

Exploratory Study on the Impact of Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) Program with a Child Labor Component Support in Sukabumi and Cianjur—West Java



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SMERU RESEARCH REPORT

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ABSTRACT

Exploratory Study on the Impact of Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) Program with a Child Labor Component Support in Sukabumi and Cianjur— West Java

Muhammad Syukri, Sulton Mawardi, Vita Febriany, Rachma Indah Nurbani, Athia Yumna, and Kartawijaya

In general, the aim of this study is to identify possible impacts of the Conditional Cash Transfer program (PKH) with Child Labor support component. The expected impacts are scrutinized relative to several objectives of the program, which are (i) improving students' capability and keeping them at school; (ii) increasing students' awareness of the importance of education and the danger of child labor; and (iii) influencing parents' and community's attitude toward education and child labor. In particular, the research is a preliminary study aimed at exploring the key question that could be incorporated in a more comprehensive impact study which will be carried out in the near future. In addition, the study is also aimed at exploring research methodologies to be used in a more comprehensive and representative upcoming study that combines quantitative and qualitative approaches. The study is conducted to develop a research proposal that combines qualitative and quantitative methodologies to measure and discuss the impact of the ILO's International Program on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC) project in the CCT target household linked to child labor. This exploratory study uses the qualitative approach by employing techniques such as focus group discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews to collect information and data. This study also tests a limited number of questionnaires simply to understand the advantages and limitations of both the qualitative and quantitative instruments. In general, the study finds that the program has been implemented properly. It has improved students' academic achievement; nevertheless, this study is unable to determine the extent to which the improvement has been achieved. The program has also been successful in increasing students' knowledge on the importance of education and the danger of being child labor; however, the knowledge has not yet been able to be translated into actions because of the existing push and pull factors in the areas. Since the program design does not cover parents and communities, the study finds no impact on the two groups.

Keywords: exploratory study, ILO's IPEC, conditional cash transfer, child labor component, program impact

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

3R		right, responsibility, representation
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik	Statistics Indonesia
BSM	Beasiswa untuk Siswa Miskin	Scholarship for Poor Students
CCT		Conditional Cash Transfer
DO		drop out
E-WFCL		Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour
FGD		focus group discussion
GER		gross enrollment ratio
ILO		International Labour Organization
IPEC		International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
MI	madrasah ibtidaiyah	Islamic elementary school
MoLT		Ministry of Labor and Transmigration
MTs	madrasah sanawiyah	Islamic junior high school
NER		net enrollment ratio
NGO		nongovernmental organization
NTT		Nusa Tenggara Timur
PAUD	pendidikan anak usia dini	early childhood education center
PKBM	pusat kegiatan belajar masyarakat	community learning centre
PKH	Program Keluarga Harapan	Family of Hope Program
SD	sekolah dasar	elementary school
SMA	sekolah menengah atas	senior high school
SMP	sekolah menengah pertama	junior high school
SPA	Survei Pekerja Anak	Child Labor Survey
TBP		Time-Bound Program
YGPNA	Yayasan Gerakan Penanggulangan Narkoba dan AIDS	Foundation for the Movement Against Drug Abuse and AIDS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

To strengthen the impact of the conditional cash transfer for households (Program Keluarga Harapan or PKH) on eliminating child labor, the ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO's IPEC) has been continuing its support to the Indonesia Time-Bond Program (TBP) for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (E-WFCL) through the second phase of the project support that will end on 30 September 2011. The project aims to contribute to the reduction of the overall number of children engaged in exploitative child labor in Indonesia. Five provinces were selected as target areas, i.e., Jakarta, East Java, West Java, North Sumatra, and Lampung.

To understand the possible impact of the program, ILO requested the SMERU Research Institute to conduct an exploratory study on the impact of PKH program with a child labor component support from ILO. The study employed the qualitative approach by using focus group discussions and in-depth interviews to collect data and information. Sample areas were limited to four villages in two *kecamatan* in two different *kabupaten*, Kabupaten Sukabumi and Kabupaten Cianjur in West Java Province. The sample selection was based on the characteristics of child labor in the areas and the project performance based on ILO's assessment. The field work was conducted around July–August 2011.

Main Findings

Education and child labor in sample villages

Enrollment rate at elementary school has been 100%, but at the junior high school level, the percentage is significantly lower, 61% in Kabupaten Sukabumi and 57% in Kabupaten Cianjur. For the senior high school level, factors that cause the low rate of enrollment are: parents' poverty, children's reluctance of going to school, job opportunities not requiring certain diploma or expertise, parents being migrant workers, the custom of early marriage, and difficult access to the school.

Attendance rate at each level of education is commonly less than 100%. Factors that are considered influential to attendance rate include students' eagerness to attend the school, parents' awareness of the importance of education, quality and completeness of school facilities, and ratio of teachers to students.

There are at least three types of working children in the study areas, namely: children being farm hands during the harvest seasons, children working at home-based assembly industries, and children dropping out of school and undertaking full time paid jobs or being domestic workers. In addition, most children in the study areas are involved significantly in doing domestic chores in their own houses.

The study did not find any children who are still attending elementary school or junior high school and, thus, are targets of ILO and PKH program involved in any forms of child labor. On the other hand, there were children of elementary-school- or junior-high-school-age who have dropped out of school and undertook full-time jobs.

The factors that contribute to working children can be divided into two categories: (i) push factors, which come from the internal households, communities, and children themselves and (ii) pull factors, which come from external changes and influences. The most important push factors are (i) household poverty; (ii) local customs and norms which perceive working child as positive in the sense that, by working, they can acquire life skills at an early age; and (iii) children's desire for things their parents cannot afford. On the other hand, one of the most important pull factors is the increasing number of garment industries. This development creates a lot of job opportunities without requiring specific skills and diploma. Another factor is the decreasing number of adult labor in the villages, particularly in the areas of agriculture, home-based manufacturing, and domestic works. There are some reasons behind this factor. First, the increasing number of villagers becoming migrant workers (domestic and overseas) increases the opportunity or the demand for children to fill the job vacancies in their villages. Second, the increasing number of migrant workers (both male and female) also means a decrease in the number of available labor in the village, and children are easily filling this gap. Third, young labor force are now more interested in working in garment factories since home-based manufacturing gives less payment; this gap is also filled by school-age children.

Program design and implementation

In order to strengthen the impact of PKH on eliminating child labor, ILO-IPEC project focuses on enhancing the knowledge and awareness of the students whose families are PKH beneficiaries. The study found that the problem of working children is determined not only by the children, but also by many factors such as the welfare status of the parents, type of economic development, local norms, etc.

There are four components of program activities in the sample villages: remedial, 3R (right, responsibility, and representation), home visit, and children center. The technical implementation details of those activities differ across areas depending on the local implementing partners. However, the variation does not determine the outcome of the programs except for that of the 3R, which tend to be unsustainable.

The starting and completion dates of the program differ in each targeted *kecamatan*, from the end of 2009 to the end of 2010.

Problems revealed during the implementation of the program are:

- Job transfer of government officials and no knowledge transfer from the leaving officials to the new ones.
- Sunday is the only day suitable for the program activities because on other days, students already have a lot of activities, particularly extracurricular and *diniah* (afternoon Islamic school).
- NGOs have a bad reputation in public eyes and often receive poor responses from the community.
- There was no sufficient budget for the socialization of the program.
- There was no training on administrative matters.

Impact of the program

The remedial component of the ILO-IPEC project has improved the academic achievement of the recipient students. However, this study cannot determine the extent to which the improvement has been made. This is because the results of pre- and post-tests of the remedial activities are not

accessible. Even if the results of the tests are accessible, the impact is still unclear because there were also other remedial activities provided by the sample schools.

The 3R component of the ILO-IPEC project has improved student's knowledge on the importance of education and the danger of being child labor. However, the knowledge is not well-translated into necessary actions. The children who had been participating in various types of job before the program was carried out still did the same job after attending the program activities. Some beneficiary students, particularly those at the junior high school level, dropped out of school or did not continue to a higher education level. It is mostly because the welfare status of their parents does not allow the children to totally stop working or keep going to school. Other reasons are personal choices of the students, local cultural norms such as the custom of early marriage, and local economic development that pulls the students from school into working environment.

Home visit component of the ILO-IPEC project has limited impact on children's performance, attendance, and enrollment. Home visit activities target students perceived as being at risk (mostly defined as those with low attendance rate). Since the risks mostly come from the welfare status of the parents, there was nothing the home visitors could do to solve the problem.

Children centers are rarely accessed by students. Since there is only one or two children centers per *kabupaten*, usually located in *kecamatan* capital, students who live far from the center have to spend more money for the transportation cost and the program does not provide assistance for this purpose. Students who live near the center do not frequently visit it either because the center is not regularly open or because the schedule of the center does not match that of the students.

The ILO-IPEC project has different impact on the improvement of teachers' teaching techniques. In areas where the 3R involves teachers as tutors, the teachers made some improvement in their teaching techniques since they experienced the project themselves; while in the areas where the 3R is delivered by facilitators from the local implementing partner, the local teachers experienced no improvement.

The ILO-IPEC project has no significant impact on improving the awareness of parents and community of the importance of education and the danger of child labor. It is because in the sample villages, the program does not specifically target the parents and the community.

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Since September 2007, the ILO's International Program for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) has been continuing its support to the Indonesia Time-Bound Program (TBP) for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor (E-WFCL) through the second phase of the project support that will end on 30 September 2011. The project aims at contributing to the reduction of the overall number of children engaged in exploitative child labor in Indonesia. Five provinces were selected as target areas, i.e., Jakarta, East Java, West Java, North Sumatra, and Lampung. This four-year project is working to contribute to the creation of the enabling environment and to withdraw and prevent child labor in four sectors: child domestic labor, child trafficking, child labor in plantation, and street children through the provision of education services. In particular, the second phase of the project has tried to strengthen the Indonesian conditional cash transfer (CCT) program, also known as Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH), in reducing nonparticipation in school that will in turn contribute to the reduction of child labor.

The PKH was initiated in 2007 and was designed to support demand-side improvements in education and health services for poor households so that children from poor households can escape the intergenerational poverty trap. The targets of the PKH are very poor households with children aged 0–6, children of elementary- or junior-high-school age, children under 18 years old who have not completed the nine-year compulsory education, and pregnant or breastfeeding mothers. The PKH provides assistance in the form of cash distributed to recipient households three times a year via the post office. The total fund received ranges between Rp600,000 and Rp2,200,000 per household per year depending on the composition of the households. The recipient households must meet certain requirements, namely sending children aged 7–18 to school to achieve the compulsory nine years of schooling, taking children aged 0–6 years to health facilities, and the examination of pregnant women/mothers who have just given birth and their babies in healthcare facilities. In 2007 the PKH was piloted in seven provinces, i.e., West Sumatra, Jakarta, West Java, East Java, North Sulawesi, Gorontalo, and East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), covering a total of 49 *kabupaten/kota* (districts/cities) and 348 *kecamatan* (subdistricts). The program then expanded and in 2010 it was implemented in 90 *kabupaten* in 20 provinces. It covered around 816,000 recipient households and expended a total of Rp1.3 trillion in 2010.

While the PKH provides the opportunity for children to enter or re-enter basic education, children from the poorest households face other challenges of staying in school. Among the anticipated obstacles are: (i) the children that stay in school cannot catch up with the lesson and this may lead to them dropping out; (ii) the children attend school or other nonformal education and work after school hours, conceivably impacting their learning ability and causing them to drop out; (iii) practical problem of children returning to grade levels below their age and thus having difficulties in readjusting to school. Thus, in order to strengthen the PKH's impact on keeping children in school and reducing child labor, the second phase of the Project of Support to Indonesia TBP, in collaboration with local partners, has provided additional educational services and other complementary services to PKH recipient children, their parents, and communities. The additional services were delivered in three batches:

- a) The first batch (February 2009–March 2010):
 - (i) Kecamatan Koja Utara in Jakarta Utara, Jakarta
 - (ii) Kecamatan Kalisat and Kecamatan Arjasari in Jember, East Java

- b) The second batch (November 2009–December 2010):
 - (i) Kecamatan Pakusari, Kecamatan Sukorambi, Kecamatan Mayang, and Kecamatan Kalisat in Jember, East Java
 - (ii) Kecamatan Karang Tengah and Kecamatan Legon in Cianjur, West Java
 - (iii) Kecamatan Monggor in Sukabumi, West Java
 - (iv) Kecamatan Ngamprah in Bandung Barat, West Java
- c) The third batch (July 2010 to June 2011):
 - (i) Kecamatan Koja in Jakarta Utara, Jakarta
 - (ii) Kecamatan Patrang and Kecamatan Rambipuji in Jember, East Java

The action programs implemented by local partners targeted 5,675 children from PKH recipient households but managed to reach only 5,357 children. This underachievement was due to the fact that the children of the PKH households were spread out in so many schools that the IPEC local partners had difficulties in delivering the additional services. In many cases, in order to meet the target, the IPEC local partners included in the action programs at-risk children whose parents were not recipients of PKH fund.

1.2 Study Objectives

To complement the final evaluation of the ILO's program of supplementing CCT with child labor (CL) support component, a rapid qualitative study is conducted as an exploratory exercise for preparing a more comprehensive impact evaluation study. The specific purposes of the rapid qualitative study are:

1. To identify possible impacts of the CCT program with CL support component;
2. To identify key questions to be incorporated in a more comprehensive impact study;
3. To explore research methodologies to be used in a more comprehensive and representative impact study that combines quantitative and qualitative approaches; and
4. To develop a research proposal that combine qualitative and quantitative methodologies to measure and discuss the impact of the IPEC project on the CCT target household linked to child labor.

To identify possible effects of the program, the study puts the following initial research questions:

1. Does the program increase the academic achievement of the beneficiary children and keep them at school (or get them to continue their study to a higher level)?
2. Does the program influence parents' perceptions and behaviors related to children's involvement in economic activities, particularly in the WFCL?
3. Does the program influence community's perception on children's involvement in economic activities and get them to be more supportive of the E-WFCL?
4. Does the program influence children's attitude toward education and child labor?

Since it is a qualitative and exploratory study, the largest emphasis is devoted to explore the best (or better) way to understand the factors affecting children's involvement in child labor and the WFCL, and how the action programs' interventions influence the reduction (or elimination) of child labor, particularly children's involvement in the WFCL.

1.3 Research Methodology

1.3.1 Exploratory study

Because of the limited time, this exploratory study was conducted only in four villages in two *kecamatan* in West Java. Over the course of November 2009–December 2010, the action programs were implemented in four *kecamatan* in West Java—two in Cianjur, one in Sukabumi, and the other in Bandung Barat—and in total covered 79 elementary schools and 23 junior high schools (Table 1).¹

Table 1. The Coverage of Action Programs in West Java Province

Kabupaten	Kecamatan	Child Labor Problem*)	Program Coverage		
			No. of Elementary Schools	No. of Junior High Schools	Children
Cianjur	Karang Tengah	Source of child domestic labor	13	4	388
	Legon	Source of child domestic labor (migrant)	24	7	317
Sukabumi	Monggor	Source of child trafficking	32	8	474
Bandung Barat	Ngamprah	Girls are easy target for trafficking	10	4	244

*) based on the project documents of the implementing partners

The sample *kecamatan* were selected after a preliminary discussion with ILO Jakarta and the program implementing partners, based on the nature of child labor problems and the performance of the overall program. Similarly, the four sample villages were deliberately selected to capture the variations in the program's performance (two villages with good performance and the other two with low performance) and the nature of child labor problems. Two sample villages are located at or near the *kecamatan* capital (or near the location of a junior high school) and the other two are located far from the *kecamatan* capital (or far from the location of a junior high school).² The combinations of the sample villages are presented in Table 2. The sample villages and schools were selected during the pre-survey.

Table 2. Combination of the Sample Villages

		Program's Performance	
		Good	Low
Distance from Kecamatan Capital	Close	Sample Village or SV (1)	SV (2)
	Far	SV (3)	SV (4)

¹To protect the rights and privacy of the informants involved in this study, all the names of people and locations have been changed.

²The distance from SMP is taken into account, based on the assumption that it affects the continuing rate from elementary school to junior high school.

In each *kecamatan* (two sample villages), two treatment elementary schools and one treatment junior high school were selected for observation. In addition, in the two sample *kecamatan*, one elementary school and one junior high school that do not receive support from the program but have children of PKH-recipient households were selected for observation. Thus in total, the study will cover five elementary schools (four treatment and one control) and three junior high schools (two treatment and one control). This combination of the sample schools allows the study to compare:

1. Children that received (i) PKH and Child Labor support; (ii) Child Labor support only; (iii) PKH only; (iv) no treatment; (v) possibly PKH, Child Labor support, and the Ministry of Labor and Transmigration (MoLT) program; and
2. Schools and households with and without PKH and Child Labor support.

The study adopts a qualitative approach by employing participatory techniques and triangulating (cross-checking) information from different sources, i.e., children, parents, teachers, community leaders, and program implementers. Different techniques—including focus group discussions (FGDs), in-depth interviews, ranking matrix, and score cards—are used. The tools are determined based on the result of the preliminary survey. The data collection methods are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Data Collection Methods

Level	Respondent	Methods	Information	Note
<i>Kabupaten</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social, Labor and Transmigration Office - Education Office - PKH Implementing Unit 	Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - General condition of education attainment and child labor - Activities of the program 	Pre-survey
<i>Kecamatan</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implementing partner - <i>Kecamatan</i> education office - PKH field workers 	Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Program implementation and performance - Condition and factors influencing child labor - Selection of sample villages and schools 	Pre-survey
Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Village head/ apparatus - Leader of the PKH mothers - Child labor employer/ recruiter <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Village and community leaders <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mothers of the child labor - Fathers of the child labor 	Interview (+ score card) FGD (+ score card & ranking matrix) FGD (+ score card & ranking matrix) (male and female separately)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Condition and factors influencing child labor - Trend in child labor and impacts of the action programs - Perception about child labor and the WFCL 	Survey
School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School headmaster - Teachers (2) <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students (female and male) 	Interview FGD (+ score card & ranking matrix) – follow-up interviews with 3 students*)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Condition and factors influencing enrollment and child labor - Trend in enrollment, academic achievement and child labor, and impacts of the action programs - Perception about child labor and the WFCL 	Survey
Household	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students *) (selected from school FGD) - Parents - Student's siblings 	Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Condition and factors influencing enrollment and child labor - Trend in enrollment, academic achievement and child labor, and impacts of the action programs - Perception about child labor and the WFCL 	Survey (3 households per school → 12 per <i>kecamatan</i>)

The field data collection is conducted in two phases:

1. Phase 1 (presurvey) is conducted through a two-day visit of two researchers to each sample *kabupaten* and *kecamatan* to get general information about the education and child labor problems, to select sample villages and schools, and to prepare the survey.

2. Phase 2 (survey) is the main component of the study, covering interviews and FGDs at the village, school, and household levels. A research team consisting of three researchers spends around 8–10 days in each sample *kecamatan* to conduct the study.

The schedule of the study is:

- Study preparation: 11–15 July, including two days pre-survey
- Field survey: 26 July–7 August
- Presentation of study design: 29 July
- Preliminary findings: 8 August
- Draft Report: 24 August
- Final Report: 24 October

1.3.2 Research proposal

Review of bibliography (studies, CCT bibliography, etc.)

Interviews with project staff and other relevant actors (CCT program staff, researchers, etc.)

Preparation of the proposal (interaction with IPEC DED-HQ)

The tentative schedule is:

Review of bibliography and interviews: 11 July–5 August

Preparation of the proposal: 5 August–20 August

Delivery of the draft proposal: 20 August

1.3.3 Research Team

The research team will consist of an advisor and six researchers to allow for two parallel surveys. The team will be led by Muhammad Syukri and consist of five other researchers for field survey. One of the researchers is in charge of developing research proposal.

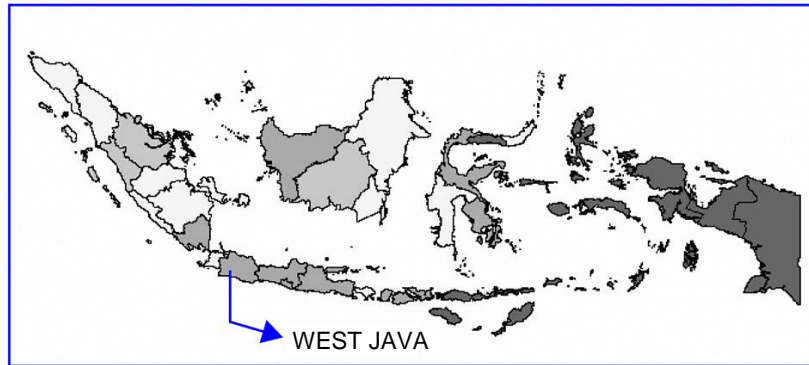
1.3.4 Outputs

The output of the study will be:

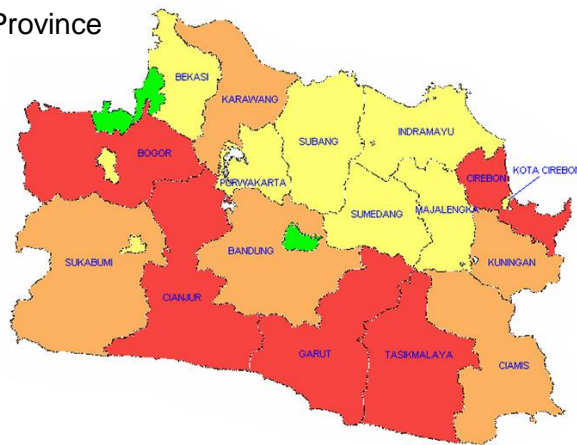
1. Research report with background, methodology, results, and conclusion; and
2. Concept note/research proposal for an impact evaluation study of the program using combined quantitative and qualitative methods.

Map 1. Kabupaten Sukabumi

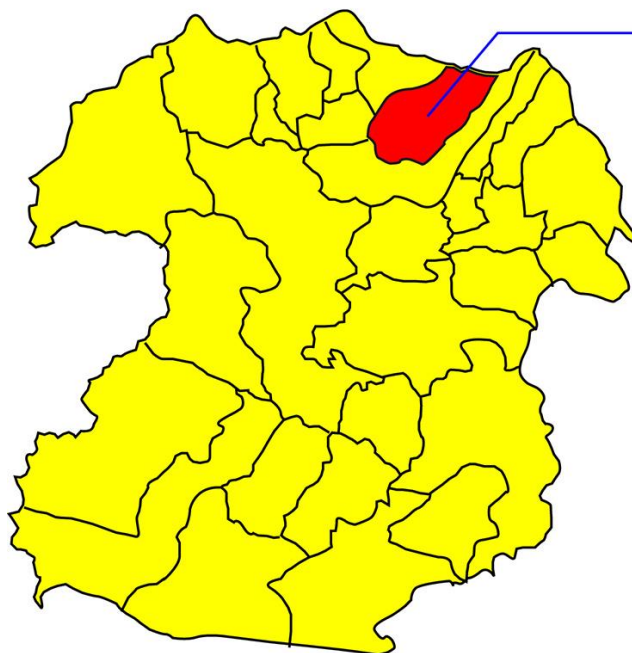
INDONESIA



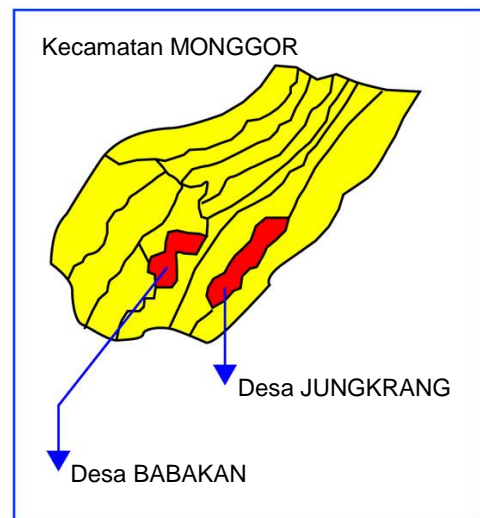
WEST JAVA Province



Kabupaten SUKABUMI



Kecamatan MONGGOR



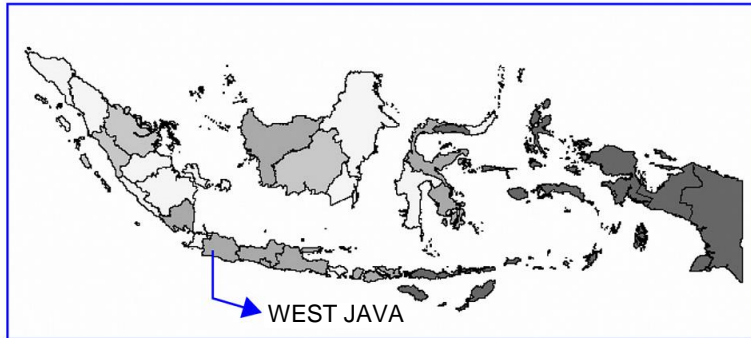
Kecamatan MONGGOR

Desa JUNGKRANG

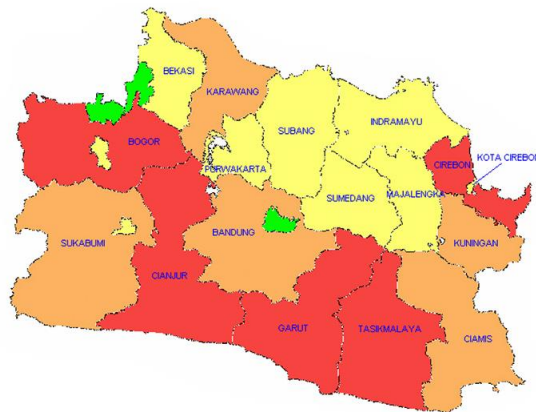
Desa BABAKAN

Map 2. Kabupaten Cianjur

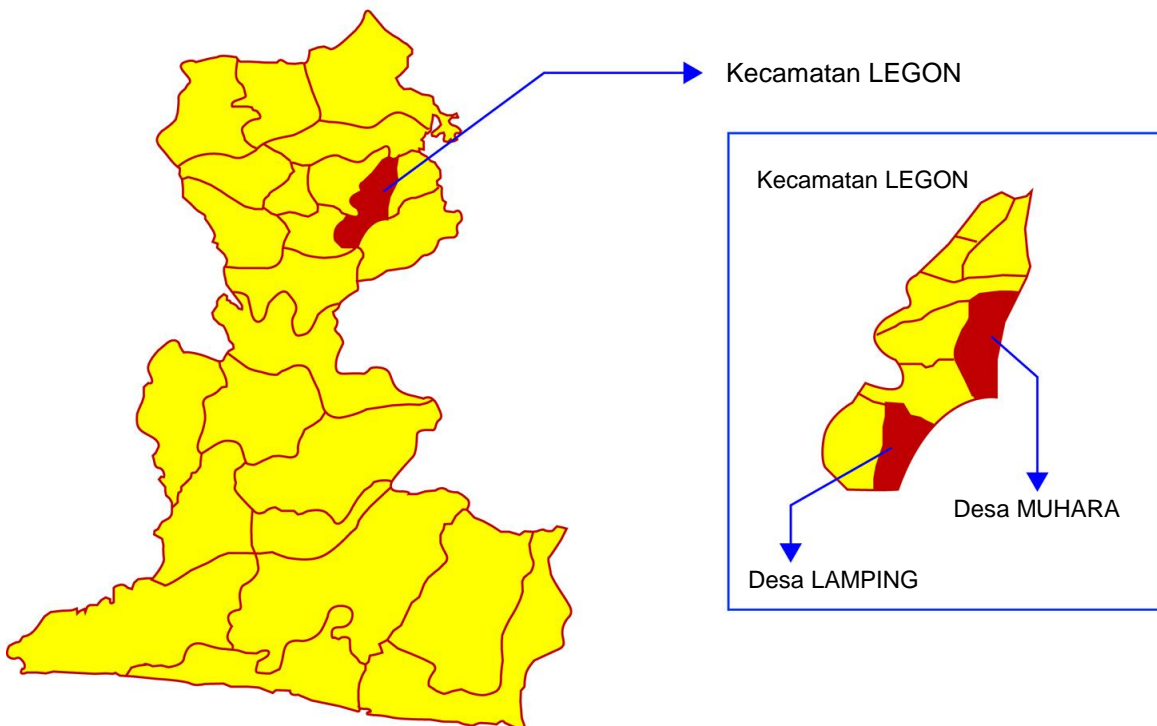
INDONESIA



WEST JAVA Province



Kabupaten CIANJUR



II. EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOR IN SAMPLE VILLAGES

As a background for further exploration and analysis on the impact of ILO-IPEC project on the improvement of education performance and the elimination of child labor in the research sample villages, this chapter will give an overview of the trend and current development of education and child labor situations there. Despite some significant achievements in the realm of education programs and child labor eradication efforts in the last five years, the current situation is generally still far from ideal. At the elementary school level, the enrollment is almost one hundred percentage points but at the higher levels the percentages are significantly lower. On the other hand, attendance rate at all levels of education is commonly less than one hundred percentage points. In terms of child labor, children in the sample areas are generally engaged in various forms of child labor as categorized by ILO and this fact is perceived as common and normal by their parents and the community.

2.1 School Enrollment and Attendance

2.1.1 Current situation of school enrollment

The elementary school enrollment rate in the sample villages is high. The informants in the villages explained that all children of elementary-school age are in school, both in secular schools (public or private) and in Islamic elementary schools (*madrasah ibtidaiah* or MI). The high rate of participation at the sample villages resembles the elementary school enrollment rate at the national level, which is already close to 100% (95.23% in 2009). At the junior high school level, however, compared to the participation rate at the national level in 2009–2010, 74.52%, the rate in the sample villages is quite low, around 61% in Kabupaten Sukabumi and 57% in Kabupaten Cianjur. At the senior high school level, the figures are significantly low, only 32.5% in Sukabumi and 36% in Cianjur, compared to the national level figure, 55.73%.

Table 4. Gross and Net Enrollment Rates (GER/NER), Elementary School, Junior High School, and Senior High School

Area Level	Elementary School		Junior High School		Senior High School	
	GER (%)	NER (%)	GER (%)	NER (%)	GER (%)	NER (%)
National	116.77	95.23	98.11	74.52	69.60	55.73
Kabupaten Sukabumi*	124.29	108.99	92.57	63.90	36.36	21.39
Kecamatan Monggor**	101.65	88.53	85.85	65.15	21.22	13.05
Kabupaten Cianjur*	119.83	97.74	78.09	57.34	44.11	35.93
Kecamatan Legon	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: * Center for Educational Statistics, Ministry of National Education (<http://www.psp.kemdiknas.go.id>)

** Education statistics of Kabupaten Sukabumi, 2010.

The low rate of participation in junior high school and senior high school in the two *kecamatan* (Legon and Monggor) is caused by the fairly high rate of dropouts (DO). At the elementary school

level, the enrollment rate is almost 100% but there are still dropouts. Incidence of DO occurs more frequently in junior high school and senior high school than in elementary school. There is no reliable information about the exact numbers in the sample villages, even from the local education agency. Some existing data do not represent the actual condition. For example, data in Table 5 which show that there was no incidence of dropout at junior high school level in 2009–2010 prove to be wrong. There were actually more than eight cases of students dropping out of or discontinuing school in one village, as presented in Table 6. However, regardless of the validity, data from *kabupaten* education agencies show that the incidence of dropouts in elementary schools/MI and junior high schools/Islamic junior high schools (*madrasah sanawiah* or MS) in Sukabumi is 900 cases (342 at the elementary school level and 558 at the junior high school level) and in Cianjur 457 cases (135 at the elementary school level and 322 at the junior high school level).

Table 5. Incidence of Dropouts in Kabupaten Sukabumi and Cianjur, 2009–2010

Regions	Elementary School			MI			Junior High School			MS		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Kab. Sukabumi	111	67	178	20	22	42	169	145	314	97	92	189
Kec. Monggor	4	5	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kab. Cianjur	n/a	n/a	135	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	322	n/a	n/a	n/a
Kec. Legon	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Note: M = Male; F = Female

Sources: Education Statistics, Kabupaten Sukabumi Education Agency

Another educational indicator, namely school transition rate, also shows a condition that is far from ideal, especially for junior high schools. Although no precise data can be obtained, information from village-level informants shows that the percentage of junior high school graduates continuing to senior high school is very low, averaging only about 15%–20%. On the other hand, the transition rate from elementary school to junior high school is better. According to the informants, all elementary school graduates in the village continue to junior high school. Susenas (National Socioeconomic Survey) data reveal that the portion of children aged 7–17 who drop out of school or discontinue their education in 2009 is approximately 9.37%.

Children who have problems in education are primarily from poor households and some others are from nonpoor households. What is worth noting is that quite many of the children with problems are those whose families benefit from government or nongovernment programs such as PKH, Scholarship for Poor Students (BSM), ILO's remedial programs, etc. No exact data are available on the number of students receiving ILO's remedial programs and PKH who have finally dropped out of school or discontinued their education to a higher level; however, this study reveals several cases in the sample villages (Table 6).

In addition to the status of dropout children as beneficiaries of PKH and other support programs, another interesting trend is that boys are more vulnerable to dropping out compared to girls. Even though the cases of dropout presented in the previous table show that girls are more vulnerable than boys, official data from the government show that the dropout cases are more prevalent in boys than in girls. At the national level, similar trend also occurs. In addition to the elementary school level, school participation rates were higher in girls than boys. The trend indicates that the higher the level of education the lower the participation rate of boys.

Table 6. Children Dropping Out of and Discontinuing School in Two Sample Villages

Name	Village	M/F	DO/ discontinue	PKH/ Non- PKH	ILO-PKH beneficiary/ nonbeneficiary	Reasons
Aisyah	Jungkrang	F	DO at Grade 7	PKH	Nonbeneficiary	Working in Garment factory
Neng Yeni	Jungkrang	F	DO at Grade 8	Non	Nonbeneficiary	Working in Garment factory
Marni	Jungkrang	F	DO at Grade 8	PKH	ILO-PKH beneficiary	Want to work in garment industry. While waiting for the chance she make kite
Rochdiansyah	Jungkrang	M	DO at Grade 8	Non	Nonbeneficiary	Looking for job
Salim	Jungkrang	M	DO at Grade 7	PKH	Nonbeneficiary	Working as construction worker
Siti Saadah	Jungkrang	F	DO at Grade 8	non	Nonbeneficiary	Working in Garment factory
Santi	Lamping	F	Do not resume (SD)	PKH	ILO-PKH beneficiary	Worked as domestic worker. Now jobless
Siti Rohimah	Lamping	F	Do not resume (SD)	NA	NA	Worked as domestic worker. Now jobless
Masroh	Lamping	F	Do not resume (SD)	NA	NA	Worked as domestic worker. Now jobless
Ajat Sudrajat	Lamping	M	Do not resume (SD)	PKH	Remedial	Jobless
Kusnadi	Lamping	M	DO at Grade 3	PKH	Nonbeneficiary	Jobless

Source: Information from the informants in each village

Table 7. School Enrollment by Sex in 2009 in Indonesia

Edu. level Sex	SD		SMP		SMA	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Male	3,243,769	3,704,943	1,922,964	1,425,155	27,233	13,998
Female	3,243,769	3,655,167	2,104,389	1,504,363	22,986	36,825

Sources: SMERU, *Child poverty*, work in progress.

2.1.2 Causes of low Rate of Enrollment and Dropout

Qualitative information from village level shows that there are some problems that cause the children to quit school or discontinue their education to a higher level. Some of the problems are parents' poverty, children's reluctance to go to school, job opportunities that do not require certain diploma or expertise, parents' occupation as migrant workers, the custom of early marriage, and access to school. Poverty is a typical factor that affects the level of child participation in education. Since 2005, the Government of Indonesia has implemented free

education program for elementary school and junior high school. However, the subsidy from the government is only for the school’s routine operational costs. Other expenses for schooling such as school uniforms, transportation, snacks, and allowances are covered by parents. The amount of money for the expenses is still too big for the poor parents. The following quotation gives an illustration.

Children who do not attend school are generally constrained by the economic conditions of marginalized parents. Many parents cannot afford to give transport allowance for their children to go to school and some other parents even cannot afford to buy [school] uniforms. (Ujang, junior high school teacher at Babakan)

The poverty status of the sample villages is quite severe, especially the two villages located far from the kabupaten centers, i.e., Desa (Village of) Jungkrang in Kecamatan Monggor, Kabupaten Sukabumi, and Desa Muhara in Kecamatan Legon, Kabupaten Cianjur. Data show that, in the two remote villages, poor people number 705 (10.8%) in Jungkrang and 536 (8.5%) in Lamping. In two villages at the *kabupaten* center the number of poor households as much as 632 (9.5%) in Babakan and 250 (2.5%) in Muhara.³ Data show that the number of PKH recipients in each village is 115 in Jungkrang, 55 in Babakan, 162 in Lamping, and 49 in Muhara. On the other hand, qualitative information in these four villages based on FGD participant estimation, showed that the number of poor (or lower class in local terms) reached 50% of the total number of households in the village.

Table 8. Poverty Incidence at Sample Villages in 2009

	Jungkrang ^a	Babakan ^b	Lamping ^c	Muhara ^c
Villagers	6,510	6,646	6,292	10,151
Poor villagers	705	632	536	250
PKH Beneficiaries	115	55	162	49

Sources: a. Village monograph of Jungkrang, 2009
 b. Village monograph of Babakan, 2009
 c. Kecamatan Legon Dalam Angka 2010

Some informants also mentioned that there are children who do not go to school on their own decision. Although for most decisions in domestic affairs are in the hands of parents, either mother or father or both, according to some parents, they cannot impose their decisions on their children. When a child does not want to go to schools they can only take it. Some respondents said:

I got too confused about how to encourage my child back to school. I don’t understand why Marni wants to quit schooling after all. (Asih, the mother of Marni [dropout student], Jungkrang)

If those (student) who had been in second grade drop, I will visit them, they must go to school. Except once, the kid was really stubborn. The school principal and I straightly involve into the field. The parents actually want their children to go to school; in fact the kid is very difficult. (Village head of Jungkrang)

³The important thing to note is that data on poverty in Indonesia are mostly problematic. The data are acquired from *kecamatan*-level Statistics Indonesia offices on the number of households who are at the lowest level of welfare which is based on the family planning criteria. Other programs such as BLT (unconditional cash transfer), PKH, or Rice for the Poor Program use different data. However, the above data is used here because it the only available data that is comparable across the villages.

Some of the children decide not to go to school because of peer pressure, that is, the influence of their friends who do not attend school. In addition, some children quit school because of their desire for more pocket money and material goods (fancy clothes, cell phones, make-up, etc.). Since they want to own a mobile phone, for example, while their parents cannot afford to buy then they work to earn money, so that finally they drop out. In short, most of these children drop out of school for being involved in paid job activities. They are involved in the paid job activities is due to their desire to meet the needs of those which cannot be met by their parents. An informant raises the issue in the following quotation:

Social engagement, Sir, usually. Seeing their friends own cell phone, they also want. So the school is ignored, Sir. Preoccupied by the jobs, they become late to go to school the next day. Their school grade then goes down. (Dede, FGD Elite Jungkrang)

Children's desire to get more money to meet their lifestyle needs is become easier when many job opportunities that do not require special expertise or particular educational diplomas are available in the neighborhood. The job opportunities are, among others, as domestic workers in Lamping, outsourced workers such as in Jungkrang and Babakan, seasonal agricultural workers (especially during harvest as in Lamping and Muhara) and collecting junk that can be exchanged for goods or money as in Lamping. Some children, especially junior high age also quit school to work in garment factories such as occurs in Jungkrang and Babakan. According to informants in Jungkrang, children who drop out of school when they are at eighth grade are able to get the factory jobs because they are physically eligible; however, they fake their age, identity, and even junior high school diploma in order to get the job.

The development of the employment opportunities not only appeals to children to enter labor activities, but also mothers, especially those who are below 30 years old. This phenomenon began to bloom since 2008/2009. Based on the information at the village, some effects of the opening of this new employment in Kabupaten Monggor among others, is the change of breadwinner in a household where many husbands stop working (especially when their job is not fixed). Another result is the increasing of divorce rates. Village official in Jungkrang said that the divorce rate in the village increased more than twice as much from two years earlier. Increased incidence of divorce is actually an indication of the existence problems in households that subject to the changes of breadwinner which in turn has an impact on children as well.

Related to children, the impact of the above phenomena is the lack of parental attention. It is because, according to informants, mother's attention could never be replaced by the father's, if the child is left with the father at home. In many cases, the children whose mother are working in the factories live with their grandparents so that the children spend more time with their grandparent than their own parent. Another effect is the children who have matured a bit, both boys and girls, should take over their mother's work, namely domestic chores, as experienced by some student respondents in Jungkrang. This is quite disturbing their concentration on schooling activities, although no cases of these children who have to quit school. More severe impact on children occurs in households where parents are working abroad as migrant workers. In the sample villages, especially in Muhara and Lamping in District Cianjur, quite a lot of parents, especially mothers, who work abroad as domestic helpers. In such case the effect of working parent on children occurs in a more severe level. Some cases in Muhara and Lamping even lead to dropping out the children of school.

The final issue which, according to village informants, has connection with enrollment and dropout rates is access to the school. Generally speaking, access to elementary schools is adequate. On average, each village samples have three elementary schools and two or more junior high schools.

Desa Muhara, which has only one junior high school, has a very easy access to other school in neighboring village. However, in every village there are certain areas that are still quite far from the location of the nearest school, which is more than one or two kilometers. The problem is the location of schools is usually clustering surrounding the center of the village, as in Jungkrang, where four schools located in the adjacent area.

Table 9. Number of School (SD and SMP) in Village Samples

School Level	Jungkrang ^a	Babakan ^a	Muhara ^b	Lamping ^b
SD	4	5	4	3
SMP	3	2	1	2
SMA	1	-	1	-

Source: a. Kecamatan Monggor Dalam Angka (2009)
 b. Kecamatan Legon Dalam Angka (2010)

Various issues listed above affect the enrollment and dropout altogether, not a cause for one case. Of access to the school, for example, is not the only factor that affects, but also the level of household poverty and lack of job opportunities. Therefore, various issues listed above should be taken holistically into account.

2.1.3 School attendance and its influencing factors

Based on the information from teachers and key informants at the villages, the level of attendance of students in teaching and learning activities are varied. For elementary schools, except in Lamping, student attendance is relatively high. Teachers said that even though daily attendance rate does not always reaches 100%, in general very few of students who are absent from school without permission. Permission is usually granted by teacher only for special cases such as illness or other important purposes approved by the teacher. While in the school samples in Lamping, the attendance rate usually does not reach 100%. Even the students who receive PKH program, which requires 85% minimum attendance, do not fulfill it. According to the program facilitator, every time PKH fund disbursement there are at least seven cases of beneficiaries whose fund is reduced from its normal amount. It is a kind of penalty for the households which do not comply with program condition, namely 85% minimum attendance of their children in the school.

For junior high schools, except in Jungkrang and Lamping, attendance rate is pretty good. As in elementary school, only for special cases the student is allowed to absent. While in the village Jungkrang and Lamping, attendance rate often do not reach 100%. In this case seems there is a difference between the attendance rates of students in private schools and public schools. There is a trend that the attendance rate of student in private school is lower than that in public schools, although in the case of Babakan student attendance at private schools is still pretty good.

There are several factors that are considered influential by informants on students' attendance rate. The factors include the spirit of the student to attend the school, parent awareness on the importance of education, quality and completeness of school facilities, and ratio of teachers and students. The spirit of the student to attend school is considered important because if students are eager to attend the school, other factors could not significantly affect the student's attendance. According to informants, eagerness of children to attend the school is not only for learning sake. Sometimes, or even more dominant, the student come to school just because they want to play with friends. However, the spirit of schooling as such cannot just show up. Such spirit

usually comes up when the children getting enough attention from parents. Therefore, parent's attention and awareness \towards children's education becomes crucial.

In addition to factors related to child and parent is conception of school's quality. According to informants, criteria for a good quality of school are highly discipline, have adequate facilities, and have sufficient human resources (teachers) in terms of quantity and quality. Factors related to quality of schools are apparently not fully available in private schools in the sample villages.⁴ In Jungkrang for example, a private junior high school is looked messy, dirty, inadequate class room so the staff room is also used for class room, no toilets, no libraries, and other supporting facilities. In terms of teacher availability, the school is just left by the teachers, as many as 19 people, due to internal conflict. Therefore the school management is forced to bring in new teachers who are still young and inexperienced. In such situation of scarcity, it seems difficult for the schools to enforce discipline on their students.

2.1.4 The meaning of education for children and parent

In general, both children and parents who were interviewed agreed that education is very important for the children. For them, the importance of education is more about the output of schooling the student can obtain. In some ways parents and children have the same perception on the benefits of schooling, but there are also some differences among them. The most important benefit the student can obtain from school is basic knowledge, ie reading, writing and arithmetic. This ability is considered very important to them, taken for granted, because it is perceived as a kind of stock by which they can live without in the modern day. For that, there is no disagreement about the importance of elementary school.

In addition, they also assume that education is very important to get a better job in the future. For this purpose, education up to elementary school is considered inadequate, because there are no jobs to be gained by relying on elementary school diploma. For that, the informants consider junior high education is a minimum target to be able to get a better job. It seems that such perception on junior secondary as minimum educational level is influenced by the development of employment opportunity lately, especially around Sukabumi. As will be discussed below, since 2009 there is an increase in labor demand because of popping up garment factories surrounding village samples. The companies are mostly relocated from neighboring *kabupaten*. The relocation occurs because of differences in the regional minimum wage where Sukabumi has the lowest minimum wage in the vicinity. Therefore, many young women from villages around the factories is working in the companies. Living conditions of factory workers that are looked well seems to influence people's perceptions on the ideal job and the level of education that must be attained in order to get such a job.

In addition to the educational benefits equally addressed by parents and children, there are important educational values that are only expressed by the parents alone or by the children alone. The importance of education which is only expressed by parent is the hope that their children will have a better life than their lives. For parents, struggle to get a better life will pay off if their children can succeed, get a job that gives them a steady income. While the educational benefit that is only considered important by children is that through attending school, they have

⁴Generally speaking, there is an image among the people that go to public school is more prestigious than that of private. Particularly in rural areas, private school is still the first preference of the community. While in urban areas, more private schools available, some of which even more preferred by the community. In sample sites, as far as infrastructure concern, some of private schools have a good building and teaching equipment. However, the schools have problem with regard to teacher quality which most of them is considered not qualified.

the opportunity to make friends to play with. Playing is also the reason for the children to always be excited to go to school.

2.2 Working Children and Its Factors

The latest survey on Child Labor (Survey Pekerja Anak/SPA) conducted in 2009 by ILO and Statistics Indonesia (BPS) revealed a modest prevalence of working children in Indonesia. Out of 58.8 million of Indonesian children in 2009, around 7 percent were categorized as working children, and 43 percent of them or 1.76 million were involved in child labor⁵. The survey also revealed that about half of those categorized as child labor, 57%, worked in the agricultural sector, 10.4% were involved in industry, 19% in trade, and the remaining 5.4% worked in service sectors. Regard to gender segregation, there were more boys involved in child labor than those of girls with the ratio of 126 (in every 100 girls who were involved in child labor, there were 126 boys who were involved in child labor) (SMERU, 2011).

Table 10. Estimation of the Number of Working Children and Child Laborers in Indonesia, 2009 (in thousands)

Age Group and Working Hours	Boys	Girls	Total
All working children within age group 5–12	320.1	354.2	674.3
Working children within age group 13–14 who work more than 15 hours per week	193.4	127.8	321.2
Working children within age group 15–17 who work more than 40 hours per week	463.6	296.3	759.8
Total Child Labor	977.1	778.2	1,775.30

Source: Indonesia Child Labor Survey (2009), as cited from SMERU, 2011

Regarding sample areas and the focus of the study which is children who are still participating in elementary or junior high school levels (as ILO and PKH targeted children), the study did not find any children in these categories who were involved in any forms of child labor, although some of them can be categorized as working children. Nevertheless, there were elementary or junior secondary aged children who have dropped out of school and undertook full time jobs. In addition, most children are involved significantly in doing domestic chores in their own houses.

2.2.1 Working children in the study areas

There are at least three types of working children in the study areas namely: children undertaking farm laborer during the harvest seasons, children working on assembly home industries, and children drop out of school and undertaking full time paid jobs or full time paid domestic works. In addition, most children in the study areas are involved significantly in doing domestic chores in their own houses.

⁵In this survey, *working child* is technically defined as a child who performs working activities whether paid or domestic works. This working child under specific conditions in regards to being of a certain age and having certain working hours is categorized as *child labor*. These conditions are:

- (i) A working child from 5 – 12 years of age regardless of their working hours;
- (ii) A working child from 13 – 14 years of age who works more than 15 hours per week;
- (iii) A working child from 15 – 17 years of age who works more than 40 hours per week.

a) Children working during the harvest seasons

The most common paid labor undertaken by children in the study areas is working during the harvest seasons. Most of the children were helping their parents who work as farm laborers. They usually work only on weekend or in school holidays and only for few days in every harvesting season, one day work lasted for about 5 hours. Most of children claimed that they did not received any money from working in the farm, the money is paid to their parents, and as compensation some of them got extra pocket money. Yet, there are a couple of children doing this job independently from their parents, in this case the payment goes to children directly. In general children started working in the farm since they are in the aged of 10. Regards to gender, there are more boys than girls involved in this agricultural work. Some child respondents admitted that working in the farm is very hard and tiring, often their body became sore and itchy after working in the farm.

b) Children participating in the home assembly industries

Another type of paid labor that much found in one of the study areas (in Kecamatan Monggor, Kabupaten Sukabumi) is children who are involved in home assembly manufacturers. The available assembly manufacturers in the study villages include making kites, gluing soccer balls and assembling disco lights. The manufacturer provide materials for the households to assemble products in their home. In one studied village, for example, there are about 500 households engage in the kite production, and most of them are involving children in the family, particularly girls. Similar to agricultural job, some children are only helping their parents (mostly mothers) and the payment goes to parents. Some other children doing this job independently from their parents and they receive money. Denok, for example, does her own kite assembly job at her home since she was at first grade of junior high school (see Box 1). Denok spent the earned money for paying her own expenses (including books, cloths, make up and mobile phone credit), and helping her parents in daily expenses such as for buying foods. In general children undertaking this job after their school hours and during the weekend or school holidays.

Box 1. Denok, the kite-maker girl

Of 10 participants on our senior secondary school girls FGD, Denok turned up to be the most confident and vocal: While other girls were shy and quiet Denok bravely answered nearly all questions raised by facilitator. She looked relatively well, she was taller than other girls her age, her uniform was clean and neat and she had some make up on her face. But not until we visited her house and interviewed her and her mother that we knew the real condition of Denok, the kite maker girl.

Denok (14) grew up in a family with nine children. She is the first in the family who can continue to junior secondary school level, her three older siblings are either completed or dropped out elementary school. Denok's family received PKH almost for all criteria, except for pregnant mother. Her father works as farm laborer, while her mother is busy caring for her younger sibling (aged 3)

Given the situation, studying at junior secondary school is a luxury opportunity for Denok, and above all she finance the study herself. Every day after arrives home at 2 pm (she needs 45 minutes to walk from school to her house) and has her lunch and performs afternoon praying, Denok starts to work on making kites at 3 pm. The afternoon work session lasted for two hours (until 5 pm) because she has to help her mother doing domestic work and to attend religious class. Before Denok went to bed she also did one hour work on her kite, from 9-10 pm. On Sunday she works more hours, starting from 9 to 11 in the morning, from 2 to 4 in the afternoon, and from 8 to 10 at night. On average she works 24 hours a week.

In general she can finish 1,000 pieces of kites in the period of two weeks. Every one rim she receives Rp18,000. She does her work independently, dealing with her boss, collecting the materials and delivering the products to her boss' house (she has to walk for 30 minutes while carrying 1000 pieces of kites). She claimed that she used the money she earned to finance her study and her personal expenses (clothes, make up, mobile phone), and some she also share with her parents for household daily expenses.

From Denok's case of working children we should wonder, will she stay at school if she earn no money?



A small number of children in one studied village (in Kecamatan Legon, Kabupaten Cianjur) are also involved in another type of paid laborer namely partly working as a domestic helper or as a scavenger. Some relatively richer households casually employing the girls from poor families in their neighborhood to perform domestic chores (such as doing laundry and dishes, cleaning or cooking). The works are undertaking after school hours or on the week end. The payment is on a daily basis at around Rp5,000/half day. While part time domestic helpers are usually undertaken by girls, some boys in the same village (mostly elementary school age) are busy collecting used plastic container (bottled water, etc.). The boys did this job in a group with their peers, playing while earning money at the same time. The collected plastic waste was then sold to middle men who come to the village once in a week.

c) Children drop out of school and undertake full time paid jobs

Of the three types of working children found in the study areas, the third type namely children undertaking full time paid jobs is the least cases found, yet this type is the most harmful for children's education and health.

In Kecamatan Monggor, Kabupaten Sukabumi, most girls who discontinued their basic education working in garment factories in the neighboring *kecamatan*. These girls were neither continuing their education after graduating from elementary school or dropping out from junior secondary school. While the opportunity to work in garment industry is lesser for boys, boys who discontinue

their study mostly worked as construction workers, *ojek* drivers, farm laborers, or just unemployed.

In Kecamatan Legon, Kabupaten Cianjur, most girls who discontinued their basic education are working as domestic helpers in three cities (Jakarta, Bandung or Cianjur) and some of them work as migrant workers in Saudi Arabia. This area is famous for supplying domestic helpers to the nearby big cities and female migrant workers overseas. The study identified two girls who did not continue to junior secondary school and was employed as domestic worker in nearby cities. Nevertheless both of these girls worked for only a short period of time, because they were too small (13-14 years) to adjust with working rhythm. The two girls went back to their villages and just worked once in a while as farm laborers.

d) Children undertaking domestic works in their own houses

A child performing domestic works in his/her own house is a normal phenomenon everywhere. Nevertheless when households appliances and infrastructures condition are not adequate such as water/toilet is not available in the house, these domestic works can be so much burden for children and (for women) living in that house. In both study areas some children have to spend relatively much time to perform domestic chores in their own houses. During the day, a child has to spend at least two hours of their time to do domestic works (elementary school children doing less than junior high school children). Some works are undertaken in the morning, before children go to school. These works include cleaning, fetching water and doing dishes and laundry. Other works are done during afternoon or evening, including looking after younger siblings, cooking, doing dishes, collecting firewood for domestic cooking and collecting grass for animal feed. Some works, such as collecting firewood or collecting grass, are not carried out on a daily basis but twice or three times in a week, some children doing laundry of their own and other family members in the weekend.

Some types of domestic works are carried out either by girls and boys, while some other works are still highly segregated by gender. Type of works that done by boys and girls almost in the same intensity are minding younger siblings and fetching water. The works that mostly done by girls include cleaning the houses, doing laundry and dishes and cooking, while those which mostly done by boys are collecting fire wood and collecting grass.

The distribution of domestic works between siblings much relies on the family member composition. If there is an adult daughter who still live in the house, other younger children would not be burdened too much of domestic works. When there is at least one boy and one girl in the family, the boys will do the boys works and the girls do theirs. In a case of the absent of either boy or girl, the gender segregation of work will not be applied, girls have to collect the fire wood or collect grass, or boys doing laundry and cooking.

The study found a couple of cases in Kecamatan Legon, Kabupaten Cianjur, when a female child in a family has to do full time domestic works in her own house, even though her age just 11 years old. This occurred because her mother is a migrant worker either in the nearest cities or abroad. The study found two cases that primary graduated girls did not continue to junior secondary level, because they have to take over their mother's responsibility for undertaking domestic works (particularly taking care of their younger siblings). See Box 2 on the story of Enah.

Box 2. A night that changed Enah's life

"I miss my mom so badly" (Enah)

The first time we saw Enah, she looked different from other girls on her age. She cut her hair very short, dressed up like a boy (a jeans paired with a hooded jacket covering her head). She had no smile and looked suspicious on us. Later, we found out the story covering Enah's appearance and personality.

Being an oldest girl in the family -she has four younger siblings: two boys (11 and 5) and two girls (4 and 2.5)- it is normal for Enah to help her mother in doing domestic works. But she is not helping her mother anymore, instead she has to do all works by herself from minding her younger sibling, cleaning, doing laundry and dishes, and cooking for the whole family members. This has been occurring since 15 months ago, when her mother left the house in the middle of the night, without even saying good bye to her. Her mother decided to be a migrant worker in Saudi Arabia.

For Enah, her life totally changed after that night. Every day she has to wake up at 05.00 pm do the cooking, laundry, and dishes. She can only has her own meal when she feed her youngest sister, and has only little free time for herself when her younger sister is asleep. *"My father got mad if I play with my own and did not mind my sisters"*.

Since her mother left, Enah was absent a lot from her school. Even though the school allows students to bring their younger sibling to the class, in preventing student from being absent, for Enah this is not a good option. She has two small siblings, school is 30 minutes walking from her house, and she was worry that it would be a shame if her younger sister cried in the class. Her father was not allowed her to go to school, *"who would taking care your younger siblings if you go to school"*, as Enah said. She continued being absent almost the whole last semester of her elementary school. Her teacher had to visit her house in persuading her and her father to allow her to participate in the final exam. She did the exam, but until the interview was undertaken, she has not collected her certificate, neither enrolled to junior secondary school.

Enah's father works at home. He takes order to sew jackets from a small local garment company in Bandung. Every day he can finish two jackets and earned about Rp10,000 to Rp15,000. Enah's family receives PKH, and Enah admitted that she participated in the remedial of ILO-Program, but only four times, due to her absence.

2.2.2 Factors of Working Children

In general the factors that contribute to working children can be divided into two categories: push factors which come from internal households, communities, and children themselves and pull factors which come from external changes and influences.

a) Push Factors

The first and strongest push factors for working children is household poverty. The main livelihoods available for adults (male and female) in study areas is as a farm laborer on land which is mostly owned by rich people from big cities. This type of work is not only paid low but also not available throughout the year. Plenty of jobs are only available during the planting and harvesting times. Limited livelihood availability in the village, made some adults (male and female) have to go out of the villages in searching for works. While male working as constructions workers (this type of work is also not available at any time), women are mostly work as domestic helpers in the nearest cities or overseas. The low educational attainment of adults (in general are not completed primary education and some even illiterate) hindered them to get higher paid jobs. In addition, poverty in this areas is not only caused by low income but also the large number of family member. We found many of our respondents have 5 or more children. Denok, the kite maker girl, for example she is number third of nine children in her family (with the older is 23 and the younger is

3 years old and all are still living in the same 30 m² semi-permanent house).⁶ Given this condition, working children in a poor household may be regarded as a hero, because they can either save their own education (when they are working part time during off school hours and used the earned money to pay for their education) or help their younger siblings to keep them stay in school, for working children who had drop out of school and undertake a full time job.

The second push factor is coming from local culture and norms. Working child is regarded positively as early life skill learning for children, to train them to be more responsible and disciplines as well as skillful. Furthermore, local norms confirmed that children is obligated to help their parents either within or outside the house and working is a better activity for children than playing. In addition, for girls helping mothers in performing domestic works is considered as women's apprenticeship for adulthood and marriage, because the traditional gender roles of women responsibilities upon domestic works. This cultural phenomenon is not only happening in research study areas, but in many countries, particularly developing ones.

The third push factor is coming from the children themselves. Some children could not bear to live in a poor household when their peers have more materialize things (better clothes, a mobile phone, make up, a bigger pocket money, or a motorbike. In this regards, children participating in paid labor is not merely because their parents cannot provide their basic needs (decent foods and educational expenses) but because these children want to fulfill their own desire towards those materialize stuff. Furthermore, school children who are surrounded with working peers are much easier to be influenced to discontinue their study and participate in child labor.

b) Pull factors

The first pull factor that contributes to working children is the existence of home assembly manufacturers or the outsourced labor market. Home assembly is increasingly considered as more efficient than factory manufacturer: It does not need big factory buildings, labor cost is less than that of a normal factory (no labor insurance and travel allowance), the works can be done by housewives at any possible times while they still have time doing the domestic works and minding their children. Although this manufactures are not directly targeted school aged children, but rather for unemployed housewives, nevertheless in many cases school aged children are participating in this type of industries. Children who participated are generally initially encouraged by the spirit of helping their parents, skillful learning, and working is better than playing for children, but when the children become expert they do it independently from their parents: deal with the boss and earn their own money. The available assembly manufacturers in the study villages include making kites, gluing soccer balls and assembling disco lights

Another significant external factor is the development of labor intensive industries, particularly garment, which demanded for massive cheap and low skill/uneducated labor. Kabupaten Sukabumi is a strategic place for establishing this type of industry: it closes to the biggest shipping port, Tanjung Priok in Jakarta, (this is important since most of the products is to be exported), the availability of cheap land supported by abundant young female labor force. The development of garment industry in this *kabupaten* has been started since the early 1990s, but not until mid-2000s that the industry became mushrooming in this area: from only 9 factories in 1992 became 71

⁶The role of family planning program seems to fail in this areas. Some local elites argues that this occurred because religious believe that forbid contraception. Other countering arguments, as mentioned by two female adult respondents, is that even thought they had tried several type of contraception including tablet/pill, injection or IUD, but all were not effective, when women had to deal with such a hard farm jobs

factories in 2007, has employed 24,588 of labor, nearly all are female, with the total investment of Rp1,159 billion (Kusmiati, 2011).

The development of garment industry in the study areas will not have much influence on basic school age children unless other push factor is exist namely the job broker or the middlemen. On paper, a person (either male or female) cannot be employed in any formal industries, if she/he is less than 18 years old and do not completed basic education. In reality, however, the existence of brokers have made it possible for under age children to be employed in garment factories. Though this study did not explore much about the existence of these brokers, some of our respondents explained their existence. Several respondents mentioned that it is needed around Rp500,000 for parents to pay a broker so that their children be employed by a garment factory. To make things easier, some factories only require an applicant to submit a copy of their junior secondary school certificate, instead of the original one, and the domicile status instead of the ID card. Some respondents admitted that this requirements are easy to be manipulated. With the help of a broker, a school certificate belong to anyone can be scanned and its name and year of graduation then be replaced by the applicants'. A village staff who was interviewed explained that they are not allowed to issue an ID card unless the child is 18 years old or above, and he has no idea on how these brokers can obtain a domicile status or fake ID for an applicant. He also mentioned that the head of *kabupaten* is very much concerned about this child labor issues and gave very strong warnings for village apparatus to not issue an ID card to an underage child.

There is also other additional factor that may indirectly contribute to children participating in the working children namely the decreasing of adult labor in the villages particularly in the areas of agriculture, home assembly manufacturer and domestic works. Firstly, the increasing number of migrant workers (domestic and overseas) has improved the opportunity or the requirement for children to fill the unoccupied jobs. Some children, particularly girls, whose mother working as a migrant worker, are required to fill their mother's responsibility in doing domestic works. This study found two cases when additional domestic work responsibility on school aged girls had lead them to discontinue their study. Secondly, increasing migrant workers (both male and female) also meant decreasing available labor during the harvesting time, and children are easily filling this gap. Thirdly, when young labor force are now more interested in working in the garment factories, since home assembly manufacture considered earning less, this gap also filled by school children.

There is, however, a significant factor which counters the pull factors of working children, namely the PKH program. The attached conditionality on education enrolment and minimum of attendance rate and the existence of program facilitators who frequently reminding beneficiary parents on the importance of education has to some extent prevented children of PKH beneficiaries from being absent from school or drop out of school and enter the category as working children.

III. ILO-PKH PROGRAM DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

3.1 Program Overview

3.1.1 Concept

The ILO's International Program for the Elimination of Child Labor (ILO's IPEC) has been continuing its support to the Indonesia Time-Bond Program (TBP) for the elimination of the worst forms of child labor (E-WFCL) through the 2nd phase of the project support. The project aims at contributing to the reduction of the overall number of children engaged in exploitative child labor in Indonesia. In particular, the 2nd phase of the project has tried to strengthen the Indonesian conditional cash transfer (CCT) program –known as Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH)- in reducing non-participation in school that will in turn contribute to reduction of child labor.

a) CCT as demand-side support for the improvement of education

The CCT program (PKH) in Indonesia has been initiated since 2007, and is designed to support demand-side improvements in education and health services for poor households, so that children from poor households can escape the inter-generational poverty trap. The target of PKH is very poor households with children aged 0-6 years, children of the elementary or junior secondary school age, and children less than 18 years who have not yet completed the nine years of compulsory schooling, as well as pregnant or breastfeeding mothers. PKH provides assistance in the form of cash, ranging from Rp600,000 – Rp2,200,000 per household per year in accordance with the composition of the households, and the funds are received three times a year via the post office. Households in receipt of PKH must meet certain requirements, namely sending children aged 7-18 years to school to achieve the compulsory nine years of schooling, taking children aged 0-6 years to health facilities, and the examination of pregnant women/mothers who have just given birth and their babies in healthcare facilities. In 2007 PKH was piloted in seven provinces, including West Sumatra, DKI Jakarta, West Java, East Java, North Sulawesi, Gorontalo, and NTT, covering a total of 49 *kabupaten* and 348 *kecamatan*. Then, it is expanded so that in 2010 it has been implemented in 90 *kabupaten* that are located in 20 provinces. It covers around 816,000 household recipients and total budget of Rp1.3 trillion in 2010.

b) Challenges faced by children from the poorest household to stay in school

While PKH provides the opportunity for children to enter or re-enter basic education, children from these poorest households face other challenges to stay in education system. Among the anticipated obstacles area: (i) the children that stay in school cannot catch up with the lesson and this may lead to drop out; (ii) the children attend school or other nonformal education but also work after school hours, and this could impact their learning ability and lead to them dropping out of school; (iii) practical problem of children returning to grade levels below the age and thus having difficulties in readjusting to school.

Thus, in order to strengthen PKH's impact on keeping children in school and reduce child labor, the 2nd phase Project of Support to Indonesia TBP in collaboration with local partners has provided additional educational services and other complementary services to PKH recipient children, their parents and communities.

Particularly, the exploratory study was done in villages where the action programs did not include services for parents and communities. The services provided for targeted children from PKH recipient families. Although in the practice, children not from PKH recipient families also being served by the program. They are “at risk” children—children from poor family.

3.2 Objectives

The program aims to strengthen the impact of conditional cash transfer program (PKH) in reducing non-participation in school that will (supposedly) in turn contribute to reduction of child labor, with specific objectives considering the local condition of each targeted *kecamatan*. In regard with local condition of our two study areas, the program has specific objective in preventing child trafficking in Kecamatan Monggor (Sukabumi) and in preventing child domestic labor in Kecamatan Legon (Cianjur).

3.3 Designed Activities

Direct educational services provided for targeted children from PKH recipient families, are as follow:

1. **Remedial Program:** is an additional learning program to assist children to improve their academic achievements, especially children of the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th grade from the PKH recipient families whose academic achievement is below the minimum passing grade. This program aims at preventing children from dropping out of school due to the children’s lack of capability to cope with the school program or because they are left behind, particularly in the subjects which are included in the national exams (Math, English, Bahasa, and Science).
2. **Life skill education:** aims at building child capacity to support child growth and development such as leadership skill, decision making, ability to express opinion or to speak out about rights and effective communication. Life skill is important for children to prevent and to protect them from the Worst Forms of Child Labor. The life skill training will use 3R (Rights, Responsibilities and Representation) Trainers’ Kit module or Modul for Trainers on Rights, Responsibilities and Representation which was developed by ILO-IPEC. At least 10 topics of life skill from the 3R Trainers’ Kit module will be delivered to these children.
3. **Child Creativity Center (Learning Center):** provide other additional learning activities such as reading, learning arts, etc. This center is not meant for the children from PKH receiving family only but also for other children who live nearby the center.
4. **Home visit:** is a way to assist and provide guidance to the students who face learning difficulties and personal problems. One of the objectives and purposes of the home visit is to acquire complete and concrete data and information regarding the conditions of the respective students and to inform the respective families directly about the school situation of the children. Activities in home visits will be observation, interview, especially on household conditions, learning facility and relationship among family members in connection with the student’s identified problems.

3.4 Duration

Duration of the program is 12 months, including preparation, implementation, and completion of the substantive and administrative reports. Starting and completion date of the program differ in each targeted *kecamatan*, just about from the end of 2009 to the end of 2010.

3.5 Implementers

Additional educational services are delivered in collaboration with local partners. Local partner in Kecamatan Legon is YGPNA (Yayasan Gerakan Penanggulangan Narkoba dan AIDS) and in Kecamatan Monggor is PKBM Edukasia.

3.6 Program Implementation

Both implementers in two sample areas of the exploratory study have delivered the four direct educational services: remedial, 3R, child creativity center, and home visit.

3.6.1 Remedial

In Monggor, remedial is well known as “additional lesson”, while in Legon is well known as “additional lesson” and or remedial. They call it as “additional lesson” simply because the program took time out of school hours—usually after the school hours or in the weekend, and because it was not included in the formal curriculum. They also refer to it as “remid”, it is simply because the program has similar aims with the existing remedial program, to improve students performance in some subjects that will be examined in the national examination. Long before ILO intervened the remedial program, schools in Monggor and Legon had already run their own remedial program especially for students with low performance and students in final year—preparing them for the national examination. Students and tutor in Legon named the remedial program with “GPNA’s remid” to differentiate it with the regular remedial program from the schools.

a) In Kecamatan Monggor

It was very difficult to precisely assess the exact delivery time of the remedial programs. From the exploratory study, the delivery time of remedial program in Monggor was from January 2010 to February 2011, with different starting and completion date in each treatment school. Regard to the time frequency, for elementary school level, meeting frequency of the remedial class was once a week, while for junior high school was once or twice a week. Time schedule of the elementary school student was more limited due to a *kabupaten* government policy on education stipulated elementary school student to have a *Madrasah Diniyah* certificate as a requirement to enter the junior high school. Elementary school student have to take the *Madrasah Diniyah* class after the school hour in weekdays. As a consequence, the remaining time for remedial was only in the weekend—especially Sunday, as in the Saturday some schools have their extracurricular schedule.

“The program was implemented throughout 2010. It was a two-hour class. It has in total 75 hours, which is 40 hours for remedial session and 35 hours for the 3R session”, (a tutor from an elementary school in Desa Jungkrang – Sukabumi).

All the participant of the remedial program in Monggor was student from PKH recipient family. They were elementary school level student from grade 4th, 5th, 6th, and junior high school level student from grade 7th and 8th. Both in sample villages of Babakan and Jungkrang, students from all the grades in the elementary school as well as those in all the grades in the junior high school were arranged in one class and teach by a tutor—became a mixed class. The program implementer decided to mix students from different grades in one class due to insufficient number of students in each grade who came from PKH recipient families. Worse yet, in Jungkrang (the remote village) the insufficient number of student from PKH recipient family has made the implementer decided to merge mixed classes from different schools. It was because, even when students (from PKH families) of different grades in one school has already been mixed, the number still insufficient. So they decided to merge the mixed class with the other mixed class from different schools.

Mixed class together with less qualified tutor teacher became a problem for the remedial program. In a mixed remedial class, tutor that used to teach 4th grade in the regular class has to teach not only students from the 4th grade but also students from 5th and 6th grade. As the consequence, the tutor did not teach them collectively so that the tutor could only teach them one by one in the class—by give them explanation only when they raised a question. Worse yet, tutor was frequently absent because they were busy studying at the university to meet the teacher certification program requirement.⁷

The subjects taught in the remedial class were those that examined in the final examination. For the SD level, the subjects were Indonesian Language, Math, Science, and life skills training (3R). For the SMP level, the subjects were Indonesian Language, Math, Science, 3R, and English. The material selected based on student needed (the most difficult subjects). There were no modules distributed to students. All the subject's materials were prepared by the tutor. They usually used the same material as they used in the regular class.

b) In Kecamatan Legon

Similar to Monggor, in Legon, it was also very difficult to precisely assess the exact delivery time of the remedial programs. Most of the informant found difficult to recall their memory about the remedial program that ran in 1 to 1.5 years back. From the explanation of the program implementer, the delivery time of remedial program in Legon was from June to October 2010 that was divided into two semesters within two different grades—two different academic years. The starting and completion date was different in each treatment school. Some school ran the program in one semester of the second round academic year, the other ran it in one semester in the first round of the next academic year, and the other ran in two semesters both within the second round of the academic year and first round of the next academic year.

“As I remember, the program was started from June 2009 for 6 months (in two semesters), but I am not sure... Three times a week. It was 2 hours lesson. (He then explained that one hour lesson is 45 minutes). There was no fixed schedule, sometimes on Saturday but sometimes on Sunday...”, (Iman, a tutor from a Junior High School in Desa Muhara – Cianjur).

Meeting frequencies for the remedial program in elementary and junior high school was three times a week (in average) during weekday after the school hour—usually from 2 to 4 pm . Different from Sukabumi, there is no obligation for the elementary school children to pursue *Madrasah*

⁷The teacher certification program is based on Law No.14/2005 on teacher and lecturer, stipulating the improvement of teacher quality and wealth. The program requires teacher and lecturer to hold bachelor (S1) degree or at least D4 degree to be reserved for teaching allowance.

Diniyah certificate in Legon (Cianjur). The predominant problem was not about the time schedule but more about distance. In some remedial class, number of absent student was quite high and the tutor said that it was because some of his student had to walk in distant to go home. As the remedial class finished at 4 pm they would reach their home in the late afternoon. Public transportation is limited in Legon, so that student has to go home by walk.

The student participate in the remedial class was not only those from PKH recipient family but also those from non PKH recipient. Yet, not only student with academic problems, students without academic problem or high qualified students also participate in the remedial class. Due to the remedial schedule, in Legon, the final year student did not participate in program because they were very busy in preparing for the national final examination. So that, the participant of the remedial program were student from 4th and 5th grades of the elementary school and student from 7th and 8th of the junior high school.

Student from different grades were arranged in different class and teach by a tutor that used to teach the related grade. So, there was no mixed class. However, some class has still to be merged with the same grade class in different school because there was only one tutor in each school. If a school had a tutor for 4th grade class, student from 5th grade had to have their remedial class in the other school that had a tutor of 5th grade. Different with the program implementer of Monggor Sub District that focused to meet the program's requirement of students should come from PKH recipient families, the program implementer of Legon Sub District focused more to provide the class with teachers teaching related grades—5th grade class has to be taught by 5th grade teacher.

Similar with the remedial in Monggor, in Legon, the subjects teach in the remedial class were also those that examined in the final examination. For the SD level, the subjects are Indonesian Language, Math, Science, and life skills training (3R). For the SMP level, the subjects are Indonesian Language, Math, Science, 3R, and English. But different from Monggor, in Legon, all received a module that included materials of the subject and 3R inside. In some remedial class, student from PKH recipient family received one module for one student and the non PKH recipient student have to share a module with another non PKH student due to limited amount of the copied modules. However, all the students received module with no charge.

3.6.2 Life Skill Training (3R)

Most of the student did not recognize the life skill training (3R) as a different intervention with the remedial class because it was delivered during the remedial class. Yet, the 3R was employed as a new teaching method for the tutor in delivering materials in remedial class. From the exploratory study, what the student remembered about the 3R was fun activities such as: drawing, story-telling, play puzzle, and many more games played during the remedial.

a) In Kecamatan Monggor

In Monggor, the 3R activities were delivered by Edukasia facilitator (the program implementer). The role of class tutor was only assisting the Edukasia facilitator in delivering the 3R. Activities conducted during the 3R included: drawing, singing, playing puzzle, games (such as: snak and stair), dancing chairs, producing and trading simulation of banana chip product, origami, self-introduction, watching video about the child trafficking, describing pictures, and teamwork building.

Table 11. Some of 3R Activities

What do you remember about the 3R activities?
Making a boat shape with folding paper (origami)
Drawing
Expressing hope and dreams in front of the class
Trading simulation

Source: as revealed during focus group discussion with elementary school children in Desa Jungkrang (Babakan – Sukabumi).

There was no 3R module for the students. The 3R module from the ILO was only for the tutor's guidance and aimed to be used by the tutors in improving their teaching method—to be more fun and effective (well accepted by the students). Sometimes, the 3R tutor (Edukasia facilitator) brings story books or comics to be read by students in class. The 3R usually conducted once a week during the remedial class, but in sample village of Jungkrang (remote area) it has irregular schedule depend on the Edukasia facilitator availability.

b) In Legon Sub District

Different from Monggor, the 3R were delivered by the tutors during the remedial class. They have employed the 3R method in their daily teaching activities. For example, drama was conducted in delivering Indonesian Language lesson, a team work game was conducted in delivering math lesson, and practical experiments conducted during Science lessons. In addition to practical lessons, games and simulations were conducted as cognitive exercise (concentration and sensitivity). The 3R materials were included as part of remedial module received by the students.

“When discussing capillarity in natural science lessons, I asked my students to prepare transparent tubes that contained colored water (different color for each tube). Then, I asked the students to put white flowers on the tubes containing colored water. In few days later they could see that the flowers change their color according to the color of water that was loaded into the tubes...”, (Udin, a tutor from an Elementary School in Desa Muhara – Cianjur).

3.2.3 Child Creativity Center (Learning Center)

a) Kecamatan Monggor

One child creativity center was established at the capital of Kecamatan Monggor (Desa Babakan). The center only accessed by children living nearby. Only a few children whose accessed the center because most of the children living far from the center and not well informed about the center. The establishment of the center was not effective. All the equipment and books became under used. Therefore, the center only functioned as the basecamp (local office) of the program implementers (Edukasia) and meeting point for the tutors. So that, the center was only open during the office hours (from Monday to Friday, 8 am to 4 pm) and facilitate by anybody who were at the office.

“I have come to sanggar (child creativity center) for twice. It was fine at the first visit. But at the second visit I did not meet anybody there...seems that the sanggar was close that day...I felt disappointed because I have to walk for distant to reach the sanggar. It was located near the post office. After that, I never come to the sanggar again...”, (Yuli, an elementary school student in Desa Babakan – Sukabumi).

b) Kecamatan Legon

Two child centers were established at the capital of Kecamatan Legon in Legon village and in Lamping village which is remote from the capital. Similar with the child center in Monggor, child center in Legon only accessed by children who were informed and live nearby the center. The center also used by students who were practicing drama for the preparation of their performance at school. One of the centers established in a house which half part of the house being used by a tutor as his home. So that the center open whole day depend on the availability of the tutor. Now—after the program has finished, the center re-functioned as an early childhood education center (PAUD) running by the tutor (and his wife). All the equipment and books are used for the PAUD.

3.2.4 Home Visit

a) In Monggor Sub District

In Monggor, home visits were delivered for students from PKH recipient family and at risk students from non PKH recipient family with personal problems, such as: family problems, low school attendance and low academic performance. There was also a student visited by the home visit team because of having serious liver disease. Home visits were carried out by Edukasia facilitator together with tutor and PKH facilitator, but it depends on the situation. If the problem faced by the student caused by the teacher or tutor, thus the home visit will be carried out by Edukasia and PKH facilitator only—without the teacher or tutor. Activities during the home visit included: danger of trafficking, encouraging students to pursue their higher education, influence parent’s perception about the importance of child education, give a gift for students such as school stationeries.

b) In Legon Sub District

In Legon, home visits were not only delivered for students from PKH recipient family and at risk students from non PKH recipient family with personal problems, but also for students with high education achievement. One of the students visited by the home visit team was the winner of Math Olympiad at *kabupaten* level. The student was visited because of he has a good academic achievement but at risk due to his family economic problem. During the home visit, the home visit team (YGPNA facilitator and tutor) tried to enlighten his parent not to much obligate the student with domestic chores so that he could have more time for studying at home.

“The teacher was come to ask my daughter to participate in final examination. She said that, even though my daughter was often absent from school, she (my daughter) still has to participate in the examination...”, (a father of school discontinued student visited by the home visit team in Desa Lamping – Cianjur).

3.7 Problems Revealed during the Implementation: Implementers' Point of View

Some problems faced by the program implementers during the implementation of direct educational services.

3.3.1 In Kecamatan Monggor

- Rotation of government officials and no knowledge transfer from officials who previously served to the new officials. As the result, implementers should make introductions and informal socialization efforts repeatedly. At village level, socialization was very important as the *kelurahan* elites have big influence to re-socialize the program to the schools and to the other stakeholders in the village. In Desa Babakan, there was a big reshuffle of village elites. The former villages did not socialize the program very well to the stakeholders in the village (PKH, School, and the others), yet the new elites did not know anything about the program.
- A *kabupaten* government policy on education stipulated elementary school student to have a *Madrasah Diniyah* certificate as a requirement to enter the junior high school. As the consequent, the remaining time for remedial was limited.
- The time remaining for ILO remedial program was only on Sunday because the school already has its own remedial programs—which was already there before the remedial program from ILO Teacher certification program also makes teachers' time to teach outside of school hours is limited

3.7.2 In Kecamatan Legon

- NGO has a bad image in public eyes and often receive poor response from the people. For example, some NGO often come to school in order to gain benefit by searching mistakes from BOS budget implementation, some NGO also often come to village and doing activities without permission from village elites. Bad image of NGO in public eyes has made people become resistance to NGO. At the first time, it was quite difficult for the implementer in socializing the program to schools. Some school even refused to join in the program;
- Rotation of government officials that are too fast, as happened to officials in the *kabupaten* offices, educational office at *kecamatan* level, and even in the village office;
- There was no sufficient budget for socialization of the program. The budget provided for socialization only for 15 people of community leaders and *kabupaten*-level officials and only for first socialization. The implementer hoped for more socialization activities facilitated by the ILO, so that the program become more down to earth and well known
- No training for administrative matters. To make financial statements report, it only provided with guidelines that were sent via email. This made the implementer confused. In addition, the financial statements should also be given in every four months. For them, the four months cycle is too long. Disbursement of funds was often takes a long time.

3.8 Implementers' Perception about Program Design

3.8.1 In Kecamatan Monggor

- Program should have more dissemination activities, to the government officials, society, as well as parents
- Program should have more attention to the parenting side (guidance to parents) because parents play an important role to their children
- Child creativity center was not effective and only accessed by children live nearby. Implementers suggested for more mobile program, such as mobile libraries, in order to reach more children

3.8.2 In Kecamatan Legon

- Program should be more applicable with the local context and local needs
- The 3Rs should be more blended with the remedial lessons
- Child creativity center was not effective
- More budget for transportation (especially for heavy and remote areas)

IV. IMPACTS OF ILO-IPEC ON STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

The previous section explains that the objectives of the four activities of ILO-IPEC were to improve the academic skills and creativity of the PKH children and to encourage their awareness of the importance of education for their future. Based on the achievements of these objectives, the final objective of the program was set to prevent children from entering the labor force at an early age and/or to stop child labor among the PKH children.

The following section gives a qualitative overview regarding the outcomes, benefits, and impacts of ILO-IPEC with relation to students and the teaching methods adopted by the teachers of schools that obtain benefits from ILO-IPEC. In program monitoring and evaluation, the terms outcomes, benefits, and impacts usually refer to different meanings and indicators. However, since some basic requirements on the data and information were not available, this explorative study will use these terms interchangeably without making any sharp distinctions in their meanings and indicators.

4.1 The Program's Impacts on Students

The activities of ILO-IPEC intended for students consist of remedial treatment on certain subjects, such as math, science, Bahasa Indonesia, and, in one sample village, English; the 3R activity; and the establishment of child centers. To see the impacts of the program, this study approaches it from four aspects: academic achievement (grades), especially on subjects that need remedial treatment; changes in enrollment and absenteeism rates; changes in students' perception and knowledge on child labor issues; and behavioral changes on the part of the students toward child labor issues. The fourth aspect is particularly important because, to some extent, some children receiving the treatment had already been involved in child labor prior to the implementation of ILO-IPEC.

4.1.1 Academic Achievement

Among the ILO-IPEC activities, the provision of additional learning (remedial treatment) to SD and SMP students was the dominant one. In general, students who received remedial treatment were able to remember and give fairly accurate information on various aspects of this activity. Some parents were also aware of this activity although, in general, they did not know that the remedial treatment was part of ILO-IPEC. Both parents and non-tutoring teachers generally recognize ILO-IPEC only from its remedial treatment.

The remedial treatment itself was directly associated with an effort to increase students' mastery of particular subjects. For that reason, the impact of the remedial treatment on students' ability was actually very easy to measure. Quantitatively, the easiest way was to compare test results of subjects in question before and after getting the remedial treatment. Unfortunately, the quantitative measurement was unable to be conducted, as data on the test results was unavailable. However, information on test results obtained from the tutors and program implementers revealed a positive impact of the remedial treatment on students' achievement. The positive impact should nevertheless be treated with caution for three reasons. First, the tests before and after the remedial treatment were not conducted by an independent party but rather

by the tutors themselves; hence the possibility of a bias. Second, there was an indication that the test results did not purely reflect the students' ability. The indication was based, among other things, on a program implementer's statement that specifically asked the tutors to boost the students' grades after the remedial treatment. The request was accompanied with a note that the grades should be increased only moderately so that it did not become too obvious. "The grades of the students (should) go up but not too high, ... say just increase them from approximately 6.2 to 6.5" Third, in most of the sample schools, other types of remedial activities initiated and organized by the schools themselves were also available, particularly for (but not limited to) sixth and ninth grade students who were preparing to face the national examination. This additional treatment would certainly have created a certain bias to the above judgment.

To overcome such problems, this study also makes use of the qualitative approach in examining the effectiveness of the remedial treatment by looking at the statements made by students, tutoring teachers, non-tutoring teachers, and parents. In the four sample villages, the general impact of ILO-IPEC varies. This is partly due to several factors that influence the remedial treatment in each village. These factors comprise the different mechanisms adopted to conduct the treatment, such as merging students of different grades in one classroom; tutors' absenteeism and their expertise; and frequency of classes⁸.

a) Desa Babakan

In Desa Babakan, the students who received remedial treatment generally said that they were very pleased with this activity because the teaching methods became more varied. In addition, the remedial activities were also accompanied with the delivery of the 3R activity (conducted by tutors from the implementing NGO) that they had never received in the regular learning in the classroom. Most of the participating students also stated that the remedial activities had some considerable benefits. The activities gave them additional opportunities to discuss lessons that they find difficult to understand during their regular classroom learning. Such opportunities could encourage their confidence in expressing their opinions or, at least, when raising questions. Such attitude is a precondition of students being able to understand the subjects better.

The following quotations illustrate the benefits of ILO-IPEC with relation to academic achievement, particularly the impact of the remedial activities on the students receiving the treatment in Desa Babakan:

I am glad to get extra learning [remedial treatment] because this remedial activity increases my knowledge and it makes me more disciplined and I become smarter. (Eneng, SD student, Desa Babakan)

Able to get more knowledge. Able to improve my grades. Able to learn more. (Bajuri, SD student, Desa Babakan)

At the time I took the remedial treatment, I felt smarter. I found it [the lesson] even easier to learn. (Atong, SD student, Desa Babakan)

Knowing what was previously unknown. Improve intelligence. Able to improve grades. (Entin, SD student, Desa Babakan)

⁸The duration of the remedial and 3R programs was 72 hours. Some villages/schools implemented the programs three days a week (two hours a day), while some others had them once a week (2–3 hours a day). As a result, the duration of the program ranged between about two months and about six months.

The benefit [is that I] can ask questions about lessons that I don't understand in the regular classroom, so I can finally understand. (Galuh, SD student, Desa Babakan)

Children are more creative now and there is willingness to improve. (Tutoring teacher, Desa Babakan)

The (remedial) activity can be beneficial because students get extra learning. But, to what extent that benefit is, I do not know. (Non-tutoring teachers, Desa Babakan)

Contrary to the description above, a small number of students did not benefit from the remedial treatment because they did not consider that they got new lessons. The lessons taught in the remedial classes were the same as those taught in the regular classes. According to the implementing NGO staff, no new lessons were taught in the remedial classes because the materials were taken from books used in the regular classes. For some students, repeating the same lessons is boring, so for them the remedial class was not effective. One student said, "The benefit is the same [as that in a regular class] because the lessons are repeated" (Wishnu, SD student, Desa Babakan).

In addition to the impact in the form of academic achievement, positive impacts on children could also be observed from the 3R activities and child center activities. The students stated, among other things, that:

If I go to the child center, I can read story books. My drawing skills also get better. (Eneng, SD student, Desa Babakan)

In the child center, I read books and after reading the books, I can play outside. In the child center, I am very happy. (Odah, SD student, Desa Babakan)

However, for some children, the child center's location is relatively far from their home and therefore, it was not used optimally. In addition, some children also felt disappointed because there were days when there were no officers or staff available in the child center to maintain it and/or provide guidance to the children. The following expression of a respondent describes this problem.

I came to the child center twice on Sunday between 8–11 o'clock because Bu Ida [a facilitator from the implementing NGO] asked me to do so. The child center's location is near the post office. After that, I came myself to the center, but nobody was there. Since that time, I never came there again. (Galuh, SD student, Desa Babakan)

According to an implementing NGO staff, the child center was not that effective because it was only used by children living near the center. The informant suggested that the child center be made mobile just like the existing mobile libraries in order to be able to reach more children.

b) Desa Jungkrang

In Desa Jungkrang, the impact of ILO-IPEC was more diverse than that in Desa Babakan. Although the implementing NGO in both villages was the same, as the facilitators and tutors assigned to both villages were different people and perhaps the villages' socioeconomic background was different, the outputs were also different.

Especially for the remedial activities, some respondents expressed that these activities could improve their academic achievement and the implementation was not boring. In contrast, some

others stated that the activities were tedious and did not make a significant impact on students' academic achievement. Some quotations below illustrate the diversity of respondents' opinions regarding the remedial activities. For those who considered remedial classes to have great benefits, they gave the following opinions:

It helps when I have an exam, [but it's] tiring because [remedial activities are conducted] after school hours. (Marni, SMP student, Desa Jungkrang)

Yes, it is fun because I get so much from it. No, not boring. (Icih, SD student, Desa Jungkrang)

My grade has improved, from an average of 6.5 to an average of 7. (Bagja, SMP student, Desa Jungkrang)

For those who did not consider the remedial classes to have given any benefit, their reasons were the following:

The questions/lessons we discussed in the remedial class did not come out in the UAS [final examination], just a little bit. You do not become smarter than your friends who do not participate in the remedial classes. The teacher often does not come because he also teaches in other schools, so his schedules came into conflict. (FGD for female SMP students, Desa Jungkrang)

The boys [students] are lazy to come because they hurry to go home to play soccer. The girls are more diligent than the boys. (FGD for female SMP students, Desa Jungkrang)

In the remedial class, the students have to solve exercises by themselves. If there is anyone who does not understand, then he/she can ask [to the teacher/tutor]. The teacher does not explain in front of the class because there are students from different grades: grades 5 and 6. (FGD for SD students, Desa Jungkrang)

The students are not so happy with the remedial class because the teachers and the lessons are the same as the ones they get from the regular classes. (Tutor for SD students, Desa Jungkrang)

According to an implementing NGO staff, one of the obstacles in implementing the remedial activities was the students' time constraints. This is caused by Kabupaten Sukabumi Administration's policy which requires that all public SD students attend a diniah school in order that they can continue to SMP. With this policy, after returning home from the public SD (at about 1 p.m.), the students have to attend the afternoon diniah school (from 2–4 p.m.). In addition, the Teacher Certification program has also made the teachers' time to teach outside the regular school hours limited. There were some schools that implemented the remedial programs on Sundays because these schools already had their own remedial programs (which were already running before ILO-IPEC was introduced).

c) Desa Muhara

In general, the ILO-IPEC activities in Desa Muhara were able to increase students' academic achievement, both for SD and SMP students. This was partly because students had more interaction time with teachers in learning the subjects and the lessons discussed in the remedial class preceded those in the regular class. The following quotations reflect the benefits of this program received by the students.

The benefit is increasing knowledge. Able to better understand the subject. Grades improve because we have a better understanding on the subject. (FGD for male MTs students, Desa Muhara)

The benefit [is that] the students can learn the subject in advance before the subject is taught in regular classes. It [also] makes it easier for teachers to explain the subject in the regular classes. (Non-tutoring teachers for SD students, Desa Muhara)

[The benefit] fluctuates. [For some students,] the grades were unchanged, but for some others, they have increased. Mostly, they increased. (Tutors for SD students, Desa Muhara)

Better understanding on the subject. There was one case where one of my students [named Tri] were showing good grades on math. I asked him about the math grades of the other students and he answered that the other students had all passed math as well. (Tutor for SMP students, Desa Muhara)

I think that it can improve students' achievement because they have more time to learn the subject. But, I do not know how much they improve because it's not the subject that I teach. (Non-tutoring teacher for SMP students, Desa Muhara)

The benefit of the remedial class was that the students' grades were increasing. My son has ranked first in his class. Previously, he was ranked sixth (Dadan, FGD for mothers, Desa Muhara)

My son is more diligent now. (Nunung, FGD for mothers, Desa Muhara)

Remedial classes have made my daughter have more skills, particularly in writing (Iteung, FGD for mothers, Desa Muhara)

In addition, remedial classes that were also accompanied with the 3R program had made the students more confident. Students who were previously passive became more active in the remedial classes. As an example, respondents said that at the time of the enrollment for performing arts activities, the students became enthusiastic and voluntarily active to participate, whereas previously, that is, before the remedial classes and 3R program, most of them were shy to show their interest in such activities (Tutor for SD students, Desa Muhara).

d) Desa Lamping

Improvement in understanding the subjects was the general impact of ILO-IPEC. Both students and teachers engaged in the remedial activities generally stated that an increased understanding occurred because the students had the opportunity to repeat the subjects that were taught in regular classes. In addition, the remedial classes used different teaching methods from those used in the regular classes. In the remedial classes, the tutors generally adopted the student-engaging method of teaching, which allowed students to actively ask questions or discuss the subjects. At the beginning, this unusual method was rather difficult because the students themselves were not used to being exposed to it. But, in the end, the students in fact liked the method. The students' audacity to express their opinions in discussions was part of the success of the tutors' delivery of the 3R program. With the 3R program, the tutors were able to encourage the confidence of the students.

Despite the positive impact of ILO-IPEC with relation to academic achievement, some respondents regretted that the implementation of this program lasted too short. The following quotations provide descriptions on the impact of ILO-IPEC in Desa Lamping.

The duration of the remedial class was too short, only four times, so it does not help me understand the subject well. Before I understood the subject well enough, it's already over. If the remedial class had been more frequent and longer, perhaps it can help me understand the subject better. (Kokom, SMP student, Desa Lamping)

Good. The students have the opportunity to repeat the subject and have a deeper understanding on the subject. (Tutors for SD students, Desa Lamping)

Very helpful for the students in understanding the subject. (FGD for SD and SMP students, Desa Lamping)

The learning system is to learn together: All students hold a book and then they learn together on the subject that is difficult to understand. Sometimes, students can explain to each other, so the role of the tutor is just to facilitate the learning process. We avoid the one-way method of teaching. We try to implement the 3R method in regular classes by employing the student-engaging learning process. (Tutors for SD students, Desa Lamping)

Based on the explanation above, Table 12 gives a summary of the impact of remedial classes on academic achievement in the four sample villages.

Table 12. The Impact of Remedial Classes and the 3R Activities on Academic Achievement

Desa Babakan	Desa Jungkrang	Desa Muhara	Desa Lamping
Treatment SD: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved understanding because students had more time to ask and discuss with teachers Improved knowledge on related subjects 	Treatment SMP: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Little impact because teachers were frequently absent and the materials delivered were not asked in the final examination Improved understanding 	Treatment SMP: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Little impact because teachers were frequently absent and the materials delivered were not asked in the final examination Improved understanding 	Treatment SD: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved understanding on related subjects

4.1.2 Enrollment and attendance

The nine-year compulsory basic education program, which is coupled with a CCT program, is a government policy to ensure that all Indonesian children get basic education. In Desa Babakan and Desa Muhara, enrollment rates for SD and SMP were high. This condition did not correlate with ILO-IPEC because the program was not designed specifically for intervening enrollment rates. In the last five years, SDN II Babakan, for example, has not had a single dropout case. There was only one case of a student who lost interest to go to SMP after graduating from SD. But, the student eventually became excited to continue his education to SMP the next school year after realizing that all his friends had continued their study to SMP. The same thing also occurred at two sample SD in Desa Muhara. The students' attendance rates in this two sample schools were also high, more than 90%. Children from poor families who had often been absent for various reasons are now becoming more diligent to go to school because of the CCT program.

However, for the SMP level (including MTs), dropout cases took place. In MTs Al Ikhlas Muhara—a treatment school—for example, in 2011, there have been two cases of student dropouts (grade 8). In the previous years, there were also a couple of dropout cases. According to respondents, the students dropped out because they did not want study anymore. The school itself had tried a variety of approaches to prevent dropouts, but according to a teacher of MTs Al Ikhlas, *"If they themselves do not like going to school, what else is there to do?"* Still according to the respondent's perception, the possible reasons for the dropouts were because, *"They wanted to work, to have their own money, or because their parents were not able to fulfill their needs ..."*. In such cases, it

seems that efforts to prevent students from dropping out cannot be done only by means of persuasive-educative approaches. These cases also indicate that the problem of child labor does not only root in issues that occur in the education sector alone. It involves multidimensional factors. The FGD for SMP students in Desa Jungkrang, for example, stated that the desire to attend school was quite high as revealed in their statement, *"We want to go to college, but, well, we have to be aware of our own condition"*. Nevertheless, the conflict between their aspiration to go to school and the objective condition of their daily life was the one factor that eventually forced them to come to terms with reality. They had to prioritize other necessities of their life at the expense of their education need.

To a certain extent, the 3R program was able to give positive influence on the students' attendance rate. Students who received the 3R program were generally more aware of the importance of education for their future. However, it is difficult to see the impact of this program separately from that of the PKH program. Before ILO-IPEC was introduced, the CCT program had implemented sanctions mechanism against recipient families whose children did not fulfill the minimum attendance rate. In this context, ILO-IPEC acted as a factor that strengthened the level of students' attendance rate. As indicated by the following quotations, ILO-IPEC has been able to influence children's attitude so that they become more diligent to go the school.

Children now have more motivation to get a high academic achievement [they are more diligent to go to school now]. (Tutor for SD students, Desa Babakan)

Puspita is diligent to go to school. She goes to school every day. She wants to continue her study from SD to SMP. It would be a pity if I do not send her to SMP. She is very eager to have better education. (Mother of a student receiving the treatment, Desa Babakan)

The enrollment and absenteeism rates in Desa Lamping and Desa Jungkrang were relatively worse than those in Desa Babakan and Desa Muhara. The CCT and ILO-IPEC did not seem to be able to prevent some students from dropping out and/or having a high absenteeism rate. The reason why they did not want to continue their education was usually because they themselves did not want to attend school anymore for various reasons or because they wanted to work (interview, village head, Desa Lamping). Students who dropped out of SMP were mostly girls and they generally sought work as a domestic servant.

In response to such condition, the school in Desa Lamping, along with the village administration, tried to persuade the students to go back to school. The village administration had even provided them with the books and uniforms, but the level of success was only 50%. According to the village head of Desa Lamping, the main reason of the dropouts was due to family economic problems. Related to this issue, several cases indicate that the students dropped out because they lacked the attention from their parents who were migrant workers. To cope with the high rate of students' dropout, a respondent stated, *"Activities like 3R can help reduce the level of dropout. Yet to be effective, the provision of 3R must be done continuously"* (tutor for SD students, Desa Lamping).

Tabel 13 gives the summary of the likely impact of ILO-IPEC on enrollment and attendance rates in the four sample villages, besides the condition before the program's implementation.

Table 13. Impact of the Program on Enrollment and Attendance Rates

Desa Babakan	Desa Jungkrang	Desa Muhara	Desa Lamping
The condition was as good as the condition before project implementation	At the treatment SD, there were cases of students who did not continue to SMP	The condition is the same as that in Desa Babakan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the treatment school, there were cases that children of the PKH recipients dropped out or did not continue their education In the control school, three students dropped out or discontinued their education.

4.1.3 Perception of Students Receiving the Treatment on Education and Child Labor

Two of the key objectives of ILO-IPEC are to foster the perception of the students regarding the importance of education for their future and to bring to students' attention the negative aspects of child labor. Through the 3R, child center, and home visit activities, both children and parents in all the sample villages more or less had gained a broader understanding of these two aspects. In general, ILO-IPEC recipients (students receiving the treatment) obtained the strong messages conveyed that the schooling world, along with the nature of children's activities (such as playing), is much better for the children compared to the child labor world. Although this awareness is highly cognitive in nature, at least it can provide an early warning for them. The following quotations are perceptions of the students receiving the treatment that indicate the cognitive awareness that has grown among them.

I want to continue studying. I want to become a teacher. But, I have to understand my parents' economic capability. (Icih, MTs student, Desa Jungkrang)

We are so motivated to have higher education, so we can have a better job, unlike the one in the comic book [picturing a job as a domestic servant]. (FGD for male MTs students, Desa Muhara)

Education is the means to find a job. I want to study at least until high school. But, if I look at the condition of my parents, I don't think that my parents are able to send me to high school. (Odang, SD student, Desa Babakan)

I feel more encouraged to continue my education. If we can get education as high as possible, we can also usually be a successful person. (Bagja, SMP student, Desa Jungkrang)

I am so afraid to work as a housemaid. I am afraid to be mistreated. So, we have become aware of the danger of child labor. (Kokom, SMP student, Desa Lamping)

[The difference has] become more obvious between the schooling world and the child labor world; the schooling world is better, Ma'am. They who work continue working in a shoe factory, gluing, etc., from morning to evening. At the same time, those who are in school are already in bed, have already had their bath, have already eaten, and have had time to play soccer. (FGD for female SMP students, Desa Jungkrang)

4.1.4 Attitude of the Students Receiving Treatment

The impact of ILO-IPEC on the growing awareness of the students on the importance of education and the negative aspects of child labor was in fact not a guarantee for keeping the students in school and/or delaying their entering the labor world. Although there were only a few cases, the previous information in subchapter 4.1.2 indicates that some students had dropped out albeit receiving ILO-IPEC. Moreover, none of the students who were also child laborers/working children intended to leave their job after getting the "enlightenment" from ILO-IPEC. For all the sample villages, the following quotations from FGDs and in-depth interviews with the students receiving the treatment provide information that the problems of students' dropout and child labor/working children remain unsolved.

- a. The response of FGD participants after watching a video on child labor was, *"It's sad to see the child labor world. It is better to have a school."* Nonetheless, the video does not make them quit their job. There were four FGD participants who continued to work as a kite maker. One child worked for a kite-making boss and three others helped their mother to make kites. Their perceptions of their job were, *"Other children play, but we have to work to make kites"* and *"It is OK, Ma'am. We make kites at home and while working, we can chat with each other."* There were also FGD participants who worked in the paddy field stating, *"I assist my parents in the paddy field during the harvest season [as a paid laborer] after school time. [Working in the field] is heavy, tiring, hot, itchy"* and *"I have no choice, Ma'am. I feel pity for my parents"* (FGD for female students of a treatment SMP, Desa Jungkrang).

Box 3.
Puspita Continues School even if She Has to Borrow a Lot of Money

Puspita is 13 years old now and is in the eighth grade of SMPN 2 Monggor of Kabupaten Sukabumi. Her family consists of five members, where three children are still financially dependent on their parents, including Puspita herself. Her father does a lot of odd jobs, but he mainly works as a construction worker. In the last three months, her father has practically been unemployed, as there was no construction of buildings in Desa Babakan during that period. Meanwhile, Puspita's mother is as a laundress who makes an income of Rp200,000 per month. Puspita's family lives in a house that is 7 by 8 square meters wide and is made from woven bamboo with two bedrooms, a living room, a kitchen, and no bathroom. The ground is covered with a torn plastic dot carpet. In the living room, there is only one sofa and it has a broken leg which is propped up with stones. There is also a 14-inch television which is dull and dusty.

The distance from Puspita's house to her school is about five kilometers and she usually reaches her school by public transportation, which costs Rp1,000 one way. Puspita is delighted of the fact that she can still continue school to junior high school. Initially, her parents could not afford to have her continue school after completing elementary school due to the daily costs needed for school, including transportation fees and snacks. However, Puspita's persistent whining about continuing school made her parents finally grant her wish. "It would be a shame if we did not send you to school, considering that you are such an eager student. Finally, for your daily needs just take what we have; if we have [money], we will give you Rp3.000; if we are short of money, we will give you at least Rp1,000 and we will even borrow from our neighbors," her mother explained. According to Puspita, when she was in the first year of junior high school, quite often her mother would only give her Rp1,000 to get to school which only covered a one-way fare. To get home, she usually borrowed money from the class treasurer and paid the money back when her mother gave her Rp3.000 the next day. "I was never ashamed of borrowing from the treasurer because I was not stealing anything. I would pay it back when I have the money," Puspita said.

To her parents' amazement, despite the many obstacles faced, Puspita was never absent from school, unless when she got sick. Her parents were proud of her for being unashamed or for not being embarrassed by her friends. For Puspita herself, there is a very strong reason for why she is trying hard to stay in school: It is only by having a higher education that the opportunity for getting a better job will be opened to her. By getting a good job later, Puspita is looking forward to helping the financial condition of her family which is getting worse. "What a pity for my parents; if not assisted by their daughter, they might have to go through a more difficult life," Puspita said.

In the last year, Puspita only occasionally borrows money from her class treasurer, as she got a job from a manufacturer of flashing decoration lights (popularly called disco lights or *lampu disko* by the community). The work is done at home by her mother. When she finishes her task, the light bulbs will be collected by a villager who will then deliver the lights to the manufacturer. The job requires inserting electrical filament into the incandescent light bulb. The electrical filament is inserted into the bulb just like inserting yarn into a needle. The task of inserting a light bulb with filament is priced at Rp1 each. Minimum work requires completing 1,000 light bulbs at a fee of Rp1,000. Puspita frequently asks her mother to take more of these jobs so that she can do the work and collect money from the job. The average time spent for completing 1,000 light bulbs is three hours. Puspita usually does this work after school and finishes until about 5 p.m.

For Puspita, doing this job and earning money this way is very normal for children like her whose parents' come from a poor family. Most of the children in Monggor are from poor families and they take this job, too. She feels happy although sometimes she feels tired. "You see, by making the lights, I no longer have to borrow money for transportation to school. Even if only in a little amount, I can still save some money," Puspita said.

- b. The (male) FGD participants appeared to be more excited when the question about the work they do after school was asked. Gugun, Bagja, Endang, and Entang stated that they worked in the kite industry after school hours and helping their parents doing domestic chores. Engkus stated that he does domestic chores like fetching water. Harja does almost all the domestic chores like cooking, washing clothes, cleaning the house, fetching water, etc. because his father had already passed away and his mother worked. These teenagers seem to be proud of being able to earn extra money and help their family's economy. This can be seen from the way Engkus expressed himself. He originally stated that his work was only doing domestic chores. However, after Bagja, Endang, Entang, and Gugun mentioned that they were moonlighting to make kites, Engkus rushed to add that he was also working to make kites as well. Harja looked

somewhat inferior perhaps because he was fully engaged in domestic chores to fill in the role of his mother (FGD for male students of a treatment SMP, Desa Jungkrang).

- c. Bagja wanted to have his own money. He saw many of his friends, younger or older, who also worked and could buy their own mobile phones, clothes, and good shoes without having to rely on the money from their parents who are generally poor. Bagja admitted that there was no pressure from anyone for him to work (Interview, Bagja, a male student of a treatment SMP, Desa Jungkrang).
- d. Fourteen-year-old Marni, a child receiving the PKH and ILO-IPEC, dropped out of SMP (grade 8) and then worked in the kite industry and babysat her neighbor whose parents worked in the garment factory. Her goal was to work in the garment factory. Marni realized that to work in the garment factory require a school diploma. Nevertheless, Marni decided to drop out of school because, *“Well, to work [in the garment factory], I can borrow [another person’s diploma]”* (Interview, Marni, a dropout student of a treatment SMP, Desa Jungkrang).

Box 4.
Marni Finally Chose to Quit School

Marni lives in a house made from bricks and bamboo. The house is a bit dirty and shabby. It has concrete floors, not much furniture—only a cabinet, a plaited mat, and a set of television—and two bedrooms. There is already electricity albeit with low power. The house’s walls are attached to those of other houses. Her family has to go to a nearby public fountain to get water. Children running and playing around and adults carrying babies are a common sight in the neighborhood.

Marni quit school two weeks ago when she was about to sit in the ninth grade of Islam Cendikia Junior High School. She had already set her mind on working at a garment factory named PT Global, although she has not sent an application letter. She said that some of her friends work there. In order to be able to work at the factory, she has to pay a middleperson an amount of money, but she does not know exactly how much. She said that some children of her age had been accepted to work there with the help of a middleperson.

Had Marni waited another year, she would obtain a junior high school certificate, the possession of which is one of the requirements for a factory worker. She quit school anyway because she felt like staying at home. Her actual main reason was that she wanted to help her parents by working and earning some money. *“I know that working in the factory will be tiring, but it’s fine as long as I can get some money for my parents,”* claimed Marni.

She also stated that a lot of her elementary school friends and some of her neighbors who had not continued their studies to junior high school could work at the factory. She believed that they might have used a fake certificate or paid a middleperson to get the job.

Marni’s mother, Asih, cannot understand her daughter’s decision to quit school. According to her, schooling is much more accessible now than it used to be. In the past, children had to go a long distance to get to their school, which was not even in a good condition. Not to mention the fact that some parents forbade their children to go to school. Now that the school is nearby and parents are supportive, children are not keen on going to school and want to get a job instead.

- e. *“Many children have worked in the factory. There are a lot of factories now. Some years ago, there were only a few factories in this area”* (FGD, Nenden, child laborer). When the FGD facilitator questioned Nenden, she replied, *“In my opinion, it is better for children to work than to go to school. After they graduate, there is no guarantee that they will be able to find a job.”* According to Nenden, the tendency of teenagers to hurry in seeking a job is because, *“[They] want to have more money. It might be that they want to have a cell phone.”* Hikmat (another FGD participant) added, *“At that age [around 14], kids want a lot of things. If their parents are unable to afford them, the kids will decide to work”* (FGD for fathers of students of a treatment school, Desa Jungkrang). The majority of parents’ perceptions were not in favor of child labor

(see Chapter V). Nevertheless, the presence of such perceptions was an objective indication that there were still a small number of parents who think that education is not an essential need for children. Based on the observation of a respondent (Tutor for SD students, Desa Lamping), the involvement of children in child labor is a systemic problem. For SMP students, for instance, being teenagers, they have demands to fulfill such needs as mobile phones or motorbikes. If they come from a poor household, it would be difficult for their parents to fulfill such needs. As a result, these children will try to find their own money by getting a job that is available for them. In such circumstance, it is true that the parents are not directly pushing their children to work to fulfill their own needs. But on the other hand, they are also not explicitly prohibiting their children to work. In this context, the decision to go to school or to work is eventually left to the hands of the children themselves.

- f. The students' academic achievement is good, they are diligent to school, but on average they only have education until SMP. Students who can proceed to senior high school (SMA) are so rare (Interview, Teacher, Desa Lamping).
- g. On holidays, and if there were no job orders for bulbs, Galuh would use most of her time for playing, but if there were job orders, she would practically work all day. If there were job orders during school days, she usually did the job after coming home from the TPA school (after school Islamic study) at 4 p.m. until around 8 p.m. As a consequence, she had no time for studying at night. Last year (2010), Galuh received and completed a bulb job order for four days with payment totaling to Rp10,000 (equal to US\$1.2). Galuh was expecting to get another job order so that she could have her own money. "If I have my own money, my mother will not prohibit me to buy whatever I like" (Interview, Galuh, a sixth grade student of a treatment SD, Desa Babakan).
- h. According to FGD participants (FGD for male and female elementary school children, Desa Babakan), none of them were involved in child labor. But, some of them had friends who were working after school hours. The types of work that involved children, among others, included: (i) pressing bulbs, (ii) assembling filament into bulbs, and (iii) embroidering clothes. Pressing bulbs is an outsourced job and its wage is about Rp5,000 (US\$0.6) per sack. It is hard for them to have one sack of bulbs completed in a day. Assembling filament into bulbs is also a contract job. Embroidering clothes is usually performed by girls (FGD, students of treatment SDN 2, Desa Babakan).
- i. "There is no encouragement from my parent to work and my parents often prohibit me to work. But, my parents are poor and I feel pity for them, so I try to help them. [Money from my parents] for my transportation cost to school is often not enough. By working in the bulb industry, at least I can help my parents a bit. You see, by working in the bulb industry, I no longer need to borrow money from my friend to pay my transportation cost and even now I have a bit of savings" (Interview, Puspita, an eighth grade student of a treatment SMP, Desa Babakan).
- j. The participants of an FGD revealed that children, both those who were still in school and those who had already dropped out, were regularly engaged in labor in the agricultural sector, such as planting beans and harvesting rice. Outside the agricultural sector, some dropout children had various jobs depending on the access, such as domestic servants and waiters, particularly in Jakarta and Bandung, while there was also who worked as a TKW (female migrant worker) (FGD, male students of a treatment SMP, Desa Muhara).

- k. Idang became a rice harvester on his own initiative after seeing many of his friends did the job. His reason was to increase his pocket money because the money he got from his uncle was not enough (Idang lived with his uncle's family). Both his uncle and his own parents knew that Idang often worked rice harvesting, but they did not forbid it. According to Idang, rice harvesting is a fun job because while working, he could also joke with his friends (Interview, Idang, sixth grade of a treatment SD, Desa Muhara).
- l. School children used to work at the rice fields, but many of those who dropped out worked in the city as domestic servants (for girls) or as car washers (for boys) (Interview, Jajang, a fifth grade student of a treatment SD, Desa Lamping).
- m. Sixth grade children of elementary school can usually embroider, but most of them are at the junior high school age. Kokom stated that many of her friends were busy doing needlepoint until late at night and did not have time for studying (Interview, Kokom, a seventh grade student of SMP, Desa Lamping).

Box 5

Idang Earns His Pocket Money by Becoming a Farm Hand during Harvest

Three years ago, Idang's mother had gone to Malaysia as a migrant worker and his father, Komar, too not long after. With his parents abroad, he, along with his younger brother Karta, was under the care of his mother's cousin, Jalu. After six months, his father came back from Malaysia and asked Idang and Karta to return to their house, but Idang preferred to live with his uncle and did not want to move back home with his father. Jalu's house is only 100 meters away from Komar's.

Idang's father is a vegetable peddler, which, according to Jalu, is not his main job. He peddles vegetables only when there is nobody that needs his service as a farm hand.

Before Idang's father got back from Malaysia, Jalu took care of the children's daily needs. After Idang's mother started having regular income, she began to send Jalu Rp500,000 every six months. Idang's father also gives allowance to his children once in a while. Jalu limits the children's pocket money to only Rp1,000–Rp3,000 per day.

Idang claimed that Jalu seldom gives him Rp3,000 per day. Often he gets only Rp1,000 for a day's allowance. With this condition, Idang decided to work as a farm hand, harvesting rice crops at some families' rice fields in exchange for money. He does it willingly after seeing his friends do it. He does it because he feels that the Rp1,000 Jalu gives him is not enough and that he needs Rp3,000 per day. Both Jalu and Komar are aware of Idang's extra activity during harvest, but they say or do nothing to stop him. The extra money he gets is mostly given to his father to be saved and when he thinks he has enough, he asks his father to buy him shoes, a bag, or clothes.

Idang works at the fields belonging to the people he is already familiar with, such as Koswara, Memed, and Dedi. He has been doing it since he was still in the fifth grade. He usually works after school from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. For every kilogram of rice he harvests, he gets Rp300. Generally he can harvest about 40 kg of rice, earning himself as much as Rp12,000. When he does not have to go to school, such as on Sundays, he works from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. with an hour break from noon to 1 p.m. On days like that he can harvest up to 70 kg of rice and get a total of Rp21,000.

Every harvest, Idang works for about a week maximum, not because he does not want to spend more time working on the rice fields, but because the rice fields he works on can generally be harvested within a week.

Some quotes and examples above show that the positive impact of ILO-IPEC on the students' perceptions on the important aspects of education and the negative aspects of child labor was unable to stop them from experiencing dropout or being involved in child labor. The following may be some possibilities that have caused those cases.

- a) The cognitive awareness that grows among the students receiving treatment had not been able to serve as a trigger to keep them going to school or to stop them from quitting child labor. As indicated in point e) above, one of the reasons was that their parents were unable to fulfill their need for some goods, which led them to deciding to drop out and/or to be involved in child labor.
- b) There might have been a misunderstanding among the students receiving treatment in capturing the 3R message about the negative aspects of child labor. All respondents stated that working children, either as maids or as factory workers, worked in a bad working condition. In this context, the students only captured messages that relate to the bad working conditions, but not to the child labor issues. In other words, if the children work and the working conditions are not as bad as what was portrayed by the comic book or video during the 3R activity, the students would think that the work is not something to be avoided. That is why, they still considered the work that they did as something reasonable.

4.2 Impact of ILO-IPEC on the Teaching Method at School

The teaching methods practiced in schools are generally a one-way transfer of knowledge. The teacher gives the lesson similar to giving a speech. Such teaching methods make students passive learners. Both at the elementary and junior high schools, only a few teachers provide opportunities for students to discuss lessons or to have question-and-answer activities.

The remedial treatment, 3R program, and child center as a whole package adopted a teaching method that tried to make students able to take an active role in the learning process at school. This method is believed to be able to make students more critical and creative. After the ILO-IPEC had ended, there was a hope that the schools would be willing and able to apply this method of teaching in daily school activities.

The teaching method used in the 3R activities has different impacts in the sample villages. In the two sample villages in Kabupaten Sukabumi, namely Desa Babakan and Desa Jungkrang, the teaching method did not have any impact on the teachers' teaching method. This condition occurred because the implementation of the 3R activities in these two villages was conducted by tutors who were the staff of the NGO that was implementing the ILO-IPEC, not the school teachers themselves. Therefore, the school teachers did not get the chance to practice the 3R model. By contrast, in Desa Muhara and Desa Lamping in Kabupaten Cianjur, the remedial and 3R activities were conducted by the school teachers. According to a respondent (interview, Hafit, SD teacher, Desa Lamping), the 3R method has many positive aspects. With a student-engaging learning process, the students can understand the subjects more effectively, as in the process, they become more audacious to express their feelings in case they are confused. The 3R method benefits not only the students, but also the teachers. Respondents felt that the 3R method is useful to enrich the teachers' techniques in delivering the subject in class. The 3R method makes students more relaxed and hinder them from being bored. The students become more eager to follow the lesson and not fall asleep. Based on this experience, this respondent then practiced the 3R method in his daily teaching activities. In this context, the respondent said, "In the 3R method, the teacher's role is more like a facilitator. In fact, students actually have remarkable abilities."

A similar impact also occurred in Desa Muhara. After the program finished, the teacher still practiced the 3R method in his daily teaching activities. According to him, this method makes the atmosphere to teach more fun and the students can take in lessons more easily (SD Teacher, Desa

Muhara). Indirectly, the respondent also "spread" the 3R method to other teachers. They had the opportunity to learn about the 3R method when the respondent practiced it in his class.

Table 14. Impact of the Program on the Teaching Method of Teachers in Their Daily Teaching Activities

Desa Babakan	Desa Jungkrang	Desa Muhara	Desa Lamping
<p>No impact</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teachers have no opportunities for practicing the 3R method during program implementation 	<p>No impact</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is a special case in SMP Yaskia: A conflict between the school management and teachers caused most of the teachers to move to other schools without transferring their knowledge 	<p>Significant impact:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teachers still employ the 3R method in their daily teaching activities YGPNA conducted training for teachers on the 3R method outside the ILO project Sixty teachers participated in the training 	<p>Have an impact:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The PAKEM method that was already trained to teachers as regular training was reinforced. This was a kind of capacity building from the Ministry of Education for teachers Idem.

Feeling that the 3R method had a lot of benefits and considering the fact that the other teachers were also interested to practice the 3R method, the respondent then asked the NGO that was implementing the ILO-IPEC in Kabupaten Cianjur to hold a training session on the 3R method for the other teachers. The participants were approximately 60 teachers. The teachers were enthusiastic to learn about the method because they were curious how the 3R method had been able to change the students' mindset. In brief, the respondent stated that after experiencing the 3R method, the students became more responsible. He pointed out that if for a certain reason there is no teacher in the classroom, the students would continue to learn independently. This was different from what used to happen previously; when the teacher was not in the classroom, students would use the opportunity for playing. Table 14 summarizes the impact of the 3R method on daily teaching activities in the four sample villages.

V. IMPACT OF ILO-IPEC ON HOUSEHOLD AND COMMUNITY

This chapter elaborates the impact of IPEC-ILO on parents' and community's perceptions toward children involved in many types of works. To acquire the information on the impact, the study focuses on parent and community's perception on the status of children participation in many types of works. Generally speaking, there is no impact of the program on parent and community's perception on education and child labor. As would be explored more detailed later, general perception of the parent and community still deeply rooted in traditional values regarding children participation in different types of works. The absent of impact in research samples is most likely because the program does not target them. However, in other areas the same program incorporates parent and community as target with particular treatment from the program.

Basically, general public's perception in the four village samples on the children who involve and help the work of adults is that those activities is considered as reasonable. The underlying perception is grounded in the values that it has become an obligation of the children to help parents, especially if the economic status of the parents is considered as poor. Furthermore, children's obligation to help parents is manifested within five reasons, namely: household management; early life skill training for children future life; working is better than playing for children; caring each other among family members; girls responsible on domestic works.

5.1 Household management

General household management in the research samples puts the children as those who help in meeting the needs of families. Based on the information from FGDs and in-depth interviews, it is common for children in the sample villages to help their parents by working and earning more money. There are a lot of types of works the children can do while attending school, both after school and during holidays. For the children themselves, even though the jobs are quite tiring, but as part of the obligation to help parent then those were regarded as something natural. In addition, some children also stated that with the odd jobs, they can meet their own needs that have been unable to be met by parents. There were also some children who stated that they help the parents because they themselves want to, not parent's request. It is because the children aware that their family lives in underprivileged condition. The following quotations give an illustration.

If the children help harvesting that are children ordinary activities here, as had previously been so. Because of their help then we have rice to eat. But if they are still in school, so usually (helping) after school hours or holiday." (FGD Parents Female, 28 years, Desa Muhara - Cianjur, 3 August 2011).

In a harvest time, I usually help mother and father hitting rice, usually for two days, from the morning until 10 am in holidays. While after school hours, I never did it. The money was taken by my parent." (Interview, Boy, 13 Years, Desa Lamping - Cianjur, 2 August 2011).

Naturally, children work to earn wages. If I worked, it was not only to help my family, but also for my own purposes." (Interview, Junior High school girl pupil, 15 Years, Desa Jungkrang - Sukabumi, 28 July 2011)

Want to help the economy because their parents lack." (FGD Female parents, 32 years, Desa Muhara - Cianjur, 3 August 2011)

When children went to work while going to school, while learning doing the work to help parents, that's okay. The parents love their children, doesn't it? They will not asking such an outrageous, just for simple help." (Interview, male, 47 years, Desa Lamping – Kabupaten Cianjur, 2 August 2011).

Based on the trend, involving children in adult's jobs as a part of effort to meet the needs of the family, has already been there from the past time and has become the norm prevailing in the four sample villages. In fact, from the FGDs, it was revealed that the children who doing paid jobs while going to school still would be existed until the next five. Factors that are considered to support the involvement of children in parents' job are the fact that the parents are poor and the availability of jobs that could be performed by children, such as in agriculture, industries using outsourcing services, as well as assembling works from home industry.

There will still (working children phenomena) be the same, and may be increased or decreased, depending on the state of the kite industry itself." (FGD junior high school boy pupil, 15 years, Desa Jungkrang - Sukabumi, July 28, 2011).

Jobs of transporting bricks and sands are works that have been practiced for quite long time here, but pressing the bulb (outsourced electricity industry) is just seven months ago. Speaking about the continuation of the PT. Cosmo, it depends on orders. " (FGD Male parents, 47 years, Babakan - Sukabumi, July 28, 2011).

When the harvest time comes, the job is conducted in the afternoon, after school hours, or in whole day during holiday. The compensation is 10:1, which 10 goes to land owner, and 1 for those who doing harvest. So when we can collect a quintal, harvester gets 10 kg." (FGD Junior, high school boy pupil, 15 years, Desa Muhara - Cianjur, August 4, 2011).

I usually help my uncle planting rice; he used to pay me Rp. 5000." (FGD Elementary School Children, Women, 11 years, Desa Lamping - Cianjur, August 5, 2011).

5.2 Early Life Skill Training for Children Future Life

According to informant, children who help completing their parents' jobs are a common practice in order to educate children doing different jobs. The purpose is to prepare the children with the real hard life in the future. Moreover, according to parents, there are also some children, particularly girls, who doing the domestic chores by their own consciousness as part of preparation for settling down their own family later.

They call it home schooling, learn to understand the work at home, so that they have accustomed when they settle down later." (FGD Parents Male, 32 years, Desa Muhara - Cianjur, August 3, 2011)

He invited by his uncle who are the boss of a kite making home industry, to 'learn' to draw a kite. (FGD male parents, 48 years, Desa Jungkrang - Sukabumi, July 29, 2011)

No (ordering children to do a job). If the children want to learn, so let it be, in order that he can perform later. (FGD Female parents, 40 years, Desa Lamping - Cianjur, August 3, 2011).

Children, who help their parents doing a job, cannot be regarded as child laborers. It is an attempt by parents to train their children to be responsible. (Interview CCT companion, male, 32 years, Desa Muhara - Kabupaten Cianjur, August 3, 2011)

On the other hand, according to the children themselves, apart from a means of practicing, helping parents' jobs is part of pious act which is also taught by religion. Thus, for the children, accomplishing domestic chores is considered normal and is not regarded as a burden. According to the common opinion of the children that are revealed in the FGDs and in-depth interviews, sometimes the work indeed is tiring and is compelled doing it. However, for some other children, there is also a fun job because it is conducted while playing, such as grazing, gathering firewood, and looking for snails to feed the ducks.

Helping parents is a pious act also. (FGD Mixed Elementary School Children, Women, 13 years, Desa Lamping – Kabupaten Cianjur, August 4, 2011)

Ironing clothes is an arduous task, sometimes feel lazy to do, but it has to be carried out. Because helping parents is an obligation. (FGD Children Junior High Mixed, Female, 14 Years, Babakan - Sukabumi, July 28, 2011)

Mowing the grass (to feed cattle) makes me excited, while picking up my friends and start playing around." (Interview junior high school, boy pupil, 15 years, Desa Jungkrang - Sukabumi, July 28, 2010)

Looking for snails to feed ducks. It is only in rainy season, because in the dry season, dry fields, there are no snails. I am happy, because I am doing it while playing. (FGD Junior high school, boy pupil 15 years, Desa Muhara - Cianjur, August 4, 2011)

Considered the trend, the phenomena of children who help their parents' job, according to most of informant, will ever last. It has been prevailing from the long past to the present and will persisting to the future. Generally speaking, informants believe that helping parents has become an unwritten convention that will always exist in the family as part of a way of educating children for future life.

It had been like this since the time of my mother, the children help out at home. It will persist into the long future. (FGD Parent Female, 50 years, Desa Muhara - Cianjur, August 3, 2011).

Helping parents work at home would still exist, because it has become a tradition." (FGD Parent Female, 33 Years, Desa Jungkrang - Sukabumi, July 28, 2011)

Helping parents' job at home had always been there, all of them, too." (FGD Parent Male, 39 years, Babakan - Sukabumi, July 30, 2011)

Cutting off paddy (harvesting), selling ice/fried tofu, tempeh, banana, sweet potato, cassava (home-made snack), helping parents accomplishing agriculture work, or homework. Not all of them are paid jobs, anyway, but those jobs normally performed by the children here. (Interview, Teacher, male, 42 Year, Desa Lamping - Cianjur, August 1, 2011)

5.3 Working is better than Playing for Children

In general, informants consider that the children who are working are far better than those who are just playing. By carrying out such a work, children can learn on how difficult it is to meet the necessities of life, and at the end they would be able to empathize to the difficulties born by their parents. On the other hand, by doing such jobs, children who come from poor families could help family economy while at the same time also could save some as their pocket money. Furthermore, there are also some parents who believe that playing continuously is bad for the children because it is not a productive activity. For them, it would be better if the children spend some of their after school hour's time for working.

It is good for children to work so they can experience how difficult it is to make some money, a fad of blank at home to help parents, and to seek their own pocket money. (Interview, Teacher Tutor, Female, 52 years, Babakan - Kabupaten Sukabumi, July 27, 2011)

"Working children are better then only playing around their homes." (FGD Male parents, 39 years, Babakan - Sukabumi, July 30, 2011)

5.4 Caring for Each Other Among Family Members

Another common opinion on the working children is that involving children to accomplish adult job is actually the way the family members share their works load and responsibilities. Therefore, all family members who are already considered capable of carrying out these responsibilities share the works load by arranging the division of labor among them. Furthermore, some parents also argue that it is normal when children help their parents in the time when the workload is no longer manageable by the parents. It is because when the job is not shared with the children, it must be neglected at all, because no other party to call for help.

It is normal for children to help their parents. If not, who else will help?" (FGD female parents, 30 years, Desa Muhara - Sukabumi, August 3, 2011)

Ah, the usual course. If you eat, do the dishes. People who are in a poor condition have to do it, because it cannot be delegated, should be able to do it yourself. (FGD female Parents, 42 years, Desa Lamping - Cianjur, 3 August 2011)

For children themselves, looking at the number of workload at home then sharing the jobs among family members can no longer be avoided. It is also normal that the family members exchange their job each other, as long as it is still possible. For certain type of works that cannot be carried out by the children, the parents usually will take over. To ensure the jobs are properly accomplished, parents are usually the ones who make the adjustment. Children just accept the division of labor. It is also revealed that while there are some children who have fixed job in the division of family works, there are also children who could swap jobs with her/his sister/brother or even with his/her mother.

The work of cooking, collecting firewood, and babysit brother/sister is a task that is rotated among mother, Rizki, and myself. If Rizki who tooks the firewood, so I do cooking, my mother is caring and breastfeeding. But, when mother cooks, Rizki takes firewood, and then I babysit my brother/sister. Ah, everything is up to my mother's direction. (Interview of elementary school girl pupil , 11 years, Desa Lamping – Kabupaten Cianjur, August 2, 2011)

Washing job is usually done after morning prayers, while cleaning floors is conducted after school hours. Domestic chores are also conducted by other family members, such as my brother who is currently in

junior high school. His duty is to feed the chickens. (FGD Elementary School Pupil, Mixed, Male, 12 years, Babakan - Sukabumi, July 28, 2011)

5.5 Girls Responsible on Domestic Works

The view that the domestic jobs are more likely to be conducted by the girls is still strongly entrenched in the community. The division of labor that puts the girls as more "appropriate" to handle domestic chores is expressed either by children or by other informants, through FGDs or in in-depth interview. This type of works include washing dishes, washing clothes, ironing, cooking, clean the house, is commonly considered as more suitable to be carried out by the girls. Granted with such works the girls appear to bear heavier workload than boys. Meanwhile, boys tend to have less workload and are plotted for type of jobs that require great strength such as grazing for cattle, fetching water from showers, collecting firewood, or find snails to feed ducks. However, the families who have no son, those jobs also accomplished by girls.

To help parents to babysit brother/sister, cleaning house, mopping, washing dishes, ironing, and cooking are usually conducted by girls. " (FGD Junior High School Mixed, girl pupil, 13 years old, Desa Lamping - Cianjur, August 4, 2011).

The activities, such as washing clothes, are usually conducted by children on a holiday (Sunday). The time allocated to do this jobs depend on the number of clothes are washed. The boy used to wash their own clothes while girls for all family members. (FGD Female, Parents 37 years old, Babakan - Sukabumi, July 30, 2011)

VI. CONCLUSION AND POLICY RELEVANCE

6.1 Conclusion

The elaboration in the previous chapters leads us to several important conclusions:

- The study finds that the issues regarding the children participating in different kinds of jobs are complex. It is not only about the children who, for certain reasons, plunge themselves into paying/non-paying job activities or just want to help their parents without receiving any compensation. The findings of this study show that child labor and working children have things to do with (i) the parents' economic status; (ii) the development of labor-intensive industries, particularly garment industries which prefer cheap labor; (iii) the inconsistency of various children-related government regulations (particularly with regard to the definition of children); (iv) community's perception on child labor, and (v) the custom of involving children in many kinds of jobs meant for adults.
- Schools, on the other hand, which ideally are the place where children should be—instead of working places—are not always accessible because they are located at a long distance. Some children do not attend school because of their parents' financial condition and certain traditional values such as the custom of early marriage, while some others quit school because they lack attention from their parents who work abroad as migrant workers or in local factories. There are also children who decide to stop going to school because of peer pressure. In the light of this situation, the study finds that the phenomenon of school-age children dropping out of school or discontinuing school still persists. However, the trend has positively been decreasing over the years, particularly after the implementation of various programs by either the government or non-government institutions trying to improve educational sector in the villages.
- The study also finds that none of the children attending school are involved in any forms of child labor, although some of them can be categorized as working children. Nevertheless, there are elementary-school- or junior-high-school-age children who have dropped out of school and undertook full time jobs. In addition, most children are involved significantly in doing domestic chores in their own houses.
- In order to strengthen the impact of the PKH, to keep the school-age children at school and to keep them away from various working activities associated with child labor, the ILO-IPEC project focuses its activities on enhancing the knowledge and awareness of the students of the importance of education and the danger of child labor.
- To achieve its goals, the ILO-IPEC establishes four components of program activities: remedial, 3R (Right, Responsibility, and Representation), home visit, and child center. The technical implementing details of those activities differ across areas depending on the local implementing partners. However, the variation does not determine the type of outcome of the program except for that of the 3R. In this component, the 3R conducted by facilitators from the local implementing partner tends to be unsustainable. It is because in this type of 3R implementation, the actors who are expected to continue the activities upon the completion of the program—the local teachers—are not involved.

- The duration of the program is 12 months, including the preparation, the implementation, and the completion of the substantive and administrative reports. The starting and completion dates of the program differ in each targeted *kecamatan*, from the end of 2009 to the end of 2010.
- There are several problems revealed during the implementation of the program:
 - a. Rotation of government officials and no knowledge transfer from the leaving officials the new ones.
 - b. Sunday is the only day suitable for the program activities because students already have a lot of activities on other days, particularly extracurricular and *diniyah* (afternoon Islamic school).
 - c. NGOs, as local implementing partners, have a bad image in public eyes and often receive poor responses from the people.
 - d. There was no sufficient budget for the socialization of the program.
 - e. There was no training for administrative matters.
- In the eye of the government, the only problem is the lack of coordination between the ILO-IPEC project implementers and the local government.
- The study finds that the program has improved students' performance although there are no clear and reliable data that show the extent to which the improvement has been made. It is because the program has no adequate mechanisms for measuring the improvement, such as the availability of baseline data and non-partisan evaluators.
- Particularly with regard to the impact of the program on students' attitude, the study finds that the program has successfully improved students' knowledge on the importance of education and the danger of being working children and child labor. However, the knowledge has not yet been translated into action; the children who had been participating in various types of job before the program was carried out still did the same job after attending the program activities.. It is because of the push and pull factors described in the previous chapters.
- The study finds that the program has no impact on the attitude of the parents' and community. It is because the program design itself does not target them.
- With regard to the impact of the program on teachers' teaching technique in the targeted schools, the study finds that the impact is only observed in the areas where the 3R component is delivered by the school teachers acting as tutors. In addition, the impact is limited to only the tutors and not to all teachers in the targeted schools. In other areas where the 3R is delivered by facilitators from the local implementing partner, there is no impact.

6.2 Policy Relevance

Based on the above findings, the following recommended policies seem to be relevant to make the efforts of reducing and even eliminating child labor in Indonesia more effective.

1. It is important to synchronize all children-related government policies, particularly with regard to the definition of children and the age range in marriage law, employment law, education law, child protection law, etc.
2. To overcome the problem of child labor, the Government of Indonesia has established a National Action Committee on the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labor at the national, provincial, and *kabupaten/kota* levels. Recently, the Action Committee has been available in 30 provinces and 161 *kabupaten/kota*. However, based on ILO's observation, just a small number of the action committees are well functioning. The others just exist as a formality without doing any program. In light of this issue, it is very important to do careful assessments on why most of the committees do not function; thus, the government can find a way to enhance the committees' role in translating the national action plan.
3. Particularly with regard to the ILO program, it is really important to target families and the community to strengthen the impact of the program on children.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Table A1. Program Component

Activity	Village Samples			
	Babakan	Jungkrang	Muhara	Lamping
Remedial				
Time	January 2010 - Feb 2011	January 2010 - Feb 2011 SMP Cendekia: Aug 2009-2010 (once a week @2hours), Thursday n Saturday in 2 months	June – October 2010	June – October 2010 SD Lamping 2: June 2010, 2x a week in 2 weeks (total 2 weeks)
Duration	SD: once a week	SD: Once a week SMP: once-twice a week (Saturday and Sunday)	SD: 3 times a day (Mon-Thurs-Sat) after school hour (14-16 pm) SMP: 3 times a week	SD: 3 times a week (Mon-Tue-Wed) 14-16 pm
Participant	SD grade 4,5,6, PKH Beneficiaries only	SD: grade 5, 6 SMP: PKH beneficiaries, grade 1, 2	SD: PKH and Non PKH beneficiaries, grade 4,5 SMP: PKH and Non PKH Beneficiaries (one PKH children was allowed to bring with them two friends)	SD: all 5 grade student (PKH and non PKH) merged with one other SD
Class arrangement	SD: grade 4,5,6 in one class	SD: grade 5,6 in one class, and merged with two other SDs SMP: grade 1,2 in one class	SD: grade 4,5, merged with other SD in the same grade SMP: Idem	SD: all 5 grade student (PKH and non PKH) merged with one other SD
Tutors	SD: Teacher of 4 grade tutoring 5 grade The tutor was recommended by School master.	SD/MI: univ. graduate, one tutor from each school, the total Of 3 tutors for 3 joined. SMP: 3 tutors for 3 subjects (B. Indonesia, natural scene, math) Tutor was frequently absent because they were busy studying at the univ.	SD: Univ. graduated teacher. 4 th / 5 th teacher tutoring 4 and 5 class. Tutor active in preparing student for olimpiade. SMP: Sport and Math teacher. Tutoring: Math, Biology, physic, English, Indonesian (1:26) SMP: tutor was absent for a couple of times because his house is distant. Tutor was recruited from other higher quality SMP (public) base YPGNA consideration.	SD: tutor is a diploma graduate and currently pursuing university graduate. Tutor was recommended by school principle.

Modul	SD: - Student don't receive module - material remedial took from regular class. - the material of the module were together during tutor workshop. The material selected based on student need. (most difficult subjects)	Idem Babakan	- Each student received the modules - The module's subject including remedial + 3 R for SD and SMP. - No changes for the module	- modules for SMP grades are only distributed among teachers/ tutors - modules for SD distributed to each student.
Remedial Subjects	SD: Indonesian language, Math, Science, 3R SMP: Indonesian language, Math, Science, 3R, English	SD: Indonesian language, Math, Science, 3R SMP: Indonesian language, Math, Science, 3R, English	SD: Indonesian language, Math, Science, 3R SMP: Indonesian language, Math, Science, 3R, English	SD: Indonesian language, Math, Science, 3R SMP: Indonesian language, Math, Science, 3R, English
3 R				
Activities/ method	SD: drawing, singing, playing puzzle, games (snake and stairs), Dancing chairs, ect. Trading, farming, producing- banana chips	SMP: storytelling, watching video ³ , snakes and stairs, describing pictures, teamwork building SD: drawing, origami, self introduction, trading simulation. *) <i>campaign daily agenda at children who studying and working</i>	SD: self introduction, story making, drawing, singing, fun learning, trafficking comics, sensitivity exercises SMP: out bond, scout, cooking, drama, fun learning, trafficking comics, concentration exercises	SD: trafficking comics, comics discussion
Frequency	One a week during remedial time	SD: irregular, depend on facilitator availability	SD-SMP: once a week during remedial time, except out bond (in special location)	SD: once a week (Thursday)
Tutor	Edukasia facilitator and tutor (teacher)	Edukasia facilitator	Tutor (teacher) SD-SMP	YGPNA facilitators and tutor (teacher)
Module	Only for teacher	Only for teacher	Part at remedial module	SD: part of remedial module SMP: idem (late)
Home Visit				
Criteria	PKH student Student with problems: family economic problems, have a serious disease (liver), low school attendance	At risk + PPA-PKH beneficiaries	Confusing information, inconclusive	inconclusive

Materials	Danger of trafficking Encouraging students to pursue their higher education Influence parent's perception about the importance of child education Give a gift for students: stationeries			
Actors	Edukasia facilitator + teacher tutor + PKH facilitator	Edukasia facilitator	YPGNA Facilitator +Tutor	YPGNA Facilitator + tutor
Children Creative Centre				
Location	One child centre at <i>kecamatan</i> capital and only accessed by children living nearby		Two children centre 1 st in Lamping, 2 nd in Legon, only accessed children who were informed, but the centre and living nearby	
Equipment	Books, game tools		Books and teaching equipment	
Activities	- playing games, borrowing books, reading books - tutor and project implementer base camp		- playing games, borrowing books, reading books, drama rehearsal - tutor base camp, one it is one at tutor's house	
Operational Hours	Working hours (8 am - 4 pm)		Depend on tutor availability	

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