employment of Children below 15 Years of Age in Public and Private Undertakings (1993)
Juvenile Delinquents, Children in Conflict with the Law (CICL)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UN Standard Minimum Standards for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (Beijing Rules) (1985) • UN Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty (JDL Rules) (1990) • UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (Riyadh Guidelines) (1990) • UN Standard Minimum Rules on Non-Custodial Measures (Tokyo Rules) (1990) • Juvenile Justice Bill (pending)
International Conventions and Agreements providing added safeguards to child rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bangkok Declaration and Action Agenda for Children and Development: Towards the Year 2000 and Beyond • Stockholm Agenda Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children • Oslo Agenda Against Child Labour • Beijing Platform of Action for Women and the Girl Child • Hague Convention on the Protection of Children and Cooperation in Respect of Inter-Country Adoption • World Declaration and Global Plan of Action for Nutrition • United Nations Standards on Juvenile Justice: Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (Riyadh Guidelines) • Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (Beijing Rules) • Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty • Asian Declaration on Child Rights and the Media

In practice, however, the rights-based approach faces several dilemmas, two of which are described in the following. First, rights encoded in legal provisions at times are blind to the needs and constraints children face in real life. This becomes particularly obvious with regard to street children and their need to work. Second, law enforcement faces several obstacles. This holds true, both with regard to children as complainants as well as children as offenders.

Children working in hazardous situations have become a matter of international as well as national concern. The Convention on the Rights of the Child encapsulates this commitment in Article 32: “State Parties recognise the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child’s education, or to be harmful to the child’s health or physical mental moral or social development.” The Convention is notable in its emphasis on protecting children

¹³² Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC), 2000.

from hazardous or harmful work, rather than excluding them from work per se on the grounds of their age, vulnerability or immaturity.

In the Philippines, the employment of children is regulated by law. Philippine law seeks to balance socio-economic reality with the obligation of the state to protect working children from abuse and exploitation. In national legislation, child work is prohibited for children below eighteen years, if work is hazardous or deleterious in nature, hence, exposing the worker to risk, which constitutes an imminent danger to his or her safety and health. For children below fifteen years of age, work is prohibited, if employment violates any of the two exceptions to the general prohibition of existing Philippine laws (Republic Act 7610 and Republic Act 7658) and if such employment endangers the child's life, safety, health and morals, or impairs moral development. The two exceptions – encoded in Republic Act 7610, Article VIII, Section 12, – are (a) when a child works directly under the sole responsibility of his parents or legal guardian and where only members of the employer's family are employed; or (b) where a child's employment or participation in public entertainment or information through cinema, theatre, radio or television is essential.

However, with regard to street and working children this provision denotes that the way most of these children find their living is unlawful. The majority of them are below fifteen years of age and they are neither working under their parents' supervision nor in the media. The law says further that anybody who employs them would commit an offence. Yet, somehow the children have to survive. Legislation originally intended to protect children from exploitation, on the other hand impedes that street children find their living in a legally secured way. The result is that street children become further marginalized and more endangered of getting drawn into illicit activities.

Table 7: Working children in the Philippines¹³³

WORKING CHILDREN IN THE PHILIPPINES	
Number	A total of 24.9 million Filipino children 5-17 years old were recorded in 2001. Of these children 4.0 million (16.2 percent) were engaged in an economic activity during the period October 2000 to September 2001. More than two-thirds (69 percent) of the working children were found in the rural areas.
Sex ratio	For all age groups and for both rural and urban areas, the number of economically active males exceeded the females. The sex ration of rural-based working children was higher (191 males per 100 females) compared to that of their urban counterparts (139 males per 100 females). More than two-thirds (68.8 percent) were found in the rural areas.
Households	A total of 2.7 million out of the 10.4 million households (26.3 percent) have working children either in their own-house operated and/or in other household's business.
Education	Of the 4.0 million children, 2.6 million (65.9 percent) attended school during the school year 2001-2002 while 1.3 million (31.3 percent) engaged in gainful and other activities. This translates to a ration of two school enrollees for every working child who was not able to attend school. Of the 2.6 million working children who attended school, 1.2 million or 44.8 percent admitted that they had difficulty working and studying at the same time while only 590 thousand or 22.3 percent reported that their work had negative effect on their schooling. About 3.9 million or 97.1 percent of working children completed a grade level. The number of working children with no grade completed comprising 2.9 percent or 116 thousand. Of the 4.0 million working children, 1.5 million (36.5 percent) children admitted that they had dropped out of school. The top two reasons why children dropped out of school were children's loss of interest in schooling and insufficient household income to support their education. Younger children seemed to have high interest in schooling than the older ones as reported by a lower proportion of children 5-9 years old who were not interested in school (29.4 percent).

¹³³ See National Statistics Office (NSO), 2001b.

Kind of occupation	A total of 2.6 million children 5-17 years old worked as labourers and unskilled workers during the past 12 months (October 2000 to September 2001). This number accounts to almost two-thirds (64.9 percent) of the total 4.0 million working children during the period. More than 10 percent each of the working children 5-17 years old were either service/shop and market sales workers (13.5 percent) or farmers/forestry workers/fishermen (11.3 percent). The majority of the children 5-17 years old were unpaid workers in their own-household operated farms/businesses (58.8 percent). Others were workers in private establishments (21.0 percent), in private households (9.3 percent) and self-employed without any paid employee (4.4 percent). About 346 thousand children (8.6 percent) had two occupations during the period October 2000 to September 2001.
Working hours	Of the 4.0 million economically active children 5-17 years old, more than half (2.0 million) worked for 1 to 4 hours per day while 37.3 percent (1.5 million) spent 5 to 8 hours per day at work during the period October 2000 to September 2001. (Table 1) Those who reported to have engaged more than a third of their day (9 hours or more) working totalled 348 thousand or 8.7 percent of the working children. A greater proportion of female than male children 5-17 years old worked for more than 8 hours per day (12.9 percent compared to 6.2 percent).
Earnings	More than 7 in every 10 male working children were likely to give part of their earnings to the family. The same proportion is seen among the females. More than 40 percent of working children 5-9 years old gave 100 percent of their income while only 36.7 percent and 20.0 percent among 10-14 years old and 15-17 years old, respectively. Of the 1.2 million working children who gave part or none of their earnings to their family, about 683 thousand (58.3 percent) saved earnings during the past 12 months. The majority of these children (71.0 percent) saved occasionally.
Reasons for working	The top two reasons why children 5-17 years old worked during the period October 2000 to September 2001 were to help in their own household enterprise and to supplement their family income. Almost 40 percent of the 4.0 million working children claimed that they wanted to help in their own household enterprise. Three in every 10 children revealed that they needed their job to supplement their family income and that it is important to their family well-being. Helping in their own household enterprise was more common among female (42.7 percent) than male (38.0 percent) working children. On the other hand, a greater proportion of male (32.0 percent) than female working children (25.9 percent) expressed their need to earn to augment their family income.
Working environment	A total of 2.4 million (59.4 percent) of the 4.0 million children 5-17 years old who worked during the period October 2000 to September 2001 were exposed to hazardous environment. Nearly 10 percent (237 thousand) were exposed to the three forms of hazards. About 1.0 million or 42.5 percent of the 2.4 million working children were exposed to more than one type of environmental hazards at work. Of this number, 16.0 percent (382 thousand) reported exposure to both chemical and physical hazards, 14.7 percent (352 thousand) on physical and biological hazards, while 1.8 percent (43 thousand) on chemical and biological hazards.
Work related problems	Of the 4.0 million working children during the period October 2000 to September 2001, about 2.4 million (59.4 percent) encountered work-related problems. Nearly 1.5 million (37.8 percent) children did not report any work related problem while the rest (112 thousand or 2.8 percent) are non-response. Based on the results of the 2001 Survey on Children, male working children were more likely to encounter work-related problems than their female counterpart (65.6 percent compared to 48.7 percent). Of the 2.4 million working children who encountered work-related problems, about 1.5 million (37.6 percent) reported that they were bored with their work. Those who found their work stressful totalled 1.4 million (35.8 percent) children. Another 1.1 million (27.0 percent) children said that they did heavy physical work while 828 thousand (20.6 percent) children complained of risky or dangerous work. Of the 4.0 million working children, 942 thousand (23.4 percent) suffered from work-related injuries; the percentage being higher in rural (26.8 percent) than in urban (15.6 percent) areas.
Future plans	Among the future plans of the 4.0 million working children 5-17 years old were to look for a better job (41.6 percent), to attend school only (37.8 percent), to help in their parent's/relative's/guardian's household enterprise (9.4 percent) and to undergo skills training for a better job (5.7 percent). About 55 percent of the 5-9 year old working children preferred to attend school only in the future compared to 45.7 percent of the 10-14 year old working children. Likewise, 27.4 percent of working children in the eldest age group (15-17 years old) preferred the same activity. A greater proportion of male (42.5 percent) than female (39.9 percent) working children planned to look for a better job in the future. On the other hand, more working children in the rural (39.8 percent) than in urban (33.3 percent) areas reported that they prefer schooling to other activities in the future.

A second big dilemma of the rights-based approach is the enforcement of legal provisions. Although the rights-based approach seeks to empower children and their caretakers and educate them about their rights, the knowledge about rights alone is not helpful when children are not able to demand these rights and adults are neither able nor willing to defend them.

In practice most people are simply not aware about existing legal provisions encoding the rights of children. This holds true for ordinary citizens¹³⁴ but also for those who should be in charge of enforcing law at the local government units, such as people at the *barangay* council, at police stations and in centres. Apart from this, it has been recognised that in the Philippines rights frequently are equated with privilege. In this sense, rights are interpreted as rewards for meeting a certain condition or expectation. In relation to children's rights, adults might consider rights as something that could be awarded, given or extended to a child in recognition of some merit, usually good behaviour. Such a notion places rights external to the individual, an idea that is a far cry from ideas of rights as an inherent feature of a person's humanity. Rights are unconditional and children, by virtue of simply being human have rights, whether they satisfy adult expectation or not.¹³⁵ Whereas it is not very surprising that the general public is not well versed about Conventions and Republic Acts, the lack of knowledge of professionals and official representatives is disturbing.¹³⁶ In practice this means that in contact with street and working children it depends on their vague judgment whether a certain case is considered a law violation or not and whether further steps will be initiated. Especially in the context of the UNICEF supported Child Friendly Movement it has been acknowledged that much more efforts have to be undertaken with regard to awareness raising about children's rights.¹³⁷

In some cases people are well aware that rights are violated, but they decide to keep silent nevertheless. Many documents on children's rights start with the statement that adults have the responsibility to defend and demand children's rights. Parents, family members and caregivers are considered to be the duty bearers closest to the child.¹³⁸ Often it is due to the fact that children depend on favourable adults in order to persecute rights violations that they only seldom appear as complainants. For example, in cases of sexual or other kinds of physical abuses, it is likely that the parents or guardians of the child are reluctant to file a case, especially where the offender is a member of the family. The often hidden nature of violent and exploitative practices against children reinforces such practices. The law enforcement agencies themselves often find it difficult to define what is within their domain of responsibility. In the Philippines, where family ties are highly treasured, individual rights are negotiated with the notion of

¹³⁴ In the questionnaires on public perception of street children in the next chapter, it is shown that people have very little knowledge about documents related to children's rights.

¹³⁵ See Protacio-De Castro, E. et al., *Handbook for Social Workers on Basic Bio-Psychosocial Help for Children in Need of Special Protection*, Manila: University of the Philippines and UNICEF, 2003, p. 42.

¹³⁶ Share a Child Movement plays an outstanding role within the Task Force on Street Children with regard to advocacy work. It not just implements school-based and community-based children rights education campaigns but has also trained child rights advocates, which perform quite successfully.

¹³⁷ By the same token several handbooks have been published in order to increase rights awareness and to improve implementation of a rights-based approach. See Hodgkin, R. and P. Newell, 1998, *Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child*, Geneva: UNICEF; Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) and National Police Commission Philippine National Police (NPC-PNP) and UNICEF, *Police Handbook on the Management of Cases of Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances*, Quezon City: National Project on Street Children, Department of Social Welfare and Development, 1993; National Council of Churches in the Philippines, Commission on Christian Education and UNICEF, *Jesus Blesses the Children: Study Guide on Children's Rights*, Teachers Manual for Nursery – Kindergarten, Manila: UNICEF, 1997a.

¹³⁸ See Theis, J., 2003, p. 7.

group and family rights. Related to this is the danger that cases of child abuse easily become categorised as “domestic affairs,” further undermining the enforcement of children’s rights.¹³⁹

Lack of financial means is another essential reason that hampers law enforcement. Many people simply cannot afford to pay for lawyers and for filing a court case. Beside the formal justice system for poor people especially two institutions are important with regard to enforcement of law: First, the *barangay* justice system, the *katarungan pambarangy*, which has a very important role in mediating between conflicting parties and in the diversion of cases of children who are in conflict with the law. And second, the Barangay Council for the Protection of Children (BCPC) that is mandated to deal specifically with cases involving protection rights.¹⁴⁰

In practice, children rarely appear as complainants, but there are numerous cases where children are accused as law offenders. They are officially called Children in Conflict with the Law (CICL), and the majority of them are male. Those among them who have been on the streets before are particularly vulnerable because they rarely receive any family support in their journey through the institutions. But where a child rights agenda is only nominally in place, policies can be highly repressive towards children at any stage of the legal process. Current problems in the juvenile justice system can be found in the following main areas: apprehension, detention, adjudication and rehabilitation. Concerning apprehension, simple procedures for arresting offenders are often overlooked by law enforcers, for example with regard to physical examination and provision of the services of a lawyer. Concerning detention, youthful offenders are often mixed with adults, a long period of detention is not uncommon and facilities and services are inadequate. With regard to adjudication, the slow disposition of cases and lack of special training for lawyers of youthful offenders is a problem, and finally post-adjudication and rehabilitation is unsatisfactory because programmes have only limited resources for the provision of integrative school and work opportunities for released youthful offenders.¹⁴¹ This suggests that, especially in the juvenile justice system, a lot of improvements are still needed.¹⁴²

All this gives an idea how challenging it is to operate in a truly rights-based manner. While a general supportive legal framework is well in place, lack of knowledge, lack of will, lack of financial means and supportive mechanisms can roughly be described as the main reason that make the rights-based approach so difficult to apply in practice. To sum up, the following table compares the various approaches which can be found in Cebu City’s institutions.

¹³⁹ Particularly with regard to domestic violence a lot of effort has been undertaken in the recent years to create greater awareness. Especially women have been increasingly encouraged not to keep silent and *barangay* officials have been trained in handling such cases. See for example National Barangay Operations Office (NBOO) and National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW), *Barangay to Rescue: Handbook for Handling Cases of Domestic Violence in the Barangay*, Manila: Harnessing Self-Reliant Initiatives and Knowledge, Inc, no year.

¹⁴⁰ As for now, in Cebu City only few of these Councils are actually functioning. Positive results have been achieved in five *barangays* that were chosen for a UNICEF supported pilot project.

¹⁴¹ Within the Philippines, Cebu City claims to have a leading role with regard to the juvenile justice system. The Balay Pasilungan Project of Freelava was established in 1996 as a temporary shelter for released youth offenders and services to support their reintegration into society. It is the first project of its kind in the Philippines and is frequently cited as example for best practices in restorative justice. The reputation of this project, however, is quite bad among children who stayed in the centre. This became evident in several informal conversations with released youth offenders.

¹⁴² The Juvenile Justice Bill which is pending in the Philippine Congress since many years provides a comprehensive agenda for improving the Juvenile Justice System. Several organisations keep on urging the government to ratify it. See Coalition to Stop Child Detention through Restorative Justice, “Urgent appeal for the Philippine Congress to pass the Comprehensive Juvenile Justice Bill into Law,” 2004, retrieved in September 2005 from http://cyberdyaryo.com/statements/st2004_0126_01.htm.

Table 8: Project strategies: reactive, protective and rights-based

PROJECT STRATEGIES			
	Reactive Approach	Protective Approach	Rights-Based Approach
Perception of children	Children are perceived as (potential) criminals that have to be held accountable for their conduct.	Children are perceived as innocent and incompetent in an adult world.	Children are perceived as individuals with inalienable rights.
Adult-child relationship	Authoritative relationship in which the power gap between adults and children is clearly expressed.	Power gap is exercised in various forms depending on adult interpretation of what measures are necessary to protect children.	Children are respected as right holders, treated as equal partners and supported by adults.
Motive	Restoring public order and ensuring safety.	Reintegration of children into the mainstream society through the traditional socialising system of school and home.	Safeguarding the best interest of the child.
Strategy	Forcefully removing children from the streets and placing them into centres. Punishing and disciplining the children in order to control their potential to be inconvenient to the public.	Protection of children from social harms such as abuse, neglect and exploitation. Focus on specific “problems” in the areas of shelter, medical care, education and withdrawal from work.	Put into effect children’s survival, development, protection and participation rights. Creating of child friendly enforcement mechanisms. Raising awareness of children’s rights through advocacy.
Legal base	Legal base is blurred and rounding up of children is often indiscriminately and arbitrary. According to the law (Juvenile Justice Bill) children are exempted from being punished for “vagrancy” and “mendicancy.” The violent removal from the streets therefore results in the state machinery infringing on children’s rights.	Several legal documents contain provisions of rights of the child to be protected against all forms of abuse, neglect and exploitation. In domestic legislation the most important are the Special Protection of Filipino Children Acts: Republic Act 7610 and Republic Act 7658.	In international law for example: Convention on the Rights of the Child, ILO Convention 138, ILO Convention 182 In national law for example: Republic Act 7610, Republic Act 8369, Republic Act 7658.
Examples in Cebu City	The most important centres where children are admitted after being rounded by police are the Parian Drop-in-Centre and the Community Scouts Rehabilitation and Youth Guidance Centre.	Most of the projects of the Cebu City Task Force on Street Children (CCTFSC) and usually also faith-based/church-based organisations follow this approach but with different priorities. Examples for centres that are run very well by extraordinary committed staff are: the Dangpanan Centres, managed by Good Shepard Sisters, providing outreach services at the Carbon market area and educational and practical training at the St. Mary Euphrasia Centre, the Centres of the Missionaries of Charity and the Sapak Farm under the direction of a Jesuit Priest.	Within the Philippines, Cebu City has a leading role with regard to the juvenile justice system. The Balay Pasilungan Project of Freelava was established in 1996 as a home (temporary shelter) for released youth offenders and services to support their reintegration into society. It is the first project of its kind in the Philippines and is frequently cited as example for best practices in restorative justice. Share a Child Movement implements school-based and community-based children rights education campaigns. It also trains child rights advocates.

2.3 SUMMARY

In the Philippines the ominous proliferation of children on the streets began in the economic recession of early 1980s and continues today as one of the country's onerous social problems. It is a symptom of the present urban crisis and reflects the extent to which poor people are marginalized and deprived of basic needs and services.

Urban areas present some very specific challenges for those in poverty, and these challenges, in turn, have significant and often disproportionate impacts on children and adolescents. For many children of the urban poor the street offers income-generating activities that enable them to contribute to their families' meagre income. For others, it becomes an alternative to a desolate home life. Certainly, the strain of living in crowded communities, where deprivation of food, housing, and unemployment opportunities is the way of life, eventually takes its toll on family relationships. Separation of spouses, break up of consensual unions, violence at home and child abuse are not uncommon. Thus, more and more children leave home not simply to work but to escape from their families.

This chapter took a look at how children in especially difficult circumstances are embarked upon on the policy level and in legal documents. It was shown how this picture is completed by official analyses, numbers and statistics and it was highlighted why children receive so much attention. It became evident that since the late 1980s children in poverty and street and working children in particular have been given more consideration than ever before. They have been in the spotlight of broad-based initiatives in the context of poverty alleviation programmes in general as well as of targeted initiatives on the local level in particular.

With regard to intervention strategies, there were quite differing opinions among project planners and professionals on what the right approach – reactive, protective or rights-based – should be. The result is that several incongruous trends operate side by side. The distinguishable impacts of each type of policy on children who live and work in the street were portrayed in this chapter. Even though at the first sight quite contradictory, both the protective and the reactive approach transport elements of the Catholic value system that dominates the Filipino society and serves as umbrella and commonly shared reference point. Consequently, easy to understand for everyone, these two approaches could be observed as most widespread in practice. The rights-based approach, by contrast, is the one preferred in official statements, on programme as well as on project level. It is in fact the only one that responds adequately to the legal responsibilities towards children assumed by the government upon ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Unfortunately, it has the weakest base in practice because law enforcement mechanisms are largely underdeveloped.

Lack of hard data, of monitoring and evaluation tools make a quantitative assessment of the impact of institutional intervention for street and working children nearly impossible. The high number of children visible in the streets of the city in combination with the high number of children that abscond after being referred to shelters¹⁴³ and an unofficially estimated overall intervention success rate of twenty to thirty percent suggest that implementation and quality of the projects are rather disappointing.

¹⁴³ Several professionals interviewed on this matter estimated an overall success rate between twenty to forty percent.

CHAPTER THREE

PUBLIC DISCOURSE ON STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN IN CEBU

Two of the topics that are presumed to be the main causes of the phenomenon “street children” are poverty and disrupted families in an urban context. Yet, not all countries that have these problems also have street children. As has been stated in literature, “certain cultures make it quite easy for children to become street children; others make it impossible.”¹⁴⁴ One factor that has frequently been claimed to be missing in most studies is the role of culture in explaining the origins of street children.¹⁴⁵

This chapter starts with the presumption that there are culture specific preconditions that contribute to the problem, lead to the stigmatisation of the children and worsen their situation. In the first part, some shared concepts prevalent in the Cebuano society will be examined. A special focus will be on family and childhood ideals on the one hand and on the ideas of “home” and “street” on the other hand, which are central elements of the discourse on street children. In the second part it will be analysed how these commonly shared ideals influence the public perception of street children and the reactions towards them. In combination with the evaluation of the fieldwork questionnaires that show how people describe in their own words what they think, one gets an idea about how society deals with the sight of children living and working in the streets.

3.1 COMMONLY SHARED CONCEPTS IN THE PHILIPPINE SOCIETY

As already demonstrated in Chapter One, many ideas that are supposed to represent the norm of a society are in fact standards that were set up under middle class living circumstances. Regardless the fact that the majority of Philippine families do not belong to this social stratum they are continuously measured against its normative standards.

These ideals, which concern family composition, roles of husband and wife, status of children, socialisation practices and ideas on the meaning and use of private and public spaces are not just affirmed and promoted by the media and education specialists, but above all by the church, the most powerful unifying force within the highly stratified Philippine society.

¹⁴⁴ Aptekar, L., “Street Children in the Developing World: A Review of their Condition,” *Cross Cultural Research*, No. 28(3), 1994, pp. 195-224 at p. 209.

¹⁴⁵ One study that looks at cultural factors was conducted in South Africa, where it was not poverty, family violence, or modernisation that explained the origins of street children; it was the political culture of apartheid. See Hickson, J. and V. Gaydon, “Twilight Children: The Street Children in Johannesburg,” *Journal of Multicultural Counselling and Development*, No. 17, 1989, pp. 85-95.

3.1.1 FAMILY AND CHILDHOOD IDEALS

The unique value of the family as the central unit of the Philippine society, foremost point of orientation for the individual, and place where children are raised, would clearly be affirmed by everyone. The Filipino anthropologist Landa Jocano confirms: “The importance of the family in understanding Philippine social organization cannot be overemphasized.”¹⁴⁶ Being aware of this makes much of the reasoning and behaviour of Filipino people explicable.

FAMILY

The basic unit of Philippine society is the nuclear family of husband, wife and children and the bilaterally extended family, which includes both, the families of the husband and the wife. As such it encompasses large groups of individuals with overlapping structural positions relative to other individuals in a kin group. The individual normally sees himself or herself first as a member of his or her family of origin, or if he or she is married, that of procreation, and secondly as a member of his or her kin group or community. The individual’s kin oriented behavioural pattern is quite complex, and the respective roles are determined by age, sex, relationship and personal feelings.

The kinsmen, whether they share the same household or not, identify with and help one another, participate in joint activities, pool resources and share responsibilities. It is the family that provides a “stable reservoir of emotional security and support.”¹⁴⁷ In situations of crisis, since provision of social welfare from the state is very weak up to non-existent, the family is usually the only social unit people actually can rely upon.

Responsibilities and obligations of the individual within the kinship system are extremely high. All personal considerations and wishes come second to those of the family interest, particularly if such interest is threatened.¹⁴⁸ The precedence of family interests over individual interests has far-reaching consequences. “Observers have, again and again, remarked about the high rate of nepotism in both public and private offices. Seen from the prevailing emphasis on family loyalty and support, it is understandable why a government official or the head of a company in a private concern hires a relative, irrespective of the latter’s qualification, at the first opportunity. It is the concept of family solidarity that normally underlines this practice. A well positioned relative embarrasses his family before his kin group if he does not do something for his relatives.”¹⁴⁹ The manipulation of family ties for certain ends is widespread practice up to the high levels of politics. There, as commonly known, power basically has remained within a small circle of ever the same rich and influential families.

To the same extent that obligations within the family are high, they are comparatively low outside of it. In this sense family boundaries basically demark areas of responsibility, meaning whatever is beyond family relations is also deemed beyond the individual’s responsibilities. As frequently observed, it deserves explicit commitment to extend one’s care for strangers. Even friendship ties appear generally quite fragile and already comparatively minor occasions can lead to a break up of the relationship.

¹⁴⁶ Jocano, L. F., *Filipino Social Organization: Traditional Kinship and Family Organization: Anthropology of the Filipino People III*, Quezon City: Punlad Research House, 1998, p. 62.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 61.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 63.

ROLES OF CHILDREN WITHIN THE FAMILY

Children have various roles within the family. They are valued for their contributions to the social life, psychological stability and economic future of the family.

A child is cherished as the “joy of the home”¹⁵⁰ and is considered as an integral part of married life. It is the birth of a child that “traditionally legitimized marriages.”¹⁵¹ Not wanting a child is not just deemed “morally wrong,”¹⁵² without a child, the living together of husband and wife is considered a “meaningless union.” Such a relationship is said to be very unstable. Children are viewed as the cementing force between the spouses that “deepens their love for each other” and gives moral support “during critical moments.”¹⁵³ It is believed that the “absence of children in a family brings about infidelity on the part of the husband.”¹⁵⁴

However, most Filipino parents perceive children not only as a source of emotional stability. With regard to the deeply internalised Catholic values, children are also treasured as “gifts of God,” manifestations of “grace derived from the Divine” as well as “offshoot of clean, honest living.”¹⁵⁵

Finally, children are considered as crucial for the future economic survival of the family. It is the duty of children to take part in the production activities of the family and to care for their parents when they get old. Regardless of the fact that the raising of children brings about high financial burden, even poor people positively rationalise that, since they lack material wealth, they are at least “blessed with many offspring”¹⁵⁶ who will ensure the existence of the family.

IDEAL CHILD

Filipino parents have quite concrete ideas about how children should look like. This becomes reinforced by the highly standardised requirements of the Philippine education system with its uniforms and prescribed haircuts. Individualistic looks are not appreciated at all. Whenever the financial situation allows it, relatively big amounts of money are spent on new clothing for children. There is a strong favour for “princess looks” for girls and conservative clothing for boys. Much more important than fashion, however, is that children always look “neat” and “clean,” as the answers in the questionnaires confirm.

Regarding behaviour, ideas on “ideal children” stress dependence rather than independence and compliance instead of arbitration. Obedience and deference to parents and other adults are not just considered “good manners,” they also indicate whether a child is properly “disciplined”¹⁵⁷ or not. Even though children usually experience quite strict control and supervision, this does not mean, however, that affection for the child is not overtly expressed at times as well.

CHILD-REARING IDEALS

The family is considered the normal social and biological unit in which the child should grow up and develop. Responsibility for the care and discipline of children

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 79.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 80.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 79.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 81.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 83.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 81.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 85.

¹⁵⁷ In the Philippines, the meaning of the word “discipline” is weaker than in the European context, and is often interchangeably used with “educate.”

rests largely on the mother. The Filipino father's main role is that of the family provider. His role as a child caretaker is only of secondary importance.¹⁵⁸

Most parents believe that early working experience is the best way to endow their children with the means for future survival. "Responsibility training"¹⁵⁹ is the hallmark of Filipino child-rearing practices and children are continuously reprimanded not to be "lazy" or "idle." It begins early, proceeds quite systematically and varies according to age and sex. Girls and boys are raised and treated differently by their parents whose expectations mirror the society's own prescriptions for what is appropriate for the respective gender. The training is seen as preparatory to the conventional "feminine role" of "housewife" and "masculine role" of "head of the family," thereby safeguarding and perpetuating patriarchal structures.¹⁶⁰

The diverse tasks assigned to daughters are stereotypically female: "domestic, indoor and nurturant."¹⁶¹ Within the controlled area of the house, daughters assist in meal preparation, washing and ironing of clothes, house cleaning and caring for younger siblings. This includes feeding of infant brothers and sisters and watching over and playing with toddlers and other children. At the ages of seven to fifteen daughters frequently act as mother substitutes. Female children contribute more housework time than males and become independent at an earlier age in terms of self-care.¹⁶²

The tasks assigned to boys are predominantly those requiring physical strength and endurance, sometimes at far distance from home. Generally, household chores are not assigned to them, unless there are no girls in the family. They are usually expected to do heavier tasks like fetching water and carrying objects. In agriculture and fisher communities, boys assist their fathers at early ages in whatever work is required. In an urban context, boys enjoy much more freedom, not just compared to their peers in rural areas, but also in comparison with girls. They are less restricted in their movements, allowed to spend more time with other boys and to come home late.¹⁶³

School education is highly appreciated for boys as well as for girls. Most of the families struggle quite hard to afford the best possible education for their children. The education system offers a wide range of different schools, ranked according to reputation and price. There are public schools for the less well-off, but whenever possible, people are striving for sending their children to a private school. The more expensive the school, the higher the pressure on children to perform well and to prove being worth the expenses.

3.1.2 NOTIONS OF "HOME" AND "STREET"

"Home" and "street" are constructed as mutually exclusive oppositions,¹⁶⁴ not only marking areas of "private" and "public," but also areas of "right" and

¹⁵⁸ See Liwag, E. C., Dela Cruz, A. and E. Macapagal, *How We Raise Our Daughters and Sons: Child-Rearing and Gender Socialization in the Philippines*, Manila: UNICEF and Ateneo Wellness Centre, 1999, p. 12.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁶³ See Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC) and UNICEF, *Situation of Children and Women in the Philippines*, Manila: UNICEF, 1997, p. 28.

¹⁶⁴ One of the main thinkers of structuralist theory, Claude Lévi-Strauss, identified ideas about mutually constructed opposition as the basis of social meanings. Through patterning cultural elements into binary contrasts, reality is ordered and the overall system is formed. See Levi-Strauss, C., *Les Structures Elementaires de la Parenté*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949.

“wrong” for children – with variations according to gender. These constructions and associated connotations are summarised in the following table.

Table 9: Constructed polarities of “home” and “street”¹⁶⁵

THE CONSTRUCTED POLARITIES OF “HOME” AND “STREET” AS IDEAL TYPE “PRIVATE INSIDE SPACES” AND “PUBLIC OUTSIDE SPACES” – CONNOTATIONS	
Home (<i>balay</i>)	Street (<i>kalye/dalan</i>)
Inside space	Outside space
Private (female) space	Public (male) space
Family (parents and children)	Strangers (vendors, beggars, prostitutes etc.)
Cleanliness and comfort	Dirt and noise
Security and safety	Danger and lack of safety/unsafe
Love and happiness	Risk and crime

HOME

The term “home” does not have a unitary composition. Several sets of ideas are related to it. The general meaning of “home” is “house” or “shelter,” but “home” in a wider sense can also refer to a “place of belonging” with the additional quality of being emotionally attached to. “Home” can be understood as “inside space” in physical terms, but also beyond that. Growing up in a “home” can mean growing up in a “proper environment for children,” which extends to the notion of “growing up inside societal approved norms.” Finally, “home” with regard to those who are “homeless” can also refer to “institutional homes” such as orphanages.

A look at the evaluation of the questionnaires on public perception reveals that notions of “home” in the Cebuano context are further refined by ascriptions of exclusively positive qualities like “safety and security,” “love and care,” “happiness and joy,” “unity and respect,” and that it is even labelled as “sin hating place.”

In the way the urban educated populace correlates the ideas of “home,” “family” and “child-raising,” a modern domestic ideal is constituted. According to it, children are to be raised in designated inside spaces. First experiences are made within the family home, the secure place where people “happily love each other.”¹⁶⁶ Only gradually, with increasing age and supported by education authorities, a child gets introduced to several formalised and exclusive childhood spaces like nurseries, clubs and schools.

These ideas most probably had become part of the Philippine value system through the influence of the Catholic Church and the Spanish colonial power. They have their origins in Western middle class ideals, which were shaped in the nineteenth century in the course of industrialisation. At that time, in the light of the changes in Western societies – in particular the separation of spheres into male-public and female-private – specific infant education was introduced. A new proximity started to characterise the relationship between mother and child, and

¹⁶⁵ The table summarises the results of the questionnaires. “Home” and “street,” however, were not associated with “female” and “male” space in the questionnaires. This ascription is concluded from the different gender specific socialisation practises in the Philippine society.

¹⁶⁶ The domestic space of “home” is in practice not always an ideal space. The supposed “haven,” which home is said to represent, is often the site for sexual and physical abuse of children and women. Such events, of course, irreversibly put the sanctity of the domestic space into question.

childhood became destined for the controllable domestic interiority. “There was no need to ask what had happened to the petit flaneur; it was tied to its mother apron strings, indoors.”¹⁶⁷ During this period, children’s role in social life underwent remarkable changes, with the consequence that their free movement and emergence into wider public spaces became restricted.

The second set of ideas related to “home” in contrast to “street” are those of “purity” and “hygiene” versus “dirt” and “danger.”¹⁶⁸ These qualities reverberate in the Philippine discourse about children and family. “Purity” within the home space is understood in a physical as well as a social sense. As demonstrated in the previous section, having children is more than a biological event; it is seen as the proof of “clean, honest living.”¹⁶⁹ In the questionnaires, children that grow up in the “safe place of home” are described as “clean” and “beautiful,” thereby signalling the “proper childhood” they enjoy. The spotless and sanitary location of “home” in which parents, monitored by state-licensed child health experts and social workers, care for children according to rules of social and physical hygiene, is contrasted with the soiled and polluted location of streets, where children should not be – unless supervised by adults.

STREET

Generally, “street” can have different connotations in different contexts. In one and the same city it can have various meanings depending on who is asked. “Street” might be perceived as the major site of social and commercial life, a place dedicated to the circulation of traffic, consumers and business employees. It can be a place where people meet, celebrate and enjoy. Streets can be wide boulevards, busy entertainment sites, shopping lanes, small paths, or motorways. The surface can be paved, cobbled, grass or dust. At night they can be pitch dark and silent, or lit with neon lights and full of movements.

In contrast to “home,” however, according to the answers in the questionnaires below, ideas of “danger” and “risk,” “dirt” and “noise” and an incalculable mixture of “different people” reveal that the “public space” of the “street” is correlated to exclusively negative traits. The “street” is imagined as an outside world inhabited by strangers, suspiciously watching each other’s movements, cautiously communicating, and fearing and mistrusting rather than welcoming the other. As such, “the big outside” becomes a dangerous place for children and they have to be introduced to its risks gradually and only in company.¹⁷⁰ Children are supposed to be simply not safe on the streets. The danger is specified through the hyperbole of “drug addicts,” “sex-workers,” “beggars” and the mundanity of traffic.

Dangers are not the same for girls and boys. What has not been mentioned in the questionnaires, but is obvious nevertheless, is that street is a gendered space. As a consequence of the different socialisation practices, girls and boys are introduced to various spheres in different ways. As shown above, women are typically associated with the private, domestic sphere (*balay*) and men with the street (*kalye/dalan*), and this distinction is very sharply drawn, especially during

¹⁶⁷ Allan, G. and G. Crow, eds., *Home and Family: Creating the Domestic Space*, London: Macmillan, 1989, p. 1.

¹⁶⁸ Ideas about the constructed polarities “purity” and “danger” go back to Mary Douglas. She analysed universal patterns of symbolism, focusing on beliefs about pollution and hygiene as expressed in religion. In one of her famous works “Purity and Danger” she states that shared symbols “create a unity in experience”, and that religious ideas about purity and pollution symbolise beliefs about social order. Douglas, M., *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London: Routledge, 1966, p. 2.

¹⁶⁹ Jocano, L. F., 1998, p. 81.

¹⁷⁰ See James, A., Jenks, C. and A. Prout, *Theorizing Childhood*, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1998, p. 51.

adolescence. Accordingly, there are lesser girls than boys who spend their time on the street.

3.2 PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF STREET CHILDREN IN CEBU

Norms always represent ideals, which are constantly confronted by reality. According to Victor Turner's notion of "social drama,"¹⁷¹ it is through crises and conflicts that the social structure is revealed. People become especially aware of their values, when they recognize a break of rules and regulations. That is the moment they are requested to defend the shared norms against the perpetrators, to ensure that the social order does not remain disturbed. The rules spoken of here are not just those set down by law, but also rules that refer to the habits or discourses within the society – about the meaning of the family, the responsibilities of the individual, the specific roles of man and women, the appropriate socialisation practices, the rightful place of childhood and the uses of public space.

In a context of rigid principles, the sight of children living in the street clearly presents a norm violation – one that is not just temporary, but indeed chronically, continuously challenging the public to deal with emotionally and practically.

The following sections summarise which impact the shared concepts have on both, the way the public thinks about street children and the way they treat them. It will be shown that the quasi city nomadic lifestyle of these children is continuously measured and judged against the ubiquitous Catholic, domestic, family ideals – ideals that have only little to do with the real life situation of poor families, whose children roam the streets.

3.2.1 EVALUATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

The purpose of the interviews conducted during fieldwork was to get information on the public perception and awareness of the "street child problem." All questions were open questions asked in English and Cebuano. The following evaluation of the questionnaires shows the questions and presents the most common answers. The numbers in the right columns indicate the frequency a certain characteristic was named. It is not explicitly mentioned if questions were not answered or answers made no sense with regard to the question. The sample size was thirty persons (eleven male and nineteen female interviewees) in the ages between twelve and forty-seven years and of various kinds of professions.

¹⁷¹ "Social drama" is defined as "aharmonic or disharmonic social process, arising in conflict situations." Turner, V., *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*, London: Cornell University Press, 1974, p. 37.

Table 10: Public perception of street children in Cebu City

EVALUATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES ON PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF STREET CHILDREN IN CEBU CITY AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 2005				
NOTIONS OF STREET AND HOME	What ideas and pictures come into your mind when you think about the terms “home” and “street”? Please try to name at least three features for each category. <i>Unsa nga ideya ug hulagway ang moabot sa imong huna-huna sa pulong nga “home” ug “street”? Palihug pangalan bisan ug tulo nga karakter kada usa.</i>			
	Ideas related to “home” and “street”			
	Home		Street	
	Family	14	risk/crime	10
	safety/security	12	Danger/unsafe	8
	love and care	7	vehicles	8
	happiness/joy	7	dirt/untidy	6
	Comfort	6	many (different) people	5
	place to live (decently)	6	public place	5
	place where a child is trained	4	noise	3
	Shelter	3	street children	3
	Private place	2	beggars	3
	unity and respect	2	traffic lights	3
	sin hating place	2	drug addicts	2
		sex workers/prostitutes	2	
		vendors	2	
IDEAS ABOUT STREET CHILD- REN	What is a street child? <i>Unsa man ang street child?</i>			
	Definition A street child is a child that ...			
	... lives/stays/sleeps in the street			26
	... doesn't have a family/abandoned/orphaned			10
	... doesn't have a (permanent) home			10
	... works/begs/finds a living in the street			9
	... doesn't have guidance/lack of formation			5
	... doesn't have proper/dirty clothes			4
	... doesn't have proper food/finds food in the garbage			4
	How do you recognize a street child? How does it look like? <i>Unsa-on man nimo ug kahibalo nga kana siya street child? Unsa man iyang hitsura?</i>			
	Appearance Street children ...			
	... look dirty/untidy/dusty			30
	... have no proper clothes			8
	... look malnourished/unhealthy/ugly/poor complexion			7
... smell bad			6	

	<p>What are the main characteristics of a street child's personality? <i>Unsa man ang mga hiyas?</i></p>			
	Personality Street children ...			
	... have no manners/no respect			11
	... are helpless/weak/pitiful			4
	... are hard-headed/stubborn			4
	... have no discipline/is chaotic			3
	... can't be trusted (steals/snatches/takes drugs)			3
	... are sometimes bad and sometimes good			3
	... are dirty			2
	... are lonesome/needs attention			2
	... are bare faced/naughty			2
	<p>What are the differences between street children and other children? <i>Unsa man ang naka lain sa mga bata nga naa sa dalan og sa uban nga mga bata?</i></p>			
	Differences between street and other children			
	Street children ...		Other children ...	
	... are undisciplined/have no respect	12	... are well disciplined/ have good manners	9
	... have to survive on their own (beg/work/steal)	9	... have parents	8
	... don't have parents	7	... have someone who cares for them	8
	... don't have a home	7	... have a permanent home	5
	... have no guidance	7	... can go to school	4
	... don't go to school	6	... are clean and beautiful	4
	... are malnourished/can't eat three times a day	4	... have a secure future	4
	... are dirty/untidy/ugly	3	... have a decent life/perfect environment	4
	... don't have a future	3	... are well nourished	4
	... helpless/unhappy	2	... are loved	4
PLACES AND NUM- BERS	<p>Where do you find street children in Cebu City? <i>Asa man nimo magkita ang mga street children diri sa Cebu?</i></p>			
	Places most frequented by street children in Cebu City			
	Colon Street (main street in downtown Cebu)			20
	Carbon Market (main market place in Cebu)			10
	"everywhere"			6
	In front of churches (Cathedral, Santo Niño)			6
	Fuente Osmeña/Osmeña Boulevard (main boulevard connecting downtown and uptown)			6
	In front of Gaisano shopping malls			4
	Manalili Street (connecting market area with shopping area of downtown Cebu)			3
	Various streets of downtown Cebu (Legaspi, Magallanes, Santo Rosario, Juan Luna, M.J. Cuenco, Junquera, Sanciangko, Jakosalem)			8

	<p>What do you think how many children are in the streets of Cebu City? <i>Para nimo mga pila man kabuok ang mga bata nga naa sa dalan diri sa Cebu?</i></p>	
	Estimated Numbers	
	between 100 and 500	9
	don't know	6
	between 500 and 1000	5
	less than 100	3
	between 1000 and 5000	3
	more than 10 000	2
	Numerous	2
REASONS FOR BEING ON THE STREET	<p>Why are these children in the streets? Please name some reasons. <i>Ngano man kaning mga bata naa man sa dalan? Palihug nganli ang mga rason.</i></p>	
	Reasons Children are on the street because ...	
	... parents are irresponsible/don't do their duties	11
	... parents neglect their children	10
	... of poverty	10
	... the children have to contribute to the family income/parents have no job	9
	... they lack parental guidance	6
	... they don't have a family	4
	... they don't go to school	2
	... parents live on the streets	2
IDEAS ABOUT STREET LIFE	<p>What in your opinion are the things street children need most? <i>Sa imong opinion unsa man ang mga butang nga gikinahanlan kaayo sa mga street children?</i></p>	
	Needs Street children need ...	
	... food	21
	... shelter/a permanent home	21
	... education	14
	... clothes	12
	... love	9
	... proper care	6
	... acceptance/understanding/moral support/attention	5
	... parents	4
	... to change their life	3
	... money	3
	<p>What are the dangers of living in the street? <i>Unsa man ang mga dilikado panghitabo sa pagpuyo sa dalan?</i></p>	
	Dangers Street life is dangerous because of ...	
... accidents	15	
... rape	12	

... drugs	8																		
... illness	5																		
... crimes	4																		
... weather (typhoon, rain)	4																		
... murder	3																		
... kidnapping	2																		
... trafficking	2																		
<p>How do these children survive in the streets? What are their sources of income? <i>Gi-unsa man nianing mga bata pagsurvive diha sa dalan? Unsa man ang ilang gikuhaan ug pangnginabuhi?</i></p>																			
<p>Sources of Income Street children make their living through ...</p>																			
... begging	25																		
... snatching/stealing	6																		
... vending/selling things	5																		
... collecting garbage	4																		
... prostitution	4																		
... odd jobs (shining shoes, assisting drivers)	4																		
<p>Do you think street boys have different problems than street girls? Please explain why. <i>Sa imong pagtu-o ang mga street children nga lalaki laing problema kaysa mga street children nga babaye? Palihug ihatag ang imong rason kon ngano.</i></p>																			
<p>Differences between street boys and street girls Boys and girls ...</p>																			
... have different problems	10																		
... don't have different problems	15																		
<table border="1" style="width: 100%;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 50%;">Specific problems of boys are ...</th> <th style="width: 50%;">Specific problems of girls are ...</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>... drug addiction</td> <td>4</td> </tr> <tr> <td>... involvement in crimes</td> <td>4</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>... prostitution</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>4</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>... being raped</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>3</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>... getting pregnant</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Specific problems of boys are ...	Specific problems of girls are drug addiction	4	... involvement in crimes	4		... prostitution		4		... being raped		3		... getting pregnant		2
Specific problems of boys are ...	Specific problems of girls are ...																		
... drug addiction	4																		
... involvement in crimes	4																		
	... prostitution																		
	4																		
	... being raped																		
	3																		
	... getting pregnant																		
	2																		
<p>What is the typical reaction of people when they see a street child? <i>Unsa ang kasagaran nga reaksyon sa mga tawo kung makakita sila ug street children?</i></p>																			
<p>Typical reaction of the public towards street children Most people ...</p>																			
... feel disgusted /“yucky”	8																		
... feel pity	7																		
... feel angry	4																		
... feel afraid	3																		
... feel helpless	3																		
... give food/give alms	2																		
<p>Do you personally know any street children? If yes, how do you react? <i>Duna ba kay nailhan nga street children? Kung duna, unsa ang imong reaksyon?</i></p>																			

	Personal experience People who say that they ...	
	... don't know a street child	15
	... know a street child	7
	Reaction of those who say that they personally know a street child I ...	
	... feel pity	5
	... feel mercy	3
	... sometimes give food or money	3
	... feel worried	2
	... talk to them	2

IDEAS ABOUT SOLU- TIONS AND RESPON- SIBILI- TIES	How could these children being helped? <i>Unsaon man pagtabang nianing mga bata?</i>	
	Help The children could be helped through ...	
	... providing them their daily needs/to support them	9
	... organizations/NGO/centre/institution/orphanage	7
	... DSWD (Department of Social Welfare and Development)	6
	... educating them	3
	... adoption	2
	Who is responsible for taking care of street children? <i>Kinsa man ang responsable sa pagatiman sa mga street children?</i>	
	Responsibility It is the responsibility of ... to take care of street children	
	... the government	10
	... DSWD (Department of Social Welfare and Development)	9
	... the parents	7
	... organizations	5
	... everybody	4
	... church	3
	What places do you know where these children could go to when they need help? <i>Unsa man nga lugar nga imong nahibaloan kung asa pwede ang mga bata moadto?</i>	
	Institutions The children could go to ...	
... DSWD (Department of Social Welfare and Development)	15	
... organizations/institutions/centres/orphanage	12	
... church	4	
... police station	2	
The Cebu City Task Force on Street Children offers many projects for street children. Yet, many children prefer to stay on the streets instead of going there. Could you imagine some reasons why? <i>The Cebu City Task Force on Street Children nagtanyag ug daghang proyekto alang sa mga bata sa kadalanan. Apan daghang mga bata nga mas gusto mopuyo sa dalan kay sa centre. Unsay imong mahulagway kung unsay ilang rason?</i>		

	Reasons for not making use of institutions Street children prefer to stay on the streets because ...	
	... they like it/love it because they can do what they want	15
	... they experienced difficulties in the projects/centres	7
	... in centres they can't continue their vices	2

AWARE- NESS ABOUT RIGHTS	A child as a citizen of the Philippines has certain rights. Do you know any documents that are related to children's rights? <i>Ang bata may katungod isip usa ka Filipino. Naa ba kay nahibaloan nga dukumento nga nagsaysay kabahin sa katungod sa mga bata?</i>	
	Legal documents related to children's rights People who ...	
	... don't know any legal document	13
	... know a legal document	4
	... don't know a document but can name some rights (this question was frequently misunderstood and people named single rights instead of documents)	11
	People who know legal documents on children's rights name the ...	
	Special Protection of Filipino Children Act (Republic Act 7610)	2
	Constitution	2
	Convention on the Rights of the Child	1
	Universal Declaration of Human Rights	1
	Do you know what a child could do if his/her rights are violated? <i>Nahibalo ka ba kon unsa ang buhaton sa bata kung ang iyahang katungod nalapasan?</i>	
	Law enforcing mechanism A child could go to ... if its rights are violated	
	... don't know	15
... a person that can be trusted	6	
... the barangay	5	
... DSWD (Department of Social Welfare and Development)	5	
... the police	4	

THINK- ING ABOUT ALTER- NATIVES	If you would be a government authority, what would you do to solve the problem? <i>Kung ikaw usa ka awtoridad sa gobyerno unsay imong buhaton para masulbad ning problemaha?</i>	
	Solution If I would be a government authority I would ...	
	... give them what they need/support them/feed them	10
	... educate them/send them to school	9
	... establish an organization/orphanage/safe place	8
	... involve the family of the children/find jobs for the parents	3
	... introduce family planning to poor people	3
	... increase government budget	3
	... make strong laws to punish the parents	1
	... send children to a Christian institution	1

3.2.2 IMPACT OF THE SHARED IDEALS ON STIGMATISATION OF STREET CHILDREN

The entire debate about norms and norm violation takes place within the range of supposed “normal” and “deviant” forms of being. Morally powerful social constructions of family, home, domesticity and childhood could not exist without the construction of the other – the danger of the street, the amorality of street life and, above all, street children who are outside the domestic sphere and challenge the order of social existence.

Within the wider discourse on street children, the polarities of “home” and “street,” of “inside space” and “outside space,” get converted into the meanings “inside societal norms” versus “outside societal norms” with the characteristics summarised in the following table.

Table 11: Norms and norm deviance in the discourse on street children

CONVERSION OF THE POLARITIES OF “HOME” AND “STREET,” OF “INSIDE SPACE” AND “OUTSIDE SPACE” INTO THE MEANINGS “INSIDE SOCIETAL NORMS” VERSUS “OUTSIDE SOCIETAL NORMS” – CHARACTERISTICS	
Inside societal norms	Outside societal norms
Clean and loved “normal” child	Dirty and unloved street child
Home-based childhood	Street-based childhood
Living in an inside space = in a house	Living in an outside space = out of place = on the street, being homeless = being without house
Happy family unit	Broken family
Responsible parents who properly discipline their children	Irresponsible parents that neglect and abandon their children
Social domestic normality	Anti-social street deviance

Street children, or *bata sa kadalanan*, as they are called in the Cebuano language, are the physical manifestation of a combination of norm violations. Street children serve as a symbol attributed to all kinds of traits and qualities that “normal” children don’t have. They are socially constructed as the negative “other” to all that is inside, authorised and correct.

In the eyes of the urban public, street children particularly trespass three rules: they spend most of their time unsupervised by adults on the street, they are engaged in activities other than playing, and, maybe most important, they are dirty. These are the main discernible features that set in motion the public’s fantasy on who these children are and what their families are like. The blend of impressions and imaginations finally leads to suggestions on how the problem should be solved.

FROM “WHERE THEY ARE” TO “WHO THEY ARE” – STREET AND DIRT AS DETERMINANTS OF IDENTITY

In “Street Children: Deconstructing a Construct,” Benno Glaser points out that the use of the word “street” in conjunction with the word “child” denotes an aberration. Children who play in the gardens are not called “garden children,” nor are children who play in the attic referred to as “attic children.” Both are merely children, and the location of their play simply says something about where they do

things, not who they are. Yet the alliance of “street” and “child” into a compound suggests that the child’s location is so weird that it becomes a telltale mark of identity – one that is underscored by ideas about the peculiarity of the street’s dirtiness.¹⁷² “A street child is, like our definition of dirt, a child out of place. Soil in the ground is clean, a potential garden; soil under the fingernails is dirt. Likewise, a poor ragged kid running along an unpaved road in a favela or playing in a field of sugar cane is just a kid. The same child, transposed to the main streets and plazas of town, is a threat, a potentially dangerous “street kid.”¹⁷³

Street children, since they do not occupy places that according to public judgement are deemed appropriate, become perceived as children “out of place.” The longer they stay out of place, the filthier they look. These perceptions are reflected in the interviews. Without any exception, “dirt” was named by the informants as the most outstanding visible characteristic of a street child. But “dirt” does not only refer to their dirty, “ugly” faces, and “bad smelling” bodies and clothes. Dirt is perceived being everywhere, a feature of their character and an attribute of their working activities. When asked to describe what the typical traits of street child’s personality would be, most of the people agreed that these children are behaviourally deviant. They were collectively characterised with a special set of features, all of them having a negative connotation. They neither have “manners” nor “respect” or “discipline.” Instead, they are “hard-headed,” “bare faced” and consequently “can’t be trusted.” Only two out of thirty people described them comparatively milder as “lonesome” and “needing attention,” and three people qualified that they “are sometimes bad and sometimes good.”¹⁷⁴

It is not astonishing that this negative judgement extends to the children’s activities as well. As shown before, children are early encouraged to help in the household. Generally, children who work in order to help their families are considered being “good children.” Street children, by contrast, even though they most of the time work harder than deemed appropriate according to common standards referring to children of their age, they hardly ever receive respect for it. Albeit they are engaged in a variety of jobs, they are seldom recognized as workers at all, but instead are denounced as vagrants, perpetrators of anti-social acts, being out of the ordinary with regard to drug abuse, thieving and violent conduct towards other people.

FROM “WHO THEY ARE” TO “WHERE THEY COME FROM” – STREET CHILDREN’S FAMILIES

The most important factor to determine the social status of the individual in the society is the family he or she comes from. Accordingly, from the way the children look like and behave on the street, there is just a small step to draw conclusion on their family backgrounds.

The presence of unsupervised children on city streets is interpreted as a consequence of dysfunctional families. The prototype of such a family has all the characteristics contrary to “the ideal family.” The popular myth about the “broken family,” with only little variations, follows the subsequent storyline: The male family head, the father, has all kind of “vices.” He is either a “drunkard,”

¹⁷² See Glauser, B., “Street Children: Deconstructing a Construct,” pp. 138-156, in A. James and A. Prout, eds., *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*, London: Falmer Press, 1990; See Hecht, T., “In Search of Street Children: Maloqueiros and Mothers,” *Cambridge Anthropology*, No. 18(3), 1995, pp. 56-67 at p. 58.

¹⁷³ Scheper-Huges, N. and D. Hoffman, “Kids Out of Place,” *NACLA: North American Congress on Latin America*, No. 27(6), 1994, pp. 16-23 at p. 17.

¹⁷⁴ A very popular soap opera broadcasted in television in 2005 with the title “*Mga anghel na walang langit*” (Many Angels Have no Heaven) liberally plays will all these prejudices against street children.

“gambler” or a “drug addict,” involved in “illicit activities,” which sooner or later will bring him to prison. He certainly is “irresponsible” and most probably has children with another woman. His wife, the mother of the family, is left all alone with the children. She is unable to raise them well, to discipline them and teach them “good manners.” The economic survival depends largely on her; she has to take care for the children on her own, which is difficult. That is why she will very likely look for another living partner who won’t be much better than her husband and therefore won’t stay long. If he stays, he most probably abuses the children in one or the other way, and so on and so forth.

However the details are, letting one’s children roam the street is almost without exception correlated with personal incapacity and lack of morality. All informants in one or the other way blamed parents’ failure: Children become street children, for example, because “parents don’t do their duties,” “parents neglect their children,” “parents have no job” or because they were abandoned (“they don’t have a family”). From the public’s side there is just very little solidarity with the extremely poor parents of street children, which is partly due to the fact that structural causes of chronic or severe poverty are seldom taken into consideration.¹⁷⁵ Being poor finally does not only mean that people cannot participate in material terms. Judged by those who are better off, poor people are quickly stigmatised as outcasts within the entire value system.

FROM “WHERE THEY ARE” PLUS “WHO THEY ARE” PLUS “WHERE THEY COME FROM” TO “WHERE THEY SHOULD GO TO” – SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEM

Their unsupervised presence on the street, the dirt and the ideas about the broken families they come from are the basis of the assumption that street children must be living antisocial, immoral, chaotic lives and are thus necessarily a public order problem. Categorising the children as “homeless” provides additional mandate for intervention. To re-establish social hygiene and to facilitate their reintegration into society, they have to undergo disciplinary measures. Since obviously the original family homes are unable to provide for that, so called “children’s homes” or orphanages with state-approved social workers have to do the task. The answers in the questionnaires on who is responsible for taking care of street children confirm that it is the accountability of institutions like “the government” or the “Department of Social Welfare and Development” to take over. Only very few people consider this problem as being one that should trouble the public.

3.2.3 REACTION OF THE PUBLIC TOWARDS STREET CHILDREN

Whereas in the last section it was shown how people think about street children and which status they ascribe to them in the overall value system, the following section summarises the way people actively or passively react towards them. The most frequent answers to the question about typical reactions of the public were “hostility/disgust/fear” and “pity/mercy.” There is a third way to behave, namely “indifference,” which was not explicitly mentioned by the informants, probably because they did not perceive the passive way people deal with the children as “reaction.”

¹⁷⁵ Only one third of the informants named “poverty” as reason for children being on the street, without specification.

DISGUST

Following the statements in the questionnaires, the majority of the people feel “disgusted,” “frightened” and “angry” when confronted with street children. With regard to the negative image the children have, indignation is maybe the most logically consistent reaction. Demonising them supports the justification that one does not have to bother about them. A strong feeling of disgust can also be helpful to reinforce one’s own values of “good” and “bad” and “right” and “wrong.” In comparing ones own well nourished and nicely dressed child with the dirty, ragged, skinny child in the street corner helps restoring confidence that oneself has done things right.

PITY

Several people answered that they feel “pity,” “worried,” or “helpless” when seeing a street child. Pity with those who are less fortunate corresponds to the ideal of an upright Catholic. The feeling of “mercy” or “worry” might confirm oneself as a good person, it seldom, however, leads to any concrete action. Very few people actively react on street children in a supportive way. Only three out of thirty people said that they would give them money or food, and two stated they would talk to them.

INDIFFERENCE

Judged from an outsider perspective, indifference actually appears to be the most common reaction of the public. Street children are seldom given any notice by anybody. It seems that people are so familiar with their omnipresence that they are rendered invisible within the chaotic picture of the daily city routine. This is confirmed indirectly by the statements in the questionnaires. Almost one third of the informants estimated the number of street children in Cebu City below five hundred, an estimation that is far too low, underscoring the limited degree of people’s attentiveness.

Indifference, as a non-reaction, indicates lack of emotional involvement. People demonstrate that they do not consider it their business to intervene in somebody else’s affairs. This can be explained at least in two ways. First, with reference to the family ideals, it was outlined that there is widespread agreement that the main responsibilities of the individual lie within the family context. It is neither expected nor appreciated that people interfere into the “family business” of others. Second, people who are socialised into the highly stratified Philippine society with its extreme differences in resource distribution are well aware of the fact that not everybody is born with the same chances. Injustice becomes known as something given. The church is reinforcing this belief. Religiously founded consoling statements like “God loves the poor most,” or instructions to read one’s fate, however difficult it might be, as a sign of “God’s overall plan” are buttressing acceptance of inequality. Everybody gets reassured of his or her “right” place within the supposed God-desired social order.

In sum, people generally prefer not to get too close to children living and working in the street. “Disgust,” “pity” or “indifference” are just different ways through which people detach themselves socially and emotionally from the children’s reality. A look at the results of the questionnaires gives an idea to what degree people try to avoid being personally involved into the whole problem. The question “do you personally know a street child?” was answered positively only by one quarter of the informants. Two quarters said that they don’t know any street children, and another quarter did not give any answer at all. One is easily

attempted to read the empty lines as an expression of the informant's desire to keep distance, especially with regard to the fact that the question did not require any statement except for a simple "yes" or "no."

3.3 SUMMARY

The basic concepts and key ideas shared by most of the members of the Philippine society are: the central importance of the family within the social organisation, the idea of responsibility towards family members, the subordination of individual interests under family interest, the central role of children within the family and appreciation of child-rearing practices that stress obedience and formal and informal training of children with gender specific variations, taking place in designated inside spaces. The specificities of these concepts have been standardised under middle class circumstances.

However, the way people actually perform as family members, parents or children not just depends on personal qualities, but maybe equally important on economic background. It is of course less difficult to support one's nieces, nephews, cousins and so on, if one has the financial means. It is also easier not to exploit one's children's work capacities, if one is not suffering severe economic constraints. It also requires money to afford tuitions fees and uniforms, which are indispensable for the children's school education, even at the comparatively cheap public schools.

The places where people act in their different roles as family members, parents and children are likewise not always a matter of choice. Activities ascribed to the spaces of "home" and "street" become ever more diffuse, the more people are pressured by the mere need to survive. Among very poor people, the strict distinction between "home" and "street" is getting increasingly obsolete, as women and men of all ages, including children, by force of circumstances have to use the street as collectively shared space – for working, sleeping and living.

Yet, in the discourse on street children, public judgement seldom takes context, personal histories or structural causes into consideration. Instead, the reasoning is highly moral, based on the construction of polar oppositions, representing norms on the one hand and norm violations on the other hand. In this context, street children serve to highlight a set of working and living conditions that diverge from accepted norms about children. The construction that distinguishes between "normal" children in homes and "deviant" children on the street, has a stigmatising effect, resulting in both symbolic and actual violence. The way people treat street children offers a critical version of a society, which not only accepts life on the street as an alternative for those who are deprived of the possibility of a wholesome childhood, but which actively rejects them and aggravates their situation.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF STREET LIFE

This chapter aims at giving a voice to the children's own description of their experiences. The insights that will be presented here, however, can only be a snapshot. In view of the constraints of this study and research conditions – lack of time and financial means to involve more interviewers – the sample size remained relatively small. Also, only few of the topics that were presented in the first chapter as prevalent in current research on street in children could be touched. This has to be stressed because many case studies tend to hide the information on numbers of informants and circumstances of the research, which easily leads to over-generalisations. Nevertheless, it will be possible to get some insights into the children's perception of street life.

After the description of the research process, some typical ideas about street children and street life specific for the Cebuano context will be contra-posed with the results from the interviews. These statements will be additionally commented with findings from other studies of street children. The purpose of the following representation is twofold: On the one hand it adds knowledge to the generally weak database on the children's perspective. On the other hand it might help testing the validity of publicly shared assumptions and through that eventually serves to rethink sloppy reproduced stereotypes and ideas.

4.1 RESEARCH PROCESS

The research process can be divided into two phases: data collection and data analysis. The following contains an outline of the research conditions, a brief description of the children interviewed and the way the sample was chosen. The subsequent table presents a first summary and evaluation of the interview results.

4.1.1 RESEARCH CONDITIONS AND CHILDREN INTERVIEWED

Guided by a stereotypical idea of how street children look like and in what activities they are engaged in, it seems they are easily identified. In my search for children to interview I also found myself lead by the prevalent “street child image.” I went to the most prominent places of the city, during day as well as during night-time, holding sight for children wearing ragged clothes and doing odd jobs or simply begging.



Street children
Cebu City, 2005

I was usually accompanied by one or two local assistants, one of them a sixteen year-old girl, the other a nineteen year-old boy who himself had lived on the streets and had been in a centre for juvenile delinquents for some years. Their young age, experience and local knowledge proved to be a



very valuable asset. It not just helped to bridge the gap between me – an adult foreigner – and the children, but more important they helped me to overcome the language barrier. Even though my knowledge of the local Cebuano language is sufficient to understand most of the answers, which allowed me to intervene if necessary, I couldn't have done the interviews all by myself. The children were generally easy to come close to. Some of them we interviewed on the streets still remembered me from the time I worked in a drop-in-centre or they had seen me around the city before. But even with those we met for the first time, it did not take much persuasion to sit down and talk. Their readiness to answer the questions was even bigger than previously assumed. Against common prejudices, all of them were very kind and often concerned that we would find a place to sit that is not too dirty, at times even searching for a piece of carton or a even a chair. None of the children fitted the negative image held by the public.

The interviews were semi-structured and whenever possible we recorded them. Most of them lasted between one and one and a half hours, depending on the patience and concentration span of the child. We used guiding questions on family background and reasons for being on the streets, needs and risks, coping strategies, social networks, attitude towards projects, future perspectives and personal dreams. These questions were important to get comparative data. However, whenever given we broadened the topics. Frequently we were surrounded by other street people, or by passers-by that joined the conversation with additional comments. And it usually ended in vivid or even chaotic group discussion when we were with children who took “rugby.”¹⁷⁶ Talking while inhaling solvent did not really work well. Nevertheless, also here we could get some impression of the little niche these children occupy amidst the market place.

Since much less girls are on the street, the majority of interviews were done with boys in the ages between ten and fourteen years. Most of them were in company of peers. Some of them we approached while working or while sitting somewhere at staircases or entrances. Others strayed along with their “gang” sometimes equipped with huge plastic guns, trying to underpin their sinister look.

Taking a closer look at their stories demonstrates that, even though some of the answers had unexpected similarities, they are far from being a homogenous group.

Some of them were outstanding because of the sincerity and maturity with which they described their situation, several of them because of the high level of energy they displayed in coping with street life. These children appeared smart, self-confident, very open, humorous and eloquent, at times giving us an extra performance in singing and dancing. Others seemed weaker and more vulnerable, often shy in the beginning of the

¹⁷⁶ “Rugby” is the most common drug used by street children. It is a yellow solvent that is inhaled through a hole in a plastic bag.



conversation and searching for words or looking for support among peers in answering the question. But there were also those who apparently had given up at their very early age, knowing that what would come would not be better than what had been.

Altogether we made twenty-five interviews. The answers, judgements and viewpoints of the children are represented in the following sections. The evaluation of the interviews summarises the most frequent answers given by the children in a table below. It is one way possible to give an overview of the huge amount of the data collected. Yet, when reading the table one should be aware that it is only representing an extract and that twenty-five unique life stories are somewhere hidden behind the numbers and categories.

4.1.2 SAMPLE CHOICE

Certain places are known as being especially frequented by street children. High concentration of children can be found in the downtown area of Cebu, especially around Colon Street, the main shopping street, Carbon Market, the most important market place of the city, and Osmeña Boulevard, which connects downtown and uptown and leads to Fuente Osmeña, an entertainment district with hotels, shopping malls and restaurants. Many children can also be found in so called “reclamation area,” a shanty-town, which stretches over a huge area along the pier, presenting an extreme contrast to the adjacent luxurious SM-Shopping Mall.

The sample choice was random, meaning we never knew in advance, which children we would meet and interview and what would be their profile. The following map shows the main places the interviews were held.

Figure 2: Cebu City map¹⁷⁷



¹⁷⁷ Cebu City map, retrieved in August 2005 from elcproperties.com/Cebu_City_Map2.jpg.

4.1.3 EVALUATION OF THE INTERVIEWS

In the interviews with children guiding questions were used to get comparable data on their perception of various aspects of their life. The interviews were all done in Cebuano. The answers are translated into English and presented in the following table. Often questions had to be varied depending on the specific history of the child; not all question made sense for all children. Similar answers are summarised into common categories. The numbers in the right columns indicate the frequency a certain answer is given or feature is named. It is not indicated if questions were not answered. The sample size is twenty-five children.

Table 12: Evaluation of the interviews with the children

EVALUATION OF THE INTERVIEWS DONE WITH STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN IN CEBU CITY AUGUST – SEPTEMBER 2005			
SEX, AGE AND BIRTHDAY			
SEX and AGE	Number of boys and girls and their age		
		Boys	Girls
	Number	19	6
	Age	6 years – 1 child 7 years – 1 child 8 years – 1 child 9 years – 1 child 10 years – 3 children 11 years – 1 child 12 years – 7 children 14 years – 2 children 15 years – 1 child 17 years – 1 child 18 years – 1 child	7 years – 1 child 8 years – 1 child 12 years – 1 child 13 years – 1 child 14 years – 1 child
BIRTHDAY	Number of children who know their birthday		
	Know their birthday	19	
	Don't know their birthday	6	
FAMILY BACKGROUND			
PLACES OF ORIGIN	Places that children name as their place of origin		
	Cebu City	18	
	From outside Cebu City	6	
	Don't know	1	
PARENTS	Children who say they have a mother and a father		
	<p>“Having a mother or a father” was free to interpretation of the children. Sometimes “not having” could mean “don't know where/who he/she is”, “deceased”, “in prison” or else.</p>		

	Children who say that they have a mother	21
	Children who say that they have a father	12
	Professions of the children's parents	
	Professions of mothers	
	Professions of fathers	
	<i>Labandera</i> (laundry woman)	5
	Vendor of toys/pillows/newspapers/cigarettes/fish	5
	Selling food	3
No profession	4	
BROTHERS AND SISTERS	Number of brothers and sisters of the children interviewed	
	3-4 brothers and sisters	4
	5-6 brothers and sisters	9
	7-8 brothers and sisters	7
	9-10 brothers and sisters	1
	11-12 brothers and sisters	3
	Number of children that have brothers and sisters that are on the street as well	
Brothers and sisters on the street as well	11	
Alone on the street and brothers and sisters at home	11	
TREATMENT BY FAMILY	How children feel treated by their families	
	Treated well	15
	Not treated well	8
	Reasons for not feeling well treated	
	Scolded/shouted at by the mother	7
	Beaten by a family member (father, mother, brother)	4
REASONS FOR BEING ON THE STREET	Reasons children name for being on the street	
	Lack of money/having to contribute to the family income	17
	The family has no house to live in	4
	Violence within the family	4
	Mother has another living partner	3
	Feeling <i>mingaw</i> (a Cebuano word often used to express a kind of loneliness or longing)	2
TIME ON THE STREET	Number of months or years that children are on the street	
	"On the streets" is interpreted by the children. It can have different meanings such as "working on the streets", "sleeping on the streets," or "perceiving the street as an alternative place to live".	
	Sometimes on the street	3
	Some months	3
	1 year	3
	2 years	1
	3 years	2
	4 years	2

	5 years	2
	8 years	1
	9 years	1
	Since birth, which is according to age: 7 years, 8 years, 12 years, 14 years, 15 years)	5
FAMILY CONTACT	Number of children having contact with their families	
	Contact with family	16
	No contact with family but know where they live	7
	No contact with family and no information about them	2
	Frequency children with family contact see their family	
	Every day	10
	Every week	2
	Just sometimes	4

BASIC NEEDS		
BIGGEST NEEDS	What children say they need or miss most	
	Food	12
	School supply	6
	Clothes	5
	Money	4
	House/home	3
	Family	3
	Rugby (solvent used as drug)	2
FOOD	Number of meals the children say they can eat per day	
	According to the judgement of most Cebuanos “eating three times a day” is the threshold that distinguishes a “poor” from a “very poor” person.	
	Eating one time a day	3
	Eating twice a day	10
	Eating three times a day	8
	Don’t know/every day different	4
	Number of children that says it is hungry sometimes	
	Hungry sometimes	23
Not hungry	2	
SHELTER	Places where children sleep	
	Always on the street	8
	Sometimes on the street and sometimes at home or in centres	12
	Always at home	4
	Number of children that spends the nights on the streets alone	
	Sleep alone	5
	Sleep together with other people	18

SANIT- ATION	Places children go to take a bath	
	Somewhere outside at public faucets	7
	At the place of friends/other people/at centres	7
	At the sea	3
	At home	5
	Don't take a bath	1
HEALTH	Number of children that say they are sick sometimes	
	Sometimes sick	19
	Never sick	3
	Number of children that have someone to go to when sick	
	Somebody to go to when sick	12
	Nobody to go to when sick	6
EDU- CATION	Number of children that go to school	
	Regularly	6
	Sometimes	4
	Not anymore	9
	Never been to school	6
	Reasons for not going to school	
	No money for school supplies/uniform/tuition	7
	No birth certificate	4
	Problems with classmates	3
	Number of children that has difficulties in school	
	Difficulties	8
	No difficulties	4
WORK		
ACTIVITIES	Number of children that describe their activities on the street as "work"?	
	Working	15
	Not working	7
	Main sources of income	
	Collecting garbage (plastic cans, bottles, cartons)	9
	Selling <i>samapguita</i> (flowers)/ vegetable/newspapers/candies	5
	Washing plates	3
	Making errands/"stand by" at the market	4
	Begging	6
	Stealing and selling stolen items	5
INCOME	Average amount earned per day	
	65 Pesos are equivalent to 1 Euro. 5 Pesos is the price of a small order of plain rice.	

	5-10 Pesos	3
	20-30 Pesos	10
	30-50 Pesos	7
WORKING PLACES	Places that children choose for their activities	
	Places with a lot of garbage	9
	Places with a lot of people and foreigners	8
	Market place with a lot of food	6
RISKS		
DIFFI-CULTIES	Difficulties of living in the streets	
	No place to go to/to sleep/to relax	11
	No money/no food	9
	Fights with other children/with children who take drugs	8
	Maltreatment of other people	2
FEARS	Number of children that is afraid sometimes	
	Afraid sometimes	17
	Not afraid	5
	Reasons for being afraid	
	Afraid of other children/fraternities/drug users	16
	Afraid of being abused	4
	Afraid of police	2
	Afraid of ghosts	1
	Afraid of vehicles	1
POLICE	Number of children that had encountered problems with police	
	No bad experience with police	16
	Bad experience with police	5
VIOLENCE	Number of children that experienced violence on the street	
	Violence experience	19
	No violence experience	4
	Persons that children say treated them badly on the streets	
	“Treated badly” can mean physical but also verbal violence. None of the children mentioned “being ignored” as bad treatment.	
	Other children	11
	Other people	5
DRUGS	Number of children using drugs	
	The cheapest and most commonly used drug among street children is “rugby,” a yellow solvent inhaled through a hole in a plastic bag.	
	Have never taken drugs (rugby)	18

	Take drugs (rugby) regularly	5
	Tried it but don't take it regularly	2
Number of children that know other children taking drugs		
	Know other children who take drugs	18
	Don't know any children who take drugs	7
Description of the effects of using drugs		
	Takes away hunger	4
	Makes forget problems / "feels like flying"	2
	Causes headache	2

SOCIAL NETWORK

MOST IMPOR- TANT PERSON	Person that is considered "the most important person" by the children	
	Family member (mother, father, brother, sister)	8
	Friend	7
	Don't know	3
	Nobody	2
	I	1

HELPER	Person to turn to by the children when help is needed	
	Family member (mother, father, brother, sister)	7
	Family member (uncle, aunt, cousins, grandparents)	6
	Friends	4
	Don't know	3
	Social worker	1

PEERS	Connection with other children on the street	
	Connected with other children	12
	No connection with other children	8
	Activities the children do together when on the street	
	Working together (collecting garbage, selling flowers)	4
	Finding money together (begging)	4
	Gambling, playing, story telling	3
	Taking rugby together	3

REACTION OF THE PUBLIC	Reaction of the public towards them as described by the children	
	People react as if they don't see anybody	6
	People don't treat them well	4
	People tell they are dirty	3
	People get angry	2
	Some are good and some are bad	3
	Some people have pity	1
	Feelings caused by bad treatment through public as described by the children	
	Feel nothing	6

	Feel hurt	3
	Feel bad	3
	Feel embarrassed	1
FAITH	Number of children who say they believe in God	
	Believe in God	24
	Don't know	1
	Number of times children say they pray	
	Pray every day	13
	Pray sometimes	11
	Never pray/don't know how to pray	1

ATTITUDE TOWARDS PROJECTS AND CENTRES

AWARE- NESS	Number of children who are aware that there are centres offering services for them	
	Know centres	19
	Don't know any centre	6
	Centres that children are familiar with	
	Parian Drop-in Centre	11
	Community Scouts	5
	Balay Pasilungan	5
	Don Bosco Boy's Home	3
	Dangpanan (Laray Inayawan)	1
	Asilo Milagrosa	1
Kalunasan	1	
OWN EXPE- RIENCE	Experience children have with centres	
	Have been in a centre	16
	Have never been in a centre	9
	Experience of children who stayed in centres	
	Didn't like it	12
	Liked it but went away	2
	Liked it but were sent away	1
	Reasons for not liking to stay in centres	
	<i>Ongo</i> is sometimes translated as "ghost" sometimes as "witch." It is used to describe something frightening and scary. Everybody asked had seen an <i>onggo</i> himself; there is consensus among children but also among adults on how it looks like.	
	Because there are <i>onggos</i> (ghosts)	6
	Because of other children	4
	Because there are mosquitoes	2
	Don't know	2
	Because people there got angry	1

	Attitude of children who have never been in centres	
	Would like to go to a centre	5
	Don't want to go to all to a centre	4
	Number of children who had contact with adults (social workers) who tried to convince them to go to a centre	
	Nobody who tried to convince them	11
	Contact to adults who tried to convince them	8

TERMINOLOGY

TERM "STREET CHILD"	Number of children that consider themselves a "street child"	
	Consider themselves a "street child"	5
	Don't consider themselves a "street child"	20
	Reasons for calling oneself "street child"	
	Because I have to sleep/live in the streets	3
	Because I have no home to stay in	1
	Because I have to beg sometimes	1
	Reasons for rejecting to be called "street child"	
	Because street children are dirty	6
	Because I have parents	6
	Because street children don't know how to behave well	4
	I don't know	3

FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

DREAMS AND WISHES FOR THE FUTURE	Number of children that have dreams about their future	
	Have dreams about the future	21
	Don't have dreams about the future	4
	Ways children imagine their future	
	To have a job	10
	To graduate from school/to finish the studies	4
	To have a home	3
	Don't know	3
	To become president	1
	The children's "biggest wish"	
	To be able to help the parents	5
	To have a house	4
	To help my brothers and sisters finishing their studies	3
	That the family would be together again	2
	To graduate from school	2
	To have money for a small business	2
	To see my family happy	2
	To have a good future	2
	That my parents would stop drinking liquor	1
	To stop using rugby and start a good life	1
To be rich	1	

4.2 PUBLIC VERSUS STREET CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION

The following sections aim at contrasting public and children's perception. The division into several thematic fields represents the topics the research was mainly focused upon. Special attention was given to those questions that would also be considered relevant from a humanitarian viewpoint. A distinction is made between data concerning background information, basic needs and risks, coping strategies and attitudes towards institutions, with each category having several subtopics.

Each of the subparagraphs starts with a general notion, assumption, or prejudice about street children and street life that is somehow typical for the Cebuano context. These initial statements come from different sources. Most of them are answers frequently given during interviews, opinions often cited in newspaper articles or popular publications on the local situation of street children. Yet, despite their different origin, all of them can be considered ideas representing the public view on children living and working on the street.

4.2.1 BACKGROUND

As shown previously, popular myth acts as if there is some ideal entity called "the family" This ideal bears little resemblance to the variety of kinship arrangements within which people have lived and do live. A look at biographies of street children shows that they come from every conceivable family type including homes containing no kin or affines at all. The following sections include information the children interviewed gave on their family background and on the reasons for being on the street.

FAMILY

*"Street children come from poor and broken families with many children. The household head is female. Most likely there's an abusive stepfather."*¹⁷⁸

The majority of the children interviewed are male, in the ages between ten and fourteen years, coming from families with an average of six to seven children.



"No Mercy"
Boy, seven years old

Half of them have brothers and sisters who are on the street as well. Most of the children said they have a mother, only half said they have a father. "Having" mother or father was free to interpretation of the children. Sometimes "not having" could mean not to know "who he/she is," not to know "where he/she is," "deceased," "in prison" or else. This means that at least half of the children come from households that are single female headed. The information about family size and composure combined with the information on the parents' professions lead to the conclusion that most of the families live in an economically very tense situation.

More children said that they are treated well by their families; those who don't feel treated well said that it is because the mother is scolding or shouting at them, or a family member is beating

¹⁷⁸ Social worker of the Cebu City Task Force on Street Children, Cebu City, August 2005.

them. “Being treated well,” of course, is a very subjective judgement and the children generally displayed a very high degree of allegiance to their families, which might have made them hesitant to talk about real experiences. One nine year old boy, for instance, originally from the neighbouring island Mindanao who, when he was seven year old, had taken a boat without knowing its destination (which finally brought him to Cebu) did not connect his running away with any bad treatment by some member of his family, simultaneously stating that he would never again like to return to them.

One quarter of the children comes from families that migrated to Cebu City. The majority of the children have been on the streets for more than one year, five of the children even said they have been there since birth, which means, depending on their ages, seven to fifteen years. “Being on the street,” “*sa kadalanan*,” was interpreted by the children themselves. It therefore can have different meanings like “working on the streets,” “sleeping on the streets,” or “perceiving the street as a place to live” etc. Therefore, these answers talk about how long the children “feel” being on the street, or how long the street has been considered an important reference point for them.

Questions on family contact revealed that around two thirds of the children have contact with their families; most of them see their family every day, one third sees the family weekly or irregularly. Two children had no contact at all and could also not give any information on the whereabouts of their families.

With regard to family contact there is some correspondence with official statistics distinguishing between seventy percent children “on” the street, twenty-five percent children “of” the street and five percent “abandoned” children. This picture changes a little, however, when one looks at the places where children actually sleep. It becomes obvious that having contact with the family does not necessarily mean that children also sleep at home. Only four out of twenty-five children say they always sleep at home. The majority sleep sometimes on the street, sometimes at home or in centres, and one third always sleeps on the street. This indicates once more how difficult it is to draw precise distinctions. It is for instance completely unclear how often a child has to sleep in the street to be counted under the category “of” the street.

REASONS

“Children are on the street because they have irresponsible parents who neglect them.”¹⁷⁹

Most of the children are on the streets for one or more of the following reasons: First, the family income is not sufficient so that the children have to work on the streets to contribute to the family’s survival. Second, housing conditions are either so bad that there is not sufficient space to accommodate all family members or the whole family lives on the street as well. Third, the child experiences difficulties within the family for example through a change of family composure or through violent behaviour of parents or siblings. Fourth, the child is encouraged or pressured by peers, who have already set foot on the path, to join street life.

Each street child’s history is a unique blend of several of those elements. Yet, while material hardship is a major factor in putting children at high risk to enter street life – seventeen out of twenty-five named “lack of money” as a reason – not all materially deprived children become disconnected from the family. Cross-cultural comparison confirms that poverty and family dysfunction cannot be held as sole explanations for children leaving home, when their siblings and the

¹⁷⁹ Public judgement, questionnaires on public perception, Cebu City, September 2005.

majority of children in similar situations do not. It has been frequently suggested to have a closer look at individual psychological predispositions that trigger the move towards street life.¹⁸⁰ As for now, however, it is not well established if it is a sign of personal weakness or personal strength that distinguishes those children who move to the streets from those who endure the situation within the family. Also social workers in Cebu City who were well acquainted with the children could not agree on an answer to that question.

4.2.2 NEEDS

Regarding the needs of the children, public judgement and children's descriptions are quite similar. While the most frequent answers given in the questionnaires on public perception were "food," "shelter," "education," "clothes," and "love," the children ranked their needs as "food," "school supply," "clothes," "money," "house" and "family." "Medical care" was not mentioned as a concrete need by both groups. That there actually is such a need was only revealed indirectly through the questions whether the children are sick sometimes and whether in such cases they have someone to turn to. Hence, in the following "health" will be included as a topic, even though it was not explicitly named.

FOOD

*"Street children are malnourished; they can't eat three times a day."*¹⁸¹

There is widespread agreement among Cebuano people that if one is able to eat "three times a day," life is good. In other words, people who cannot afford three meals per day are considered "poor" by public estimation.

Food is perceived to be the most immediate and urgent need by the children. Almost all of them complained about being hungry sometimes. Ten out of twenty-five children said they would eat two times a day, eight said they would have three mealtimes, three children only one and four children couldn't give a precise answer because according to them it would be different every day. Even though all the children we interviewed were thin, comparative studies have suggested that street-based children actually have more possibilities to get access to food than comparatively poor home-based children. It is said that they are "healthier and possibly less stunted than their contemporaries living in slums, although that may be due to the strongest and most active children being the most likely to have the courage and energy to attempt street life."¹⁸² There might be some truth in this. Also, in times of need the children can frequently rely upon networks of solidarity within their peer group and some of the children told us that sometimes older children concern themselves with those who are younger.

Although the money they earn on the streets is very little, most of them have an average income of twenty to thirty pesos a day.¹⁸³ Since five pesos is the price of a small order of plain rice, this amount is sufficient for providing them with basic foodstuff. For children who earn less, however, the situation becomes really distressing.

¹⁸⁰ See Panter-Brick, C., "Street Children, Human Rights, and Public Health: A Critique and Future Directions," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, No. 31, 2002, pp. 147-171.

¹⁸¹ Public judgement, questionnaires on public perception, Cebu City, September 2005.

¹⁸² Panter-Brick, C., 2002, pp. 147-171 at p. 68.; See Gross, R., Landfried, B. and H. Susilowati, "Height and Weight as a Reflection on the Nutritional Situation of School-Aged Children Working and Living in the Streets of Jakarta," *Social Science & Medicine*, No. 43(4), 1996, pp. 453-458.

¹⁸³ Around sixty-five pesos are equivalent to one euro.

EDUCATION

“Street children are undisciplined and don’t go to school.”¹⁸⁴

The education of street children is frequently interrupted. While some of them were enrolled, most of the children have stopped schooling at one time or other in the past. Only six out of the twenty-five children interviewed said they would go to school regularly, four said they would go sometimes, nine not anymore and six of them said that they had never been to school.

Because of the peculiar nature of their life and problems, the skills required to survive on the street and the lack of parental support, these children find it difficult to adjust to standard curricula and school discipline. This was confirmed by eight of the children who said they would have difficulties in following the lessons and would perform poorly in class. The main reason for not going to school was that money is lacking for paying for school supplies, uniforms and tuitions fees. Three children said they stopped schooling because they had problems with classmates. One eight year old boy explained to us that he was harassed at school because of the tattoos on his fingers and arms that identify him as a member of a gang.

Four children said that they don’t have a birth certificate, a document that is vital to legal and civic existence. A missing birth certificate torpedoes all chances for getting access to education – it is simply impossible to get enrolled without it. To issue such a document belated is extremely complicated, especially when the names and the whereabouts of the parents are unknown. Social workers and officers at the Department of Social Welfare and Services, which generally don’t enjoy the reputation of being very supportive, are likewise not very eager to touch upon these issues even though it is their area of responsibility. The children have to pay the price. We met one twelve year-old boy in a centre, who had already spent several years in institutional care without having ever been enrolled. He was still waiting for his documents. In the meantime his educational opportunities decreased tremendously. As frequently observed, the older the children get the more difficult it is for them to overcome the shame of not having graduated or of being re-enrolled together with much younger children. If the children are not able to foresee how important education is to survive in the long run on the highly competitive labour market, at least those who claim to be in charge of them should.

HEALTH

“With the exposure to difficult living conditions and extreme poverty, most street children are vulnerable to mental health problems.”¹⁸⁵

Definite statements about the health of street children are difficult to make. The information given by the children in the interviews is very vague. Nineteen out of twenty-five said they would be sick sometimes, and most of them mentioned “fever” as the most frequent disease. Twelve of the children said they had somebody to go to when they are sick, while six children said they had nobody to care for them.

Statistical information about the physical and mental health status and survival statistics of street-based children in Cebu is non-existent, only children who stay in centres are sometimes recorded. According to the judgement of social

¹⁸⁴ Public judgement, questionnaires on public perception, Cebu City, September 2005.

¹⁸⁵ Anonymous, “Street Kids Prone to Mental Health Problems,” *Sun Star Cebu*, December 8, 2003.

workers with regard to the physical health of street children, they suffer largely from “the normal diseases of childhood,” perhaps more frequently and certainly with dangers of secondary complications because of the barriers they cannot surmount in order to access health services.

Categorical statements about street children being the most at risk of negative physical, mental, and developmental outcomes, however, abound in literature. It can be argued that streets are indeed “dirty” and unhealthy environments in a factual, demonstrable sense. But instead of real investigation into the issue, the worst health outcomes with street children are frequently associated by ascription. In terms of mental health, criticisms have been made of the view that street children necessarily suffer from negative developmental outcomes. Several authors argue that rather than being the most victimised, the most destitute, the most psychologically vulnerable group of children, street children may be resilient and display creative coping strategies for growing up in difficult environments.¹⁸⁶

Even in cases where statistics on street children’s health are available, they are often suspect in their validity. Many studies feature samples, which are small, ill-defined, or unrepresentative of the homeless or street child population. They also lack appropriate comparison with local groups of poor, home-based children who represent a realistic lifestyle alternative for children in the streets.

Specific risks to health should be rigorously investigated and not over-generalised to cover all aspects of health – physical health, mental health, sexual health – which constitute different benchmarks for risk assessment.

CLOTHES

“Street children look dirty and have no proper clothes.”¹⁸⁷

Dirty and ragged clothes make children immediately identifiable as poor and different from children that have parents who care for them. It is extremely important for their self-esteem to dress nicely whenever possible. Especially the children we interviewed at the market place frequently asked us if we could buy them some new clothes or shoes. The value that is attached to clothing can well be observed in the way children in centres, especially the older ones, treasure their T-shirts and shorts they received from the personnel.

SHELTER

“Street children sleep on the street because they don’t have a home to go to.”¹⁸⁸

Many children sleep both at home and on the streets, and some of them also spend significant periods of time in residential institutions. Those who have to spend the nights on the streets mostly look for some makeshift shelter and protection in entrances, between market stalls or shop verandas. Eighteen out of twenty-five children said they would spend their nights together with other peers. Some of the children said that they wouldn’t sleep at home because there would not be enough space for all family members. When the children were asked about what would be their biggest wish, some children said that they would wish to have a house.

¹⁸⁶ See Veale, A., Taylor M. and C. Linehan, “Psychological Perspectives of ‘Abandoned’ and ‘Abandoning’ Street Children,” pp. 131-145, in C. Panter-Brick and M. T. Smith, eds., *Abandoned Children*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

¹⁸⁷ Public judgement, questionnaires on public perception, Cebu City, September 2005.

¹⁸⁸ Public judgement, questionnaires on public perception, Cebu City, September 2005.

FAMILY

*“Street children have abusive parents who neglect them.”*¹⁸⁹

No matter how difficult life is for the children on the street and how much they are forced to look for their own means of survival, the way the children talked about their families reflects a great loyalty and strong emotional attachment to them. None of the children openly blamed their parents for neglecting them or for depriving them of a decent life, not even those children who were incited by family members to steal or to deal drugs. When children were asked to talk about their present or future wishes, the family was always included. Five of the children said their biggest wish would be “to help the parents,” three would like to be able to “help their brothers and sisters finishing their studies,” two wished most that “the family would be together again,” and another two simply wanted “to see their family happy.” One nine year-old boy drew a picture of the house he would like to live in with his family. This shows that street children’s ambitions are far less different from those of other children than publicly assumed.



“My biggest wish”
Boy, nine years old

4.2.3 RISKS

With regard to the special risks and dangers of street life the public perception is quite different, compared to that of the children. According to the public, street life is dangerous mainly because of “accidents,” “rape,” “drugs,” “illness,” “crimes” and the “weather/typhoons.” The children by contrast feel most threatened by “fights with other children,” especially those “children who take drugs.” Some children also mentioned their “bad experiences with police” and “bad treatment by people on the street.” Since nineteen out of twenty-five children said they experienced violence and many street children are prone to sooner or later get into contact with drugs, the following will focus particularly on these two kinds of risks.

VIOLENCE

*“Street children have to be punished because they are lawless hooligans who victimise people.”*¹⁹⁰

Four types of violent experiences of street children can be distinguished. These are: violence within the family, in the streets, during arrest and detention and occasionally, sexual violence.

Violence in the house frequently comes from a parent’s living partner, though not only. Older siblings and mothers were also mentioned to have been abusive.

The streets are never free from violence. Seventeen of twenty-five children said they would be afraid sometimes. As main reasons for being afraid, sixteen children mentioned “other children,” “fraternities” and “drug users.” On the streets, peers are often the most needed and at the same time the most feared persons. Some of the children belonged to a “gang” and although we couldn’t get into that topic too deeply, it became quite obvious during the interviews that gang rivalries are part of the daily life experiences of such kids.

¹⁸⁹ Public judgement, questionnaires on public perception, Cebu City, September 2005.

¹⁹⁰ Conversation with a retired police man, Cebu City, September 2005.

Some of the children have been arrested before and the experiences during arrest were almost always traumatic. Street children are arrested for theft, vagrancy or mere suspicion of having committed a crime. One boy talked in detail about having been arrested in the BBRC (Bagong Buhay Rehabilitation Centre) with adult inmates accused of common crimes, instead of having been brought to facilities for holding minor offenders. He vividly described how he was beaten and humiliated by the police and other arresting authorities.

For girls, the streets are particularly dangerous, especially at night. Violence and sexual abuse by males on the streets is a central and real threat for them. One eleven year old girl, who usually shares the night together with another fifteen children in a corner at the market place, told us that she was negotiating with an outreach worker about being referred to a centre in order to be protected from the boys. Too few girls, however, are able to plan ahead in such a way. In almost all the cases, physical abuse is accompanied by verbal and psychological abuse.¹⁹¹ Verbal or psychological abuse is definitely also a feature of the way children are treated by the public. Some children explicitly mentioned that they are treated badly by passers-by or other people they encounter on the street. Some of the children described the reactions of the public towards them with the words “people react as if they don’t see anybody,” “people tell that we are dirty” and “people get angry.” Only three children described them as “sometimes good and sometimes bad.” When the children were asked about how they felt being treated like that, six of the children said that they “feel nothing,” another seven said they felt “hurt,” “bad” or “embarrassed.” “Not feeling anything” not just indicates to what extent the children must be used to this kind of treatment, it also reminds of the way the adult people interviewed described their feeling towards the children – they equally don’t feel too much for them.

DRUGS

“Street children have to be taken off the streets in order to save them from becoming drug dependents and criminal offenders.”¹⁹²

The cheapest and most common drug among street children is “rugby,” a yellow solvent that is inhaled through a hole in a plastic bag. Five of the children we interviewed were regular substance users; two said that they use rugby only occasionally. Eighteen of the children said they do not use any drugs but knew other children who do so. When the children were asked to describe the effects of using rugby, the most frequent answer was that it “takes away hunger,” two said that it “makes forget problems” and one boy told us that it “feels like flying.” Only two children mentioned some negative effects of rugby use stating that it “causes headache.”

Using psychoactive substances can have many different consequences, some of which are extremely serious. The intoxication caused by the substance affects the child’s alertness, thinking, decision-making, emotions and behaviour. A group of approximately twenty children joined together to use rugby in a makeshift shelter at a remote place in the market area we sporadically visited in the evening. The effects of their drug use were clearly noticeable. Many of them had trouble speaking or moving. The moods of the children switched between high and low. Some of them were giggling and punching each other, others were simply crouched in a corner apathetically staring at the group. Being under influence of substances also makes street children more vulnerable to violence

¹⁹¹ This was described in more detail by a previous study on street children in Cebu City. See Labiste, D., “Street Kids in the Land of Santo Niño,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, March 27, 1988.

¹⁹² Fabian, C., “Street Kids in Lapu-Lapu: Creation of Task Force Sought Out,” *Newstime*, March 19, 1992.

and abuse. They may be more prone to engage in sexual activities that put them at risk of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV. But substance use does not only affect the health of the children. Because many substances are illegal, substance use frequently leads to problems with the police and with drug traffickers.

Many of the children are not aware of what the long-term consequences of substance abuse might be. One sixteen year-old boy, however, said that his biggest wish would be “to stop using rugby and start a good life.” For children like him there’s little chance of receiving adequate care. In Cebu City a specialised programme for substance users is non-existent. Addiction is more likely to be equated with personal incapacity or “bad behaviour” than with a concrete physical, psychological or social problem, even among professionals.

4.2.4 COPING STRATEGIES

As shown in Chapter Three, street children are portrayed with almost entirely negative characteristics by the public. The way these “hard-headed” and “chaotic” children survive in the street is thought to be by means of “begging,” “snatching,” “selling things,” “collecting garbage,” and “prostitution.” For the children, though, life has many more facets than the public view suggests. Street life is a highly complex system of rules, regulations, hierarchies, dangers and territorial restrictions on the one hand and freedom, independence and mobility on the other hand. Subsequently it will be summarised how the children interviewed describe themselves their economic and social survival strategies and values.

IDENTITY

*“Street children are dirty, unhappy and have no manners.”*¹⁹³

The self-perception of the children was in stark contrast to the way the public judges them. Most of the children interviewed did not identify themselves with the term “street child” and rejected to be labelled as such. Apparently the children neither perceive themselves as victims nor as deviants. At the same time they were very well aware of how the public thinks about them. As reasons for rejecting to be called “street child” they named: “because street children are dirty,” “because I have parents,” or “because street children don’t know how to behave well.” When we asked if anyone of their peers is a street child, many pointed to those who are either younger or weaker or dirtier than them to illustrate the difference.

WORK

*“The children earn their living through begging, stealing and collecting garbage.”*¹⁹⁴

The majority of the children interviewed described their activities on the street as “work.” Yet, the range of work that is possible on the streets is limited. The children interviewed were engaged in simple jobs such as collecting garbage, vending items like flowers (*sampaguita*), vegetables, newspapers, candies and candles, making errands and washing plates at food stalls at the market place. Nine of the children said they would earn money through begging and five children said they would steal and sell the stolen goods.

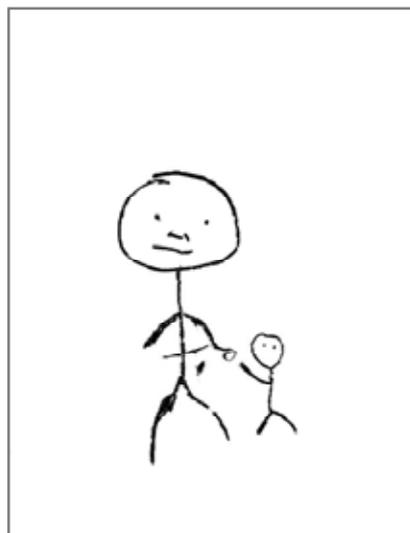
¹⁹³ Public judgement, questionnaires on public perception, Cebu City, September 2005.

¹⁹⁴ Public judgement, questionnaires on public perception, Cebu City, September 2005.

Three of the children said they would earn between five and ten pesos per day, ten said their income would be around twenty to thirty pesos and seven children said it would be between thirty and fifty pesos.

The children choose particular places for their working activities. Nine of the children said they would look for “places with a lot of garbage,” for eight children “places with a lot of people and foreigners” were most promising to find money and six children said they prefer the market as working place.

Scavenging and begging children are the most visible in the urban routine. Some children described the difficulties in the extremely aggressive garbage business. Most of them collect plastic cans, bottles and cartons that are sold by weight to some middlemen of the recycling industry. The money generated from this collection is very little



“Begging“
Boy, eight years old

considering that there are many adults in the same areas who have made scavenging a reliable source of income. The children usually only get what is left unseen by the adults.

A lot of children supplement their income through begging. It is one of the main activities of the smaller ones. Young children can frequently be seen in groups running along thoroughfares, taking advantage of the jammed traffic and insistently knocking at car windows to get the attention of the passengers.

Begging gets increasingly difficult the older the children get. When the public no longer looks upon them as cute and worthy of pity but dangerous, boys are forced into the same kind of menial work as other poor adult males.



“Collecting garbage“
Boy, seven years old

More should be known about how children themselves understand the different activities in which they are involved, how they handle various categories of work, which of their activities they understand as work and which not and how this might shift between contexts.

NETWORKS

“Street life is an aimless cycle of activities preoccupied with survival.”¹⁹⁵

To the children, street life has more aspects than the above statement suggests. Far from being chaotic, the “outcast world” of street children and street youth has its own networks, groups and hierarchies. Many children join street gangs because they crave for companionship and protection.

Twelve of the children said they were connected to other children. Eight children said they would work or beg together with their friends. “Gambling,”

¹⁹⁵ Esquillo-Ignacio, R., *Saving Lives: Effective Programme Strategies for Street and Working Children*, Manila: Institute on Church and Social Issues, Monograph No. 17, 1996.

“story telling,” “playing” and “taking rugby” were other activities that children said they would do when they are with peers. Seven children stated that they would consider their friends the most important persons in their lives; some said they have nobody else but friends to turn to when they are in need of help.

Street children’s peer groups are sometimes referred to as “surrogate families”¹⁹⁶ The role of the street group is significant in terms of collective and individual survival and a new home for those who have fled their family. Sharing resources and information is vital and a group is often a means of protection from violence and police harassment. Because people in authority such as social workers and the police can frequently not be trusted, the group is often the only source of support and care when members are in need.¹⁹⁷

But being a gang member has its dangers too. Especially the young and inexperienced ones are frequently used by those who are older to find money for them. One six and one seven year old boy told us in detail how they had been instructed by older gang members to be the look-out when doing breaks.

FAITH

*“Many angels are without a heaven.”*¹⁹⁸

The children interviewed have remarkable mainstream norms. This holds true not just with regard to their wishes and future aspirations, but also with regard to religious allegiance. With only one exception all of the children interviewed stated that they believe in God. Thirteen of the children said they would pray every day, eleven said “sometimes” and only one boy said that he didn’t know how to pray.

INSTITUTIONS

*“Children don’t want to stay in centres because they want to be free.”*¹⁹⁹

Through the interviews we particularly tried to understand how much children are aware of the services offered to them, what use they make of them and what they like and dislike with regard to institutions.

Of the children interviewed, nineteen said that they would know centres that offer services for them, and six didn’t know any centre. Sixteen children had been in one or more centres before and nine didn’t have any experience with institutional care are all.

Twelve of the sixteen children who had been in centres said they didn’t like it there. When the children were asked to describe the reasons why they didn’t like it, four said that they had problems with other children or with personnel. The other reasons that were given are rather mysterious. Six of the children said that there are *ongos* in the centres. “*Ongo*” is sometimes translated as “ghost” and sometimes as “witch.” It is used to describe something frightening or scary. It is difficult to tell whether the children were really afraid of ghosts or if “*ongo*” served as an excuse for not going into details. The same holds true for the statement that children didn’t like centres because of the “mosquitoes” that were apparently there.

¹⁹⁶ Hanssen, E., “Finding Care on the Street: Processes in the Careers of Sri Lankan Street Boys,” *Childhood*, No. 3(2), 1996, pp. 247-260.

¹⁹⁷ See Aptekar, L. and P. Heinonen, “Methodological Implications of Contextual Diversity in Research on Street Children,” *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), 2003, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://colorado.edu/journals/cye>.

¹⁹⁸ Translated title of the very popular soap opera, *Mga anghel na walang langit*, which is about street children in Manila.

¹⁹⁹ Public judgement, questionnaires on public perception, Cebu City, September 2005.

Five of the children who had never been to a centre said that they would like to go to one; four said that they don't want to go at all. Eight children said they were in contact with adults or with social workers trying to convince them to go to a centre. Eight said that they had never been offered this possibility.

In order to understand the relationship between children and projects targeted at them, children without centre experience and children with centre experience have to be analysed separately. The ignorance of the first group might tell something about how well outreach work functions, the refusal of the second group to stay in centres reveals to how little the services offered obviously correspond to the real needs of the children. In such cases street life is perceived to be the better option.

Yet, most of the children are ambivalent in their opinion. Street life might be so rough at times that they seek refuge in one of the residential institutions. After recovering, they abscond and return to the streets again. It has been described in literature how street children manipulate their identities according to their needs and adapt their stories in order to obtain particular services. The children frequently "shop around projects" and may even consider the organisations their "clients" instead of the other way round.²⁰⁰

Many children also found it difficult to adjust to the sometimes strict rules and regulations in centres. As became evident during the interviews, street life makes some children lose their sense of time, forget their birthdays and their ages. Unlike home-based children they frequently do not have fixed schedules for sleeping, eating, resting, bathing, studying. They eat when they are hungry and if they can obtain food. Some sleep all day so that they can stay awake at night to fend off the police and other potential threats to their safety. All these experiences make it extremely challenging for many of them to return to a structured lifestyle.

Also, conflict experiences in centres are an important factor that can trigger the decision for escaping institutional care. Since the children know that they can survive on their own, their tolerance level for poor treatment of any kind, whether by staff members or other children, is often very low. The living together of insufficiently qualified or overworked staff and frustrated children can make a centre an arena for terrible power struggles.

4.3 SUMMARY

Street children are a highly mobile population. They might spend intermittent periods with their families or move from one street or city to another, depending on the circumstances. Their movement may be determined by a variety of factors such as the quality of family environment, the availability of work and immediate threats like police arrest or rival gangs.

For most street children the situation is desperate. They have very limited sources of sustenance and no proper accommodation or regular food. They are deprived of access to education and exposed to high health risk. They are subject to harassment from peers, from the public, and from officials. Living on the streets is not only risky and rough, but can also be humiliating and dehumanising.

Since many of the children have to look after themselves most of the time, their activities on the streets are based on their present needs. In dealing with

²⁰⁰ Ennew, J. and J. Swart-Kruger, "Introduction: Homes, Spaces and Places in the Construction of Street Children and Street Youth," *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13 (1), 2003, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://cye.colorado.edu>.

everyday life and sometimes struggling for survival they acquire a wide range of skills, competences and knowledge. It has been argued that rather than being the most destitute and most psychologically vulnerable group of children, street children are resilient and display creative coping strategies for growing up in difficult environments.

It is important to keep the idea of resilience in mind in order not to perceive the children as victims only. To merely see them as weak and needy not only deprives them of their pride and underrates their strengths but also easily makes them the subjects of interventions that are based upon adults' paternalistic ideas and measures. But the pride they display is a defiant one to a large extent, one that is born out of lack of choice. One should certainly not go so far as to accept children's decisions to come onto the streets as a solution to worse problems elsewhere, or think that street children's resilience and coping mechanisms outweighs their vulnerability. Even if some children prove strong enough to find their own way out, at times also through institutional assistance, the majority of them do not.



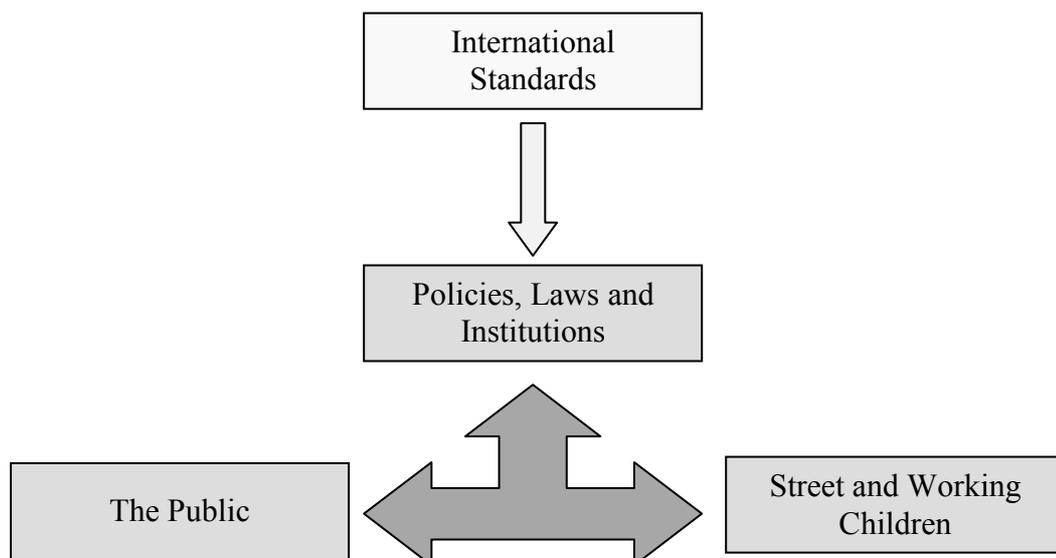
CONCLUSION

This paper started with two central concerns, which can be summed up in the following words: Since poverty alone does not give sufficient explanation for the phenomenon of street children, what are the forces that drive children onto the streets, and make them, despite numerous projects, stay there?

The paper scrutinized this question from three different angles. First, it examined the official approach to these children in policies and legal provisions, which are informed by international standards in large part (Chapter One), and the functioning of the institutions targeted at them (Chapter Two). Second, it attempted to find out how society perceives and treats these children (Chapter Three), and third, how street and institutional life is experienced by the children themselves (Chapter Four).

The separation of the different viewpoints was somehow artificial but important for analytical reasons. A closer look, however, reveals that the three perspectives are overlapping, interrelated and influencing one another. The public attitudes are echoed in policies and contribute to the choice of strategic intervention. The public attitude also determines how street children experience their daily life in the streets, depending on whether they receive encouragement or hostility. The intervention can either exacerbate or improve the situation of the children, depending on the interests behind and how well they correspond with the specific needs of the children. And it is finally also upon the children themselves and upon their individual capacities and readiness that decides whether they accept or reject the offered projects and whether they integrate themselves into the mainstream society or remain marginalized.

Figure 3: Stakeholders involved in the Philippine street child problem



At the local level, this triangular relationship provides the grounds on which the search for solutions to improve the plight of street and working children has to begin. Since it is neither possible to change the whole system in the short run nor deeply rooted values and ideas, one has to stay realistic. This means making use

of what is already in place while at the same time keeping the obstacles in mind that result from the liaison between public, institutional and children’s interests.

With reference to the initially stated central concerns, the following sections will first review the paradigm shift in theory, research and work with and for street children in general. Then, based on field experiences and research results in the Philippines, some suggestions will be made on what could be done to prevent children from moving to the streets, and how they could be best supported when they are in the streets.

As shown in Chapter One, there is no shortage of research about street and working children and many useful ideas have already been discussed in theory.

Although it is difficult to reduce descriptions of paradigm shifts to grids and frameworks, the main arguments of the transformation in approaches to street children are summed up in the following matrix. The table shows the key ideas of the old paradigm – which is quite similar to those notions held by the public – and concludes which consequences the application of multilevel analyses and ideas of rights, resiliency, identity, space, time, and gender have for theory, research and practice. The shift poses new possibilities and challenges to anyone concerned with children living and working on the street in the widest sense.

Table 13: Key elements of the paradigm shift in theory, research, and work with and for street children²⁰¹

Area of analysis	Shifting from ideas that see street children as through ideas of to the following consequences for ...		
			THEORY	RESEARCH	PRACTICE
Analysis of the causes for children living and working in the street	“throwaways” or “runaways”	multilevel approaches	It is necessary to distinguish between three analytical levels: immediate, structural and underlying causes.	Research into poverty (structural cause), family situation (immediate cause) and cultural specific value system (underlying cause) and their effects on children.	Holistic view of the problem that requires thinking about comprehensive solutions with regard to poverty alleviation, family involvement (e.g. through counselling and livelihood projects) and reduction of prejudice (e.g. through advocacy).

²⁰¹ This table is a largely modified and extended version of a matrix provided by Ennew, J. and J. Swart-Kruger, “Introduction: Homes, Spaces and Places in the Construction of Street Children and Street Youth,” *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13 (1), 2003, retrieved in August 2005 from <http://cye.colorado.edu>.

Analysis of street life	dependent on adults who know best and whose control is necessary to ensure children's welfare.	rights	Street children like all other children are holders of individual rights.	Child centred participatory research is not only a necessity, children are also entitled to it.	Children should be provided with enforcement mechanisms to ensure their rights. They should also be involved as partners in all aspects of programming.
	helpless victims	resiliency	Street children are active agents in their own lives. They develop a variety of coping mechanisms.	Research into the various coping strategies and modes of survival.	Recognition of children's strengths and support of their capabilities (e.g. to work).
	are innocent and incomplete	identity	Street children have multiple and fluid identities. They construct meaning and are part of a subculture.	Investigation into the various factors that determine individual and group identities.	Taking into consideration street children's supportive social networks (that go beyond the family) in programming.
	homeless and abandoned	space	Street children are mobile groups. They use the street environment creatively.	The use of space has to be examined beyond the dichotomy of street and home.	Centre-based approaches have to be supplemented by the use of the street as a space for programming, for example through outreach work and mobile schools.
	are chaotic, living an aimless life without direction	time	Street children have changing careers on the street and their increasing age is an important factor.	Longitudinal studies are vital in order to find out how street life changes when children grow older.	Age-sensitive, long-term programming with follow-up to ensure the development of potential.
	street boys are drug addicts and criminals and street girls are prostitutes	gender	The majority of street children are male; girls are less visible on the street. Street life comprises different kinds of dangers for boys and girls and they have gender specific survival strategies.	Thinking about the underlying reasons that assign boys to the public and girls to the domestic space. Examination of the various ways boys and girls cope with street life.	Gender specific responses are necessary because boys and girls have different experiences.

In the Philippines, a generally supportive policy and legal framework is well in place, and many centres still have capacities to receive children. Therefore, first of all, a “non-proliferation agreement”²⁰² should be made. In Cebu City there is no need for more projects. What is needed instead is consolidation and improvement of existing interventions.

With regard to intervention strategies, the Cebu City example demonstrated that a reactive approach is incompatible with enabling street children to engage with wider society or with reducing poverty and that the partial nature of a protective approach is unable to adequately address the complexity of children’s situations in adversity. A rights-based approach by contrast, even though still facing obstruction in implementation, is the only strategy that has been widely accepted by the international community, national governments and many civil society organisations as an adequate conceptual framework, appropriate for providing common grounds.

Consequently, the integration of rights-based strategies and recent research findings into broad-based initiatives (which have to focus stronger on prevention) and into targeted initiatives (which must become more specific and flexible) seems to be a promising combination for the realisation of more effective and holistic responses to street and working children’s needs.

The following section will discuss possible improvements of broad-based and of targeted initiatives as well as of performance of professionals working with street children, and debate the need for enhancing data quality in the context of planning, monitoring and evaluation of projects.

IMPROVEMENT OF BROAD-BASED INITIATIVES

Although the street children in Cebu City repeatedly complained about the hardships of life on the streets, the lack of regular meals and proper sleeping places, attempts to permanently place them elsewhere have rarely succeeded. Arresting street children for begging, vagrancy or stealing, then bringing them into approved institutions, does not address the circumstances that pushed them onto the streets in the first place.

Root causes for the street child problem are deeply woven into poverty, into communities with inadequate facilities or support systems, and into families who lack support, adequate housing conditions and a decent wage. Neither quick-fix solutions nor generous handouts of charitable organisations proved to be effective in halting the continued increase of children in the streets. As many institutions working in the area have come to realise, it is only by tackling these roots – the structural and the underlying causes – in the context of broader poverty alleviation efforts that the street will some day appear as an unappealing place to live. The fact that the move onto the streets does not happen all of a sudden, combined with the fact that problems get worse the longer children have been in the street, provides a strong rationale for early intervention and more preventive work. This is crucial, because once the children have settled down into street life it is extremely difficult to bring them back.

²⁰² Van Beers, H., “A Plea for a Child-Centred Approach in Research with Street Children,” *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), 2003, retrieved in July 2005 from <http://colorado.edu/journals/cye>.

SUPPORT FOR MOTHERS

Since poverty reduction requires fundamental changes in the way state services are resourced and delivered, change will take time. It will also take time until poor communities are empowered enough to realise that the poverty they experience represents a human rights violation, and that governments have to be held accountable. Some improvements, however, are already possible in the short-term.

With regard to initiatives that aim at addressing the fragile family situation of street and working children, one of the most important measures is to enable mothers to make their own choices, gain access to social services and provide a supportive family environment that helps to reduce the risk of children deciding to move to the streets.

ACCESS TO SERVICES

It has been recognised that, albeit broad-based initiatives include street children and urban poor children in planning, they do not provide adequate means for de facto access to services.

It has to be better ensured that especially street and working children are not excluded from programmes guaranteeing free access to basic healthcare or education. This includes dismantling barriers such as the requirement to present birth certificates, school records or parental signatures as a precondition for access. It also should include reviewing school curricula and school policies towards children to make schools more welcoming places of learning for disadvantaged children who have no supportive parents and who have to work besides schooling, and ensuring that campaigns to promote sexual health are appropriate and accessible to high-risk groups like street children. These kinds of measures are essential to improve the children's opportunities for participation in wider society.

ENHANCEMENT OF WORKING CONDITIONS

More support is needed for disadvantaged children who have to earn their keep in a climate of economic inequality and severe poverty. In Cebu City, there is heavy competition for any source of income. Working children are further disadvantaged by an attitude that refuses to recognise their economic activities, which makes their employment illegal and makes them extremely vulnerable to exploitation. The humanitarian impulse to protect children has to be tempered by the realisation that in many circumstances it is unrealistic and even undesirable that children should be excluded from work which helps them and their household members to survive. Forcing children out of the labour market can lead to much worse outcomes such as displacing them into illicit activities and prostitution. Thus, apparently simple solutions to the problem of working children, such as legally enforced abolition of child labour, are found increasingly wanting.

Instead, attention should focus on improving children's working conditions and ensuring proper regulations with regard to wages and health and safety provisions.

Within broad-based initiatives, more comprehensive policy efforts are needed, which should aim at combining the improvement of children's working conditions and elimination of the worst abuses of children with broader policies, taking the household economy and structural economic conditions into account.

IMPROVEMENT OF TARGETED INITIATIVES

Just as previous paradigms founded on charitable and welfare-based interventions were rooted in the construction of children as passive and lacking capacity, the new paradigm has its basis in the increasing awareness that children are subjects of rights, and active agents in their own lives, relationships and environments. The insights of the new approach, combined with the findings of recent street child studies concerning resiliency, identity, space, time and gender have profound consequences for the practical work with and for street children in the context of targeted initiatives.

RESILIENCY

The failure of many programmes for street children is rooted in the lack of appreciation of alternatives and ignorance of the children's very own voices. Children fleeing abuse and an intolerable situation at home are not helped by being returned to the same conditions. Those who don't consider returning to their families as an option and those who likewise are not willing to stay in centres need knowledge, training and skills that will enable them to earn income and survive in less harmful ways.

Such initiatives would not treat them as helpless victims, but acknowledge that they have developed a variety of coping mechanisms and potentials that are worth to be strengthened. Through providing safe and supportive networks for them – for instance, by setting up a livelihood project for a group of children under supervision of a social worker who provides enough space for the children's decision-making concerning education and economic activities – their rights to both protection and participation are supported.

IDENTITY

As for now, in practice there is a strong tendency to force street children to sever links with their street networks and to regard their experiences on the street as bad or worthless. Yet, from the children's perspective, peers are frequently the only persons that can be trusted. At other times, especially with regard to gang rivalries, it is the peers that are feared most. Whatever the relationship of a particular street child to other children on the street might be, these children play a crucial role for the child's identity. Therefore, more attention must be paid to the street children's experiences with peers and their social networking.

Also, working with siblings of street children can be a successful approach to reintegrating those who are on the street, as well as preventing brothers and sisters from leaving home. Additionally, experienced and well-versed street children, who have successfully provided for themselves and others on the streets could be stronger involved. The responsibility to care for younger children could be placed on them, and they could bring children newly on the streets to the attention of service providers.

SPACE

There are three groups of children who are particularly difficult to reach by intervening organizations: those who don't know about projects that offer services for them at all, those who have heard about it but are reluctant or scared to go there, and those who are well informed but nevertheless deliberately prefer to stay on the streets. All of them could be contacted through more outreach work.

Therefore, it is necessary to pay more attention to the street as a space to approach the children, and not only as a place from which they have to be

removed. This implies to divest the commonly shared concept of the “street” of its connotations of “dirt” and “danger” and dissociate from the constructed social reality of the street as an environment where asocial chaos characterises the children’s relationships. Initiatives that rely on the children’s own agency and respect their unconventional time tables could make more use of places within the “widest sense” of the street – such as the shadow of a tree, or other potential contact points. The successes of mobile schools could be supplemented by other creative ways to use the street’s space, for instance street theatres, which fit the meanings that street children attach to their very environment. Also, service provision like medical care could be organised more flexibly and become more easily accessible on the streets.

TIME

Outreach work is also essential for identifying street children as soon as they come onto the streets. Early intervention is crucial to find viable alternatives for them and must take the different needs of younger and older children into account.

Younger children should be cared for as intensively and as early as possible. At young ages, dangers are often ignored in the face of immediate experiences, and the circumstances make children unlikely to think much about the remote future. The longer a child has been on the street, the lower are his or her chances to return to a normal life. Special attention should also be paid to adolescent children during what has been called “career crisis,” which means the decisive period when street life gets tougher and many get drawn into illicit activities in order to survive. Finally, long-term programming and follow-up is particularly important for children that have reached the age of eighteen when they usually get excluded from service provision.

GENDER

The Philippines as well as many other countries have more street boys than girls. Street girls may be less visible, but they are clearly an understudied reality and they are particularly stigmatised, as they are perceived to be prostitutes.

There has been insufficient explicit provision of services for girls, in particular for helping them to deal with sexuality and to become aware of their reproductive health rights, given that they are at high risk of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV infection and of bearing children without being able to care for them. Any girl on the streets is likely to be sexually abused and infected, which makes prevention the key intervention, ideally through the removal of young girls from the streets immediately after they arrive there.

Boys on the other hand are prone to get into conflict with the law. They need stronger support in their journey through the institutions, more diversion programmes and be better assisted to overcome stigmatisation and accomplish reintegration into society.

ACCOUNTABILITY OF SERVICE PROVIDERS

To improve broad-based and targeted initiatives, the enhancement of the data quality in the context of planning, monitoring and evaluation of projects as well as the performance of the professionals working with street children is of utmost importance. While more local field research would provide a better understanding of children’s needs, improved planning, monitoring and evaluation tools would be helpful in strengthening the accountability of service providers. Furthermore,

individual professionals have to become better qualified with regard to knowledge about children's rights and awareness about culturally related views and own prejudices against street children often known to them mainly by inaccurate or simplistic stereotypes.

ASSESSMENT OF PROJECT QUALITY

Experience shows that projects fail, if those who design them know too little about the target group. It is important to devote time and resources prior to planning a project and also after a project has been implemented, to determine what the people affected are doing, thinking and striving for.

With regard to the street child problem, research should be a structural aspect of any intervention, whether already existing or new, whether broad-based or targeted. With continuing research and improved database, the effects of the intervention on the street children and their families can be assessed and monitored. Building in research also enables programmes to evaluate their activities, reflect upon them and to adjust their interventions when necessary.

A very concrete step towards a more rights-based understanding would be to stronger involving children in these processes. The wide array of participatory methods, which have been used in the context of research on street children and adjusted to children as respondents, could effectively be employed in project designing and assessment as well. Advances in this area may lead to a clearer understanding of children's preferences and institutional constraints, so as to better inform strategies to support them. What works well in one place and time and among one group may not work well elsewhere. The appreciation of alternatives would help the organisations develop projects that avoid unanticipated social problems and minimise negative impacts.

The managements of the projects will have to take on a more flexible approach: being prepared to have a critical attitude towards their own project and positively react upon criticism.

PERFORMANCE OF PROFESSIONALS

It is crucial that professionals become more qualified not just with regard to children's rights. They should also increase their attentiveness concerning the power gap between them and the children, rethink culturally based stereotypes, and reflect their own prejudices against street children.

Since social workers and other personnel are no neutral beings, their attitude, willingly or not, conveys some of the culture specific concepts towards street children – concepts that build up invisible but strong barriers between the children and those in charge of them. The categorisation of children as "homeless" provides a mandate for intervention strategies that repeats adult control over children. The "homeless" label also differentiates street children from those who have a home and lead a normal way of life. It reflects the socially constructed needs of the agency workers to distance themselves socially and emotionally from the children's reality, and to reassure that they are providing a service of fundamental value that is lacking in the lives of the children. This implies the imperative to bring children's behaviour and lifestyle in line with what is commonly accepted as normative and appropriate in childhood.

Recent thinking on street children, though, takes into account children's emancipation from adult dominance, and recognises children as capable of responding to situations of adversity. Those in charge of the children need to learn about and bolster street children's areas of competence. They need to respect the

dignity of the children, the contributions they make to their families and communities and their right and capacity to shape their own lives.

Street children need sympathy and respect rather than vilification. When a boy or a girl drops out from the normal life of children and earns a living on the street, moral outrage by kin and others and insistence on cultural practices can hinder his or her rehabilitation. Values need to be asserted without rejecting the child. All this is necessary for truly realising the child's best interest.

While research, planning, monitoring and evaluation are crucial to enhance the success of interventions and accountability in the long run, one should never underestimate how much of the projects' quality actually depends on the single individuals working in the field. Dedication and commitment may be the keys to truly improved work with and for street children. There are inspiring examples of projects not only in Cebu City that do admirable and outstanding work, although financial means are scarce and law enforcement faces many obstacles. They provide evidence that social justice has to begin from the heart, not from the law. Unfortunately, social conscience cannot be legislated.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agnelli, S.
1986 *Street Children – A Growing Urban Tragedy*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Ahmed, S. et al.
1998 *Children in Need of Special Protection Measures: A Tanzanian Study*, Daressalam: UNICEF.
- Aledo, G.
2000 “Street Kids Learn Manners: ABSs aboard Kaohsiung Bus: Children Can’t Depend on Task Force For Ever, Says Teacher,” *Sun-Star Daily*, January 31.
- Allan, G. and G. Crow, eds.
1989 *Home and Family: Creating the Domestic Space*, London: Macmillan.
- Alonzo, R. P.
1999 “Local Governance and Poverty Alleviation,” pp. 197-228, in A. Balisacan and S. Fujisaki, eds., *Causes of Poverty: Myths, Facts and Policies, A Philippine Study*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Amadora-Nolasco, F.
1993 *Children’s View of Play and Work in a Low Income Urban Cebuano Community*, Unpublished Manuscript, University of San Carlos, Cebu City.
- Anonymous
1990 “100 Cebu Street Tots Rounded Up,” *Manila Times*, February 22.
- Anonymous
1991 “Parian Center: Cebu’s Gift of Love to Kids,” *The Freeman*, July 25.
- Anonymous
1995 “Street Kids Rounded Up by Cops,” *Sun Star Daily*, August 11.
- Anonymous,
1996 “More than 15.000 Street Children in Cebu’s 5 Cities: UNICEF Study,” *Sun Star Daily*, September 14.
- Anonymous
1997a “Parian Drop-in Center Creates a Smile,” *Sun Star Daily*, March 4.
- Anonymous
1997b “Task Force Appeals to Public: Don’t Give Alms to Street Kids: Group Cites Need to Round Up Children Begging on Streets,” *Sun Star Daily*, December 10.
- Anonymous
2001 “Halfway House for Children in Trafficking at the Manila North Harbour,” *Child Workers in Asia*, No. 17(2/3), pp. 14–17.

- Anonymous
2002 "Child Domestic Workers," *Child Workers in Asia*, No. 18(1/2), pp. 12-17.
- Anonymous
2003 "Street Kids Prone to Mental Health Problems," *Sun Star Cebu*, December 8.
- Aptekar, L.
1988 *Street Children of Cali*, London: Duke University Press.
1994 "Street Children in the Developing World: A Review of their Condition," *Cross Cultural Research*, No. 28(3), pp. 195-224.
- Aptekar, L. and L. Ciano
1999 "Street Children in Nairobi, Kenya: Gender Differences and Mental Health," pp. 35-46, in: M. Raffaelli and R. Larson, eds. *Developmental Issues among Homeless and Working Street Youth: New Directions in Childhood Development*, San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Aptekar, L. and P. Heinonen
2003 "Methodological Implications of Contextual Diversity in Research on Street Children," *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), retrieved in August 2005 from <http://colorado.edu/journals/cye>.
- Archard, D.
2004 *Children: Rights and Childhood*, London: Routledge.
- Ariès, P.
1962 *Centuries of Childhood*, London: Cape.
- Augustus E.
1996 "The Urban Poor as Partners: A Case of Naga (Philippines) Experiences," *UMP-Asia Occasional Paper*, No. 27.
- Austin, T.
no year "Children Pay High Price of Asian Economic Miracle," retrieved in August 2005 from www.fva.org/0195/children.html.
- Baker, R.
1998 *Negotiating Identities: A Study of the Lives of Street Children in Nepal*, Department of Anthropology, University of Durham, UK.
- Baker, R., Panter-Brick, C. and A. Todd
1996 "Methods Used in Research with Children in Nepal," *Childhood*, No. 3(2), pp. 171-194.
- Balicasan, A. M.
1999 "What Do we Really Know – or Don't Know about Economic Inequalities and Poverty in the Philippines," pp. 1-50, in A. M. Balicasan, Arsenio M. and S. Fujisaki, eds., *Causes of Poverty: Myths, Facts and Policies, A Philippine Study*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Banaag, C. G.
1997 *Resiliency: Stories Found in Philippine Streets*, Manila: UNICEF.
- Barker, G. and F. Knaul
1991 *Exploited Entrepreneurs: Street and Working Children in Developing Countries*, New York: Childhope.

- Bartlett, S.
2001 "Children and Development Assistance: The Need to Reorient Priorities and Programmes," *Development in Practice*, No. 11(1), pp. 62-72.
- Beazley, H.
2002 "Vagrants Wearing Makeup: Negotiating Spaces on the Streets of Yogyakarta, Indonesia," *Urban Studies*, No. 39(9), pp. 1665-1683.
2003 "The Construction and Protection of Individual and Collective Identities by Street Children and Youth in Indonesia," *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), retrieved in August 2005 from <http://colorado.edu/journals/cye>.
- Bequele, A. and J. Boyden, eds.,
1988 *Combating Child Labour*, Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Blunt, A.
1994 "Street Children and their Education: A Challenge for Urban Educators," pp. 237-261, in N. Stromquist, ed., *Education in Urban Areas: Cross National Dimensions*, Westport: CT Praeger.
- Boyden, J. and P. Holden
1991 *Children of the Cities*, London: Zed Books.
- Boyden, J. and J. Ennew
1997 *Children in Focus: A Manual for Participatory Research with Children*, Stockholm: Radda Barnen.
- Boyden, J., Ling, B. and W. Myers
1998 *What Works for Working Children*, Stockholm, Radda Barnen.
- Boyden, J. and G. Mann
2000 "Children's Risk, Resilience and Coping in Extreme Situations," Background Paper to the Consultation on Children in Adversity, September 9-12, Oxford, UK.
- Brake, M.
1980 *Sociology of Youth Subcultures: Sex and Drugs and Rock 'n Roll?* London: Routledge.
- Brillantes, A. B.
1997 "Historical Development of Philippine Local Governments: Five Year Assessment of the Implementation of the Local Government Code," Quezon City: National Consultation Workshop on the UNDP Decentralized Governance, May 27.
- Bulmer, M., ed.
1977 *Sociological Research Methods*, London: Macmillan.
- Carada, W. B.
2001 "Potentials of Poverty Alleviation Interventions in Decentralized Local Governance: The Case of the Philippines," Nagoya University: International Seminar on the Local Government Capacity Building and Poverty Alleviation Policies within the Framework of Decentralization: The Case of the Philippines and Indonesia, October 22-23.

- Carandang, M. L.
 1996 *Listen to Their Inner Voice: Street Children Speak Through their Drawings and Metaphors*, Manila: AusAID, National Project on Street Children and UNICEF.
- Castillo, G. T.
 1999 "Poverty Research: As If the Poor Really Mattered," pp. 133-143, in A. M. Balicasan and S. Fujisaki, eds., *Causes of Poverty: Myths, Facts and Policies, A Philippine Study*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Cebu City Task Force on Street Children (CCTFSC)
 1992 *Paglaum: A Newsletter of the Cebu City Task Force in Street Children*, No. 2(1).
 1998 "Programmes and Services Accomplishment Report (1990-1998)," Cebu City
 2000 "Information Brochure: Millennium Edition," Cebu City.
- Childhope Asia
 1996 *Non-Formal Basic Education Among Street Children: Manual for Street Educators*, Manila: Childhope.
- Coalition to Stop Child Detention through Restorative Justice
 2004 "Urgent appeal for the Philippine Congress to pass the Comprehensive Juvenile Justice Bill into Law," retrieved in September 2005 from http://cyberdyaryo.com/statements/st2004_0126_01.htm.
- Collas-Monsod, S. and T. C. Monsod
 1998 "International and Intranational Comparison of Philippine Poverty," in A. Balisacan, and S. Fujisaki, eds., pp. 51-96, *Causes of Poverty: Myths, Facts and Policies, A Philippine Study*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Council of Europe Steering Committee on Social Policy
 1994 *Street Children: Coordinated Research Programme in the Social Field (1992-93)*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Press.
- Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC) and UNICEF
 1997 *Situation of Children and Women in the Philippines*, Manila: UNICEF.
- Council for the Welfare of Children (CWC)
 1992 "The Filipino Children: 2000 and Beyond: Philippine Plan of Action for Children," retrieved in August 2005 from <http://www.cwc.gov.ph/child21-progress.html>.
 2000 "Child 21: A Legacy to the Filipino Children of the 21st Century, Philippines National Strategic Framework for Plan Development for Children, 2000-2025," retrieved in September 2005 from <http://www.childfriendlycities.org>.
 2005 "Children in Need of Special Protection," retrieved in August 2005 from <http://www.cwc.gov.ph/data-streetchildren.html>.
- Country Report Bangkok (CRB)
 2003 "Philippines Country Report," Bangkok: Regional Civil Society Forum for South East Asia on Promoting and Protecting the Rights of Street Children, March.

- Del Cielo, S.
1987 "Street Children Issue Left Out in Consultation," *The Freeman*, November 2.
- Del Rosario, R. and M. A. Bonga
2000 *Child Labour in the Philippines: A Review of Selected Studies and Policy Papers*, Manila: University of the Philippines and UNICEF.
- Dela Barra, X.
1998 "Poverty: The Main Cause of Ill Health in Urban Children," *Health Education Behaviour*, No. 25(1), pp. 45-49.
- Dela Cruz, T. et al.
2001 *Trust and Power: Child Abuse in the Eyes of the Child and the Parent*, Manila: University of the Philippines, Psychosocial Trauma and Human Rights Programme.
- Dela Cruz, T. et al.
2002 *Small Steps, Great Strides: Doing Participatory Action Research with Children*, Manila: University of the Philippines, Psychosocial Trauma and Human Rights Programme.
- Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) and National Police Commission Philippine National Police (NPC-PNP) and UNICEF
1993 *Police Handbook on the Management of Cases of Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances*, Quezon City: National Project on Street Children, Department of Social Welfare and Development.
- Douglas, M.
1966 *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London: Routledge.
- Dumdum, S.
1988 "The Children of Colon," *The Freeman*, March 15.
- Earls, F and M. Carlson
1999 "Children at the Margin of Society: Research and Practice," *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, No. 85, pp. 71-82.
- Ebigbo, P. O.
2003 "Street Children: The Core of Child Abuse and Neglect in Nigeria," *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), retrieved in September 2005 from <http://cye.colorado.edu>.
- Ennew, J.
1986 *The Sexual Exploitation of Children*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
1994 *Street and Working Children: A Guide to Planning*, London: Save the Children.
1995 "Outside Childhood: Street Children's Rights," pp. 201-214, in B. Franklin, ed., *The Handbook of Children's Rights: Comparative Policy and Practice*, London and New York: Routledge.
2000 *Street and Working Children: A Guide to Planning*, 2nd ed., London: Save the Children.
2003 "Difficult Circumstances: Some Reflections on 'Street Children' in Africa," *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), retrieved in August 2005 from <http://cye.colorado.edu>.

- Ennew, J. and B. Milne, eds.
1989 *The Next Generation: Lives of Third World Children*, London: Zed Books.
- Ennew, J. and D. P. Plateau
2004 *Resource Handbook. How to Research the Physical and Emotional Punishment of Children*, Bangkok: International Save the Children Alliance Southeast, East Asia and Pacific Region.
- Ennew, J. and J. Swart-Kruger
2003 "Introduction: Homes, Spaces and Places in the Construction of Street Children and Street Youth," *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13 (1), retrieved in August 2005 from <http://cye.colorado.edu>.
- Ennew, J. et al.
2004 "National Challenges, Resource and Information Needs in Addressing Corporal Punishment of Children in Southeast, East Asia and Pacific," Proceedings of the International Save the Children Alliance Regional Workshop on Corporal Punishment of Children, April 5-9, Bangkok.
- Espinoza, F.
1989 "Children of the Urban Poor: Nobody's Kids?" *Sun Star Weekend*, February 19, pp. 5-7.
- Esquillo-Ignacio, R.
1996 *Saving Lives: Effective Programme Strategies for Street and Working Children*, Manila: Institute on Church and Social Issues, Monograph No. 17.
- Etemadi, F. U.
2000a "Civil Society Participation in City Governance in Cebu City," *Environment & Urbanization*, No. 12 (1), pp. 57-72.
2000b *Urban Governance, Partnership and Poverty in Cebu*, University of Birmingham, International Development Department, School of Public Policy.
- Fabian, C.
1992 "Street Kids in Lapu-Lapu: Creation of Task Force Sought Out," *Newstime*, March 19.
- Felsman, J. K.
1989 "Risk and Resiliency in Childhood: The Lives of Street Children," pp. 56-80, in T. Dugan, T. and R. Coles, eds., *The Child in Our Times: Studies in the Development of Resiliency*, New York: Brunner and Mazel.
- Fry, S., Cousins, B. and K. Olivola May
2002 "Health of Children Living in Urban Slums in Asia and the Near East: Review of Existing Literature and Data," Activity Report 109, prepared for the Asia and Near East Bureau of USAID.
- Fyfe, A.
1993 *Child Labour: A Guide to Project Design*, Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Gerdes, K. E. and K. L. Pehrson
1998 "Philippines," pp. 171-203, in J. Dixon and D. Macarov, eds., *Poverty: A Persistent Global Reality*, London and New York: Routledge.

- Glauser, B.
1990 "Street Children: Deconstructing a Construct," pp. 138-156, in A. James and A. Prout, eds., *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*, London: Falmer Press.
- Gross, R., Landfried, B. and H. Susilowati
1996 "Height and Weight as a Reflection on the Nutritional Situation of School-Aged Children Working and Living in the Streets of Jakarta," *Social Science & Medicine*, No. 43(4), pp. 453-458.
- Hannerz, U.
1969 *Soulside: Inquiries into Ghetto Culture and Community*, New York: Columbia.
- Hanssen, E.
1996 "Finding Care on the Street: Processes in the Careers of Sri Lankan Street Boys," *Childhood*, No. 3(2), pp. 247-260.
- Hansson, D.
2003 "'Strolling' as a Gendered Experience: A Feminist Analysis of Young Females in Cape Town." *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), retrieved in August 2005 from <http://colorado.edu/journals/cye>.
- Hecht, T.
1995 "In Search of Street Children: Maloqueiros and Mothers," *Cambridge Anthropology*, No. 18(3), pp. 56-67.
1998 *At Home in the Street: Street Children of Northeast Brazil*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2000 "Street Ethnography: Some Notes on Studying and Being Studied," *Focaal: European Journal of Anthropology*, No. 36, pp. 69-76.
- Hermoso, C.
1992 "Street Kids Get More Government Support," *Newstime*, February 10.
- Hickson, J. and V. Gaydon
1989 "Twilight Children: The Street Children in Johannesburg," *Journal of Multicultural Counselling and Development*, No. 17, pp. 85-95.
- Hodgkin, R. and P. Newell
1998 *Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child*, Geneva: UNICEF.
- International Labour Organisation (ILO)
2002 *A Future without Child Labour*, Geneva: International Labour Organisation.
- International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)
2002 *Combating Child Labour: A Handbook for Labour Inspectors*, Geneva: International Labour Office.
- James, A.
1986 "Learning to Belong: The Boundaries of Adolescence," no page, in A. P. Cohen, ed., *Symbolizing Boundaries*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- James, A. and A. James
2004 *Constructing Childhood: Theory, Policy and Social Practice*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- James, A., Jenks, C. and A. Prout
1998 *Theorizing Childhood*, Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Jenks, C.
1996 *Childhood*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Jocano, L. F.
1998 *Filipino Social Organization: Traditional Kinship and Family Organization: Anthropology of the Filipino People III*, Quezon City: Punlad Research House.
- Kapadia, K.
1997 "Children at Risk in Urban Areas in India: A Review," SCARO Briefing Paper, No. 6, Kathmandu: Save the Children, South and Central Asia Regional Office.
- Kilbride, P., Suda, C. and E. Njeru
2000 *Street children in Kenya – Voices of Children in Search of a Childhood*, Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Labiste, D.
1988 "Street Kids in the Land of Santo Niño," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, March 27.
- Lamberte, E.
1996 *Today's Metro Manila Street Children*, Manila: Inter-City Committee on Street Education (ICCSE).
- Laws, S. and G. Mann
2004 *So, you want to Involve Children in Research? A Toolkit Supporting Children's Meaningful and Ethical Participation in Research Relating to Violence against Children*, Stockholm: Save the Children Sweden.
- Le Roux, J.
1996 "The Worldwide Phenomenon of Street Children: Conceptual Analysis," *Adolescence*, No. 31(124), pp. 956-971.
- Le Roux, J. and C. S. Smith
1998 "Causes and Characteristics of the Street Child Phenomenon: A Global Perspective," *Adolescence*, No. 33(131), pp. 683-688.
- Levi-Strauss, C.
1949 *Les Structures Elementaires de la Parenté*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Liebow, E.
1967 *Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Street Corner Men*, New York: Little, Brown and Co.
- Liwag, E. C., Dela Cruz, A. and E. Macapagal
1999 *How We Raise Our Daughters and Sons: Child-Rearing and Gender Socialization in the Philippines*, Manila: UNICEF and Ateneo Wellness Centre.
- Lucchini, R.
1993 "Street Children: A Concept in Search of an Object," Unpublished Manuscript, University of Fribourg.
1996a "Theory, Method and Triangulation in the Study of Street Children," *Childhood*, No. 3, pp. 131-145.

- 1996b *Sociologie de la survie: L'enfant dans la rue*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Macarov, D. and J. Dixon
 1998 "Poverty in Review," pp. 265-279, in J. Dixon and D. Macarov, eds., *Poverty: A Persistent Global Reality*, London and New York: Routledge.
- McPherson, S. and R. Silburn
 1998 "The Meaning and Measurement of Poverty," pp. 1-19, in J. Dixon and D. Macarov, eds., *Poverty: A Persistent Global Reality*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Medina, T.G.
 1991 *The Filipino Family: A Text and Selected Readings*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines.
- National Barangay Operations Office (NBOO) and National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW)
 no year *Barangay to Rescue: Handbook for Handling Cases of Domestic Violence in the Barangay*, Manila: Harnessing Self-Reliant Initiatives and Knowledge, Inc.
- National Council of Churches in the Philippines, Commission on Christian Education and UNICEF
 1997a *Jesus Blesses the Children: Study Guide on Children's Rights, Teachers Manual for Nursery – Kindergarten*, Manila: UNICEF.
 1997b *Jesus Blesses the Children: Study Guide on Children's Rights, Teachers Manual for Younger Elementary*, Manila: UNICEF.
- National Statistics Office (NSO)
 2000a "Cebu City: Population Growth Rate Recovered from a Downfall," retrieved in September 2005 from <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/pressrelease/2002/pr02150tx.html>.
 2000b "Philippines: Urban Population was Registered at 48.05 Percent," retrieved in September 2005 from <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/pressrelease/2003/pr0382tx.html>.
 2000c "Cebu: The Second Most Populated Province in the Philippines," retrieved in September 2005 from <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/pressrelease/2002/pr02157tx.html>.
 2001a "Highlights of the 1998 Annual Poverty Indicators Survey (APIS)," retrieved in August 2005 from <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/sectordata/ap98.html>.
 2001b "2001 Survey on Children," retrieved in August 2005 from <http://www.census.gov.ph>.
 2002 "Statistics on Filipino Children: 1995 National Survey on Working Children," retrieved in September 2005 from <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/sectordata/ch95wctx.html>.
 2005 "2004 Annual Poverty Indicators Survey (APIS)," retrieved in August 2005 from <http://www.census.gov.ph/data/pressrelease/2005/ap2004ptx.html>.
- Needham, G. C.
 1884 *Street Arabs and Gutter Snipes: The Pathetic and Humorous Side of Young Vagabond Life in the Great Cities, with Records of Work for their Reclamation*, Boston: D.L. Guernsey.

- Nieuwenhuys, O.
1996 "The Paradox of Child Labour and Anthropology," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, No. 25, pp. 237-251.
- Niñal, L.
2003 "Street Kids Get Second Lease on Life from Special Centres," *Sun Star Daily*, October 27.
- Obenieta, M. U.
2001 "Street Kids Walk Thin Line between Life and Death: With Competition for Alms, Kids near the DSWD Do Not Have Time to Be Scared of Being Bumped by Vehicles," *Sun Star Cebu*, April 12.
- Panter-Brick, C.
2002 "Street Children, Human Rights, and Public Health: A Critique and Future Directions," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, No. 31, pp. 147-171.
- Parco, B.
2003 "Street Kids Need to Be More Resilient to Grow," *Cebu Daily News*, December 8.
- Pare, M.
2003 "Why Have Street Children Disappeared? – The Role of International Human Rights Law in Protecting Vulnerable Groups," *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, No. 11(1), pp. 1-32.
- Penn, H.
2005 *Unequal Childhoods: Young Children's Lives in Poor Countries*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Porio, E., Moselina, L. and A. Swift
1994 "Philippines: Urban Communities and their Fight for Survival," pp. 111-125, in C. S. Szanton Blanc, ed., *Urban Children in Distress: Global Predicaments and Innovative Strategies*, UNICEF: International Child Development Centre.
- Protacio-De Castro, E. et al.
2002 *Integrating Child Centred Approaches in Children's Work*, Quezon City: Save the Children Philippines and University of the Philippines, Programme on Psychosocial Trauma and Human Rights, Centre for Integrative and Development Studies.
- Protacio-De Castro, E. et al.
2003 *Handbook for Social Workers on Basic Bio-Psychosocial Help for Children in Need of Special Protection*, Manila: University of the Philippines and UNICEF.
- Raffaelli, M.
1999 "Homeless and Working Street Youth in Latin America," *Inter-American Journal of Psychology*, No. 33 (2), pp. 7-28.
- Regional Working Group on Child Labour (RWG-CL)
2003 *Learning to Work Together: A Handbook for Managers on Facilitating Children's Participation in Actions to Address Child Labour*, Bangkok: Regional Working Group on Child Labour.

- Remedio, E. M.
 1991 "Breaking Ground for Community Action on Child Labour in Cebu,"
 Unpublished Manuscript, Cebu: University of San Carlos.
- Republic of the Philippines
 1992 *Republic Act 7610: An Act Providing for Stronger Deterrence and
 Special Protection against Child Abuse, Exploitation and
 Discrimination, Providing Penalties for its Violation, and for Other
 Purposes.*
 1993 *Republic Act 7658: An Act Prohibiting the Employment of Children
 below 15 Years of Age in Public and Private Undertakings.*
- Robinson, G., L.,
 2000 *Capacity Building on Child Research: A Documentation of the
 Children in Need of Special Protection Measures (CNSPM) Study,*
 Daressalam: UNICEF.
- Romero, F. R. and E. A. Pangalangan
 1998 *Looking after Filipino Children: A Compendium of Philippine Laws
 and International Declarations, Conventions and Covenants,* Manila,
 Children and Youth Foundation of the Philippines.
- Rose, N.
 1989 *Governing the Soul,* London and New York: Routledge.
- Rurevo, R. and M. Bourdillon
 2003 "Girls: The Less Visible Street Children of Zimbabwe," *Children,
 Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), retrieved in September 2005 from
<http://colorado.edu/journals/cye>.
- Saligumba Farol, C.
 1990a "The Factor behind the Parian Drop-in-Center for Street Kids," *The
 Freeman*, September 24.
 1990b "Parian-Drop-in-Center: Fulfilment of Margot's Dream," *Sun Star
 Daily*, September 25.
 1993 "Christmas to a Street Child," *Freeman Magazine*, No. 2(7),
 December, pp. 38-39.
- Sandvik-Nylund, M.
 2003 *Regional Assessment: Violence against Children in East Asia and the
 Pacific Region: A Desk Review,* Bangkok: UNICEF East Asia and
 Pacific Office.
- Santos Pais, M., ed.
 2002 *Poverty and Exclusion among Urban Children,* Florence: Innocenti
 Research Centre and UNICEF.
- Save the Children UK
 2004 *Breaking Rules: Children in Conflict with the Law and Juvenile
 Justice Process: The Experience in the Philippines.* Quezon City:
 Save the Children.
- Scheper-Huges, N. and D. Hoffman
 1994 "Kids Out of Place," *NACLA: North American Congress on Latin
 America*, No. 27(6), pp. 16-23.

- Shanahan, P.
2003 "Streets versus Elites: Tensions, Trade-offs, Treaties- Street Children in Accra, Ghana," *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), retrieved in August 2005 from <http://colorado.edu/journals/cye>.
- Silva, T.
1996 "Poverty and Uneven Development: Reflections from a Street Children Project in the Philippines," *Childhood*, No. 3(2), pp. 279–282.
- Soale, P.
2004 "Responding to the Plight of Children in the Street: An Evaluation of NGO Programme Interventions in Manila, the Philippines," University of Birmingham: International Development Department.
- Srinivasan, T. N.
1993 "Poverty in the Philippines: A Comparative Perspective," pp. 1-16, in A. M. Balicasan et al., eds., *Perspectives on Philippine Poverty*, Centre for Integrative and Development Studies, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Stephens, S.
1998 "Challenges of Developing an Ethnography of Children and Childhood," *American Anthropologist*, No. 100(2), pp. 530-533.
- Szanton Blanc, C. S., ed.
1994 *Urban Children in Distress: Global Predicaments and Innovative Strategies*, UNICEF: International Child Development Centre.
- Taçon, P.
1981 "My Child minus One," Unpublished UNICEF Report.
- Theis, J.
2003 *Promoting Rights-Based Approaches: Experiences and Ideas from Asia and the Pacific*, Stockholm: Save the Children Sweden.
- Thomas de Benitez, S.
2003 "Reactive, Protective, and Rights-Based Approaches in Work with Homeless Street Youth," *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), retrieved in August 2005 from <http://cye.colorado.edu>.
- Torres, A.T.
1996 *Profile of Disadvantaged Children: Street Children in Six Philippine Cities*, Quezon City: University of the Philippines.
- Townsend, P.
1979 "Introduction: Concepts of Poverty and Deprivation," pp. 31-60, in P. Townsend, ed., *Poverty in the United Kingdom*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Turner, J.
1985 "Social Categorization and the Self-Concept: A Social Cognitive Theory of Group Behaviour," *Advances in Group Processes*, No. 2, pp. 77-121.
- Turner, J., et al.
1994 "Self and Collective: Cognition and Social Context," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, No. 20(5), pp. 454-463.

- Turner, V.
1974 *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*, London: Cornell University Press.
- United Nations
1989 *Convention on the Rights of the Child*.
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
no year *Girl Children have Rights Too! An Update*, Manila: UNICEF.
1988 *Methodological Guide on Situation Analysis of Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances*, Bogotá: UNICEF.
1996 *Karapatan ng Bawat Batang Pilipino – The Rights of Every Filipino Child*, Illustrated Booklet. Manila: UNICEF.
2000 *Poverty Reduction Begins with Children*, New York: UNICEF.
2001 "Partnerships to Create Child-Friendly Cities," retrieved in August 2005 from <http://www.childfriendlycities.org/>.
2002 "The State of the World's Children 2003," retrieved September 2005 from www.unicef.org/publications/pup_sowc03_en.pdf.
2004 *County Programme Action Plan between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the United Nations Children's Fund: Sixth Country Programme for Children 2005-2009*, Manila: UNICEF.
- United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
1995 *Working with Street Children: Selected Case Studies from Africa, Asia and Latin America*, Paris: UNESCO
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD)
no year *Juvenile Justice Training Manual for Social Workers, Child Rights Training*, Volume 6, no place.
- Van Beers, H.
2003 "A Plea for a Child-Centred Approach in Research with Street Children," *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), 2003, retrieved in July 2005 from <http://colorado.edu/journals/cye>.
- Vanderschueren, F.
1996 "From Violence to Justice and Security in Cities," *Environment & Urbanization*, No. 8(1), pp. 93-112.
- Veale, A., Taylor M. and C. Linehan
2000 "Psychological Perspectives of 'Abandoned' and 'Abandoning' Street Children," pp. 131-145, in C. Panter-Brick and M. T. Smith, eds., *Abandoned Children*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Visano, L.
1990 "The Socialization of Street Children: The Development and Transformation of Identities," *Sociological Studies of Child Development*, No. 3, pp. 139-161.
- Volpi, E.
2003 "Street Children: Promising Practices and Approaches," *Children, Youth and Environments*, No. 13(1), retrieved in August 2005 from <http://cye.colorado.edu>.

- Wagstaff, A.
 2001 *What Do Poor Children Die From? Some Evidence From Cebu, The Philippines*, Washington DC, The World Bank, retrieved in July 2005 from <http://poverty.worldbank.org/library/view.php?id=9218>
- West, A.
 2003 "At the Margins: Street Children in Asia and the Pacific," *Poverty and Social Development Papers*, No. 8, Asian Development Bank: Regional and Sustainable Development Department, retrieved in July 2005 from http://www.colorado.edu/journals/cye/13_2/Reprints13_2/AtTheMargins/AWestStreetChildren_final.pdf.
- Whyte, W. F.
 1943 *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Woodhead, M.
 2004 "Psychosocial Impacts of Child Work: A Framework for Research, Monitoring and Intervention. Understanding Children's Work," An Inter-Agency Research Cooperation Project: World Bank, ILO and UNICEF, retrieved in July 2005 from http://www.ucw-project.org/pdf/publications/psychosocial_impacts_cw.pdf.
- World Health Organization (WHO)
 1995 "Programme in Substance Abuse. Street Children, Substance Use and Health: Training for Street Educators," Draft for Field Testing, Unpublished Manuscript.
- Wyse, D., ed.
 2004 *Childhood Studies: An Introduction*, Malden: Blackwell.
- Young, L. and H. Barrett
 2001 "Issues of Access and Identity: Adapting Research Methods with Kampala Street Children," *Childhood*, No. 8(3), pp. 383-395.
- Zuber, H.
 1991 "Man muß diese Kinder töten," *Der Spiegel*, No. 35, pp. 121-130.